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Vera Effigies
RICHARDI BAXTERI
Ministri Jesu Christi.

RELIQUIAE BAXTERIANAE :

or,

MR. RICHARD BAXTER'S

NARRATIVE

of

THE MOST MEMORABLE PASSAGES

of his

L I F E

and

T I M E S .

Adams

102.16

Faithfully Publish'd from his own Original Manuscript,

By Matthew Sylvester.

Minhi quidem nulli satis Eruditi videntur quibus nostra ignota sunt.
Cic. de Finib. lib. I.

Quibus [ergò] rectè dem, non praetermittam -- Sic habeto, me, cum
illo re saepe communicatâ, de illius ad te sententiâ atque
authoritate Scribere -- Cic. Epist. 7, ad Lentul. Lib. I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. Parkhurst, F. Robinson, F. Lawrence,
and F. Dunton. M DC XC VI.

pos d in you, had never been your Lot. To be Executor
to two such Excellent Persons, as Mr. Baxter and Mr.

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TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFUL.

Sir Henry Ashurst Bar.

SIR,

I Am not a little sensible of the great Obligations you laid upon the Reverend Author of this following Narrative, of which neither was his Sense small. 'Tis well known to me and others, how great a Veneration he had for your deceased Father, whom he took to be one of the liveliest Instances and Emblems of Primitive Christianity that ever he was acquainted with. Neither am I ignorant of the very great Respects he deservedly bore to your Self and Family.

The remembrance of your so firm and generous adherence to him, in the Day of his Trial and Distress, seems to me greatly to justify your Title to the Dedication of this Account of the Person and Labours which you so greatly valued, so publickly own'd. He took your resolute Appearance for him, as a delightful demonstration of your great Respects to his great Master, and for the same Master's sake unto himself. He ventur'd his All for God, and you expos'd your Self for him, to the severely trying Entertainments which he met with in open Court, from Men of Place and Figure in that Day; wherein their indecent Carriages reflected great Honour both on him and you, tho' not a little Disreputation was thereby contracted to themselves.

Had not the Reverend Author plac'd great Confidence in you, so great a Trust as his last Will and Testament repos'd in you, had never been your Lot. To be Executor to two such Excellent Persons, as Mr. Baxter and Mr.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Boyle, fixes great Honour upon your Name, and cannot but raise great Expectations in the World from you, of answering that Character which it appears you had obtain'd, with two Persons of so great Eminence. But (Sir) Give me leave to tell you, that the Eye of God is upon you : and that his Claims and Expectations must be answer'd by you. Men judge charitably ; but God judges of us as we are indeed. God cannot be deceiv'd ; Men may. Pardon me, if I add what he once said to me concerning my own self ; Sir, I think I know you, but I am not sure I do. The Word came close to me , and it may possibly be of use to you : it may awaken us both intimately to consider, to whose Judgment we all must stand.

The Lord fulfil in you and your hopeful Issue , all the good pleasure of his Goodness, and the Work of Faith, Labour of Love, and Patience of Hope with power , so as to heighten and compleat your Faithfulness and Figure in your Generation : This is the Prayer and Hope of,

Right Worshipful,

Yours Humbly,

Thankfully and faithfully,

in the best Services,

and fastest Bonds, whilst

MATT. SYLVESTER.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

§ I.

I Am very sensible that this Memorial of Mr. *Baxter*, and his Historical Accounts of the Times which went over him, have been long expected and much desired by the World. And the greater the impatience, the more severely the delay is like to be resented. But he that well considers, 1. How confusedly a great quantity of loose Papers relating thereunto, came into my hands ; all which were to be sorted and reduced to their proper places. 2. How much other work was then incumbent on me. 3. How little my indisposed and weak hand can write ; (not an Octavo page in a competently great character in an hour). 4. How many uncomfortable Providences have since diverted me ; and could not but do so. 5. How much time the orderly disposal of his bequeathed Library to young poor Students, according to his Injunctions on me, took up. 6. How much time my Ministerial Work required ; together with the unavoidable removal of my Habitation and Meeting Place, and the Settling of my Congregation thereupon. He that (I say) well considers these things (and more that I could say, were it expedient so long to detain the Reader from the more profitable and delightful Entertainment of the Book it self) will at least abate his Censures, if not quite lay them by. However, I must and shall submit my self unto what Constructions the Reader shall think fit to make of my Apology for its delay so long.

§ II.

As to the Authour of the ensuing Treatise, he appears *Par negotio*, as being very Sagacious, Observant, Impartial, and Faithful. The Things here treated on were Things transacted in his day, *quæque ipse vidit ; Et quorum pars magna fuit*. Much he knew and felt, and was himself actively and passively concerned in, and the rest he was inquisitive after, observant of, and acquainted with. And being himself an hater of false History, he gave the greater heed and diligence to enter into the depths and springs of what was in his day upon the Theatre of Action. Much he must be inform'd of by others necessarily : and yet he was greatly averse from the reception of things as true, upon too loose reports. He fanned Intelligence, and was not easily imposed upon, in things of moment. Credulity, Rashness, Partiality, and Perfidiousness, Ignorance and Injudiciousness do ill become Historians. *Quis nescit, primam historia Legem esse, ne quid falsi dicere audeat ? deinde ne quid veri non audeat ? Nequa suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo ? nequa simultatis ?* Cic. de Orat. lib. 11. and he had reason for this thought in that (as the Lord Bacon well observes) the Examples of our Ancestors, the Vicissitudes of Affairs, the Grounds of Civil Prudence, and Mens Names and Reputations do depend upon the Knowledge, the Judiciousness and Faithfulness of Historians. Diligent Searches, deep and wise Thoughts, faithful Representations and Reports, with honest Intentions, and generous Designs and Aims at Publick Good, render Mens Histories of Things and Persons (as influential upon others,) pleasant and advantageous. Every one is not fit to tell the World the History of his own Life and Times : Who liv'd therein : what Post and Station, Trust and Business, was their assigned Province : what Characters they bore through their deportment therein : what were the regent Principles, the genuine Spirit, and

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main End and Scope, of what they did : what they pretendedly or really design'd : what was the Conduct, Tendency and Result of their Consults and Actions : wherein they truly failed, and how, and why ? Such things as these call for the greatest Clearness, Freedom and Sincerity, Pains and Judgment ; and I may add, a *great Concern for Publick Good*, which is the *loveliest Property*, and *clearest Symptom of a large and noble Soul*. History should inform, admonish, instruct, and reclaim, reform, encourage Men that read it. And therefore they that write it should *discern things Excellent*, and those things in their difference each from other, and in their importance to the Reader ; and so take care that nothing doubtful, false, impertinent, mean, injurious, cloudy, or needlessly provoking or reflecting be exposed to Publick View by them ; nor any thing excessive or defective, as relating to the just and worthy Ends of History. The Author of the sublequent History (now with God) had an Eagle's Eye, an honest Heart, a thoughtful Soul, a searching and considerate Spirit, and a concerned frame of Mind to let the present and succeeding Generations duly know the real and true state and issues of the Occurrences and Transactions of his Age and Day ; and how much Judgment, Truth, and Candour appear in his following Accounts of Things, the Candid and Impartial Reader will easily and quickly be resolved about. Scandals, arising from Ignorance and misreports of what related to our Church and State greatly affected his very tender Spirit ; and the removal and prevention of them, and of what Guilt, Calamities and Judgments might or did attend those Scandals, was what induced Mr. Baxter to leave Posterity this History of his Life and Times.

§ III.

Memorable Persons, Consultations, Actions, and Events (with their respective Epochs, Successions and Periods) are the Subject Matter of History : Propriety, clearness and vigour of Expression is what duly and gratefully represents the Matter to the Reader. Accurate Method gives advantage to the Memory, as well as satisfaction to the Judgment. The faithfulness, fulness, and freedom of relation conciliates a good Reputation to the Writer by its convincing Influences upon the Reader's mind ; and thus it powerfully claims and extorts his Submission to the evident credibility of what he peruses : and the weight and usefulness of the Things related makes the Reader serious, and concerned to observe what he reads : for finding the Matter great, the Expression proper and lively, the Current of the History orderly and exact, and the Purposes and Ends various and important which the History subserves, he accordingly values and uses it as a Treasure. And from thence he extracts such Maxims and Principles as may greatly bestead him in every Exigence, and in every Station and Article of Trust and Concern, and Negotiation. History tells us who have been upon the Stage, how they came into Business and Trust, what was the Compass and Import of their Province, what they themselves therein signified to others ; and what, others to them ; and what all availed to Posterity, and how they went off, and so what Figure they most deserv'd to make in the Records of Time.

§ IV.

He that well considers the Nature of Man, his Relation to God, God's governing of Man, and the Conduct of Providence pursuant to God's concerns with Men, and their concerns with him, as also the Discipline and Interests of the Holy War with Satan, will read History with a finer Eye and to better purpose than others can. To cover, endeavour, and obtain ability and furniture from History, Philology, Divinity, &c. to minister to discursive Entertainment, or Self-conceitedness, Ambition, Preterment, or Reputation with Men, is a design (when ultimate) so mean in God's Eye, so odious and noysom to others, when by them discerned, and so uncomfortable and fatal to our selves when at last accounted for, as that no wise Man would terminate and center himself, or his Studies there. I have seen all sorts of Learning differently placed, used, and issued. I can stay patiently to see the last Results of all. I have seen Learning excellently implanted in a gracious heart : (So it was in Mr. Baxter, and in several Prelates, and Conformists and Non-conformists, and others : it is so at this day). I have seen it without Grace ; or not so evidently under the influences and conduct of Grace, as I have greatly desired it might have been : and here what Partiality, Malignity, Faction, Domination, Superciliousness and Invectives bath his History and other Learning ministred unto ! Indeed sanctified Learning hath a lovely show : And the Learning of graceless Persons hath in many Instances and Evidences greatly befriended God's Interest in the Christian World.

And

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And the Knowledge which could not keep some from doing Mischief in the World, and from their being fitted for Hell, and from drawing others after them thither; hath yet helped others to heavenliness and Heaven. But he that well considers what Man is to God, and God to Man; what an Enemy degenerate Man is to God and himself; what a state and frame and posture of War sin hath put Men into, both against God, themselves, and each other; what an Enemy Satan is to all, and what advantages Sin gives him against us; and how Christ is engaged against Satan for us, as the Captain of our Salvation; and how he manages this War by his Spirit, Oracles, Ordinances, Officers, and under-Agents in Church and State, and by the Conduct of Providence over crowned Heads, Thrones, Senates, Armies, Navies, greater and less Communities, and single Persons; in all things done by them, for them, or upon them, or against them: how he uses, and influences the Faculties, Actions, Projects, Confederacies, and Interests of Men, by poisoning them, changing them, and turning them to his own purposes and praise: He, I say, that well attends to these things in his Historical Readings and Studies, will (to his profit and delight) discern God's Providence in and over the Affairs of Men to be expressive of God's Name, ministering to his avouched purposes, and a great Testimony to his Word and Son, and to his Covenant and Servants.

§ V.

And such a Person was the Reverend Author (and in part the *Subject Matter*) of the subsequent Treatise. He was an early Votary to his God: so early as that he knew not when God engaged him first unto himself. And hence he in great measures escaped those Evil Habits and Calamities which old Age ordinarily pays so dear for, though he laments the carelessness and intemperance of his first childish and youthful days. And if the Reader think it strange and mean, that these, and some other passages *inferioris subfelli* should be inserted amongst so many things far more considerable, written by *himself*, and *published by me*, I crave leave to reply, 1. That Conscience is a tender thing, and when awaken'd, it accounts no sin small, nor any Calamity below most serious Thoughts and sensible and smart Repentments, that evidently springs from the least Miscarriage, which might (and ought to) have been prevented. 2. That the apprehension of approaching Death made him severer in his Scrutinies and Reflections. 3. That he thence thought himself concerned and bound in duty to warn others against all which he thought or found so very prejudicial to his own Soul and Body. 4. That as mean passages as these are to be found in Ancient and Modern Lives and Histories, which pass not under rigid Censures. 5. That the Author wrote this his History, *sparsim & raptim*, and it was rather a Rhapsody than one continued Work. So that I hope that the obvious inequalities of Style and Matter, (or the Defects in accuracy of Method (much more the Errours of the Press) will be no scandal to the ingenuous and candid Readers. 6. And as to *my* suffering such things to be exposed to publick view; can any Man take it ill, that I give him what Mr. Baxter left with me to this end? and had I thought to have expunged some things, and to have altered others, I could not have said as he himself did (in his Preface to the Lord Chief Justice Hale's Judgment of the Nature of true Religion) 'I take it as an intolerable Piaculum to put any altering hand of mine to the Writings of such a Man——But to pass by this—— His seriousness in and about the greatest things, and his solicitous care to save his own and others Souls, and his great zeal for Holiness, Truth, Concord and Peace amongst all Christians abroad, and in these Kingdoms, made him (when capable thereof) to mind how Matters stood betwixt God and us; and to enter into the Springs of Publick Affairs and Actions in Church and State: and to take notice of the Originals, Instruments, Principles, Progress, Tracts, Traverses, and Results of Things. How Men were placed, spirited, influenced and engaged: and how herein they ministered to the woes or welfare of the Publick, of themselves, and of Posterity. And very loth he was that all should be imposed upon and injured by partial or false History; and so become Deceivers or Deceived, and Scandalizers or Scandalized. He well considered what a faithful History of his Times might import to all. And hence, having had such perfect understanding of all the Things here treated on, from the first, he thought it not amiss to write the chiefest of them in order; that others might know the certainty of things, to the better institution of after Conduct and Deportment: and (if it may yet be) to call the Guilty of all Parties yet alive, to due Repentance, and Returns to God.

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§ VI.

The following History takes a considerable compass (from *A. D.* 1615. to 1684.) and it will entertain the Reader with no small variety of useful and delightful Matter. 1. You have here the History of God's early, kind, and powerful Dealings with himself, so as to enprinciple and train him up as a Christian: and how God touch'd and fix'd his Soul for himself in Christian Bonds. God cast that Mantle on him, which made his heart to turn and stand towards him; and be most ambitious of, and solicitous about his pardon from, fellowship with, devotedness to, and living with God in the heavenly glory. Then God acquainted him with his natural, degenerate and lost self, till Christ by Grace befriended and relieved him. When making towards, and brought to Christ, he is presently and sensibly engaged in secret and open War with Satan and his own self. And here his Conflicts and Temptations are gradually and wisely ordered him, and let loose upon him; but every way suited to his strength and benefit. His Exercises were and must be such as shall put him to deep Thoughts, close Studies, strict Guards and Watchings, fervent Prayer, and a quick sense of the Necessity of daily help from Heaven. And Satan is permitted to attack him in all the Articles of his Christian Faith, and in the Foundation of his Heavenly Hopes. He was so severely urged by Satan to Atheism, Scepticism, Infidelity, and followed with such perplexing Difficulties and amazing Intricacies about both Natural and Revealed Religion, as that he had concerned and earnest breathings after, value of, and resolution for full Satisfaction about both the Foundations and Superstructure of Religion. Slight Studies, precarious though confident Assertions, the Publick Vogue and Suffrages of Men, Worldly Interests, Popular Applauses, and Fleishly Ease, could set no stints and limits to his inquisitive Mind and painful Searches. His Soul ever lay open to Evidence: His Eye was first upon the Matter to find out that: he then considered Words as the fit Portraitsures of Things, and Representations of Humane Apprehensions to mutual Information about Things and Words. And when he observed Words to be so equivocal, and of such lax, uncertain sense, he was ever careful to give Expressions their strict and just Interpretations, and to be clear about the fixed sense of doubtful Terms. And from the accuracy of his Judgment, and fineness of his Thought, and from the impetuosity of his Desires and endeavours to know Things clearly, orderly and distinctly, arose that multitude and variety of Distinctions, (many whereof were thought unusual, though I never thought yet any of them useless and impertinent as improved by him) which usually accompanied his Discourse and Writings. But (to conclude this Head) clear knowledge of the Name and Kingdom of God in Christ, well grounded Faith, lively Hopes, rational Satisfaction about the Safety of his State and Soul, the Soundness and due Furniture of his Inner Man in order to his fulfilling after God and Christ, and an Exemplary Holy Life, a happy Death, a joyful Resurrection, these were the Pleasure, Ambition and Employment of his Life; as also to be found in Christ, and every way faithful and fruitful to him. And by what Instruments, Steps and Methods, God brought him hitherto, this following Account of his, from his own Pen will tell you. As also to what he ever had recourse for his own Personal Satisfaction and Redress, and how God exercised and used his Parts and Thoughts herein.

You have here the History of his Ministerial Self. God set upon his Soul, as one resolv'd to qualify and anoint it in no ordinary manner, for that Sacred Function, whereunto (after many Temptations and Attempts to fix him in some other Station and Employment, both from others and himself) by the Call and Conduct of his heavenly Master, he applied and kept himself at last. God thoroughly made him first to know the Soul which he had breathed into him, as to its Faculties, Capacities, Worth and Usefulness. God made him feel and mind that Body wherein this Soul of his was lodged; and wherein and how far his better Part might be helped or hinder'd thereby: and the two Worlds whereto both Soul and Body were related: and wherewith they were variously concerned. And in this World God fix'd him in such a Prospect of another, as made him intimately and sharply feel both what, and where, amidst what Circumstances, and to what purposes he here a bode in painful, exercised and declining Flesh. And all this gave him great Advantages and Inducements to deal more closely, skilfully, diligently, and constantly, and importunately with Souls, about their great Concerns. And what a Transcript God made him of what the Apostle speaks as to himself and *Timothy*, in *Col.* 1.25—29. the following History of his *Kidderminster* (and other) Labours and Successes in the Gospel, will convince you to great Satisfaction: as also of what Oppositions and Deliverances and Preservations he met with there.

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And you have here some Tasts and Informations of his Thoughts and Studies ; and of his Books and Letters to divers Persons, of different Stations and Quality, and also of what Pens and Spirits wrote against him. He was of such Repute and Figure in his day, as that many cover'd to see his Face, to hear his Voice, and to receive his Resolution of weighty Cases of Conscience propos'd to him. And in all this you will find that verified of him, which the Lord Bacon hath deliver'd from his Pen, *viz. Much Reading makes Men full : Much Writing makes them judicious and acute : and much Conversation makes them ready.* I have been amazed to see how hastily he turned over Volumes, how intimately he understood them, how strangely he retained his Reading, and how pertinently he could use it to every propos'd Case. Men stay'd not long for what they wrote to him about : and what he wrote was to great satisfaction and to the purpose. He wrote his Books with quick dispatch ; and never, but when he thought them needful, and his duty then to write them. And when as the Reader well considers his Apology for his Books hereafter mentioned, let him but seriously weigh what is alledged, and accordingly form his Censures. His mentioned and recited Casuistical Letters and Books, savour at least of Thought and Pains ; and perhaps the Reader's patient and attentive minding of both his mention'd Books and Letters will not be loss of time and pains. And though through too much haste and heedlessness, some few Escapes (perhaps Inaccuracies) in the beginning may distaste his curious eye ; yet a very few Pages following will yield him better Entertainment.

§ VII.

But the great things which are as the Spirit of this History, are the Accounts he gives of the Original Springs and Sources of all these Revolutions, Distractions and Disasters which happen'd from the Civil Wars betwixt King Charles the First, to the Restoration of Charles the Second, and what was Consequent after thereupon to Church and State. And here we shall find various and great Occurrences springing from different Principles, Tempers and Interests ; directed to different Ends, and resolv'd into different Events and Issues. The Historian endeavours to be faithful, candid, and severe. Nothing of real serviceable Truth would he conceal. Nothing but what was influential on, and might, or did affect the Publick Interest would he expose to Publick View. Nothing that might be capable of candid Interpretation or Allay, would he severely censure. Nothing notoriously criminal, and fatal to the Common Good would he pass by without his just Resentments of it, and severe Reflections on it. As to his immediate Personal acquaintance with, or knowledge of the things reported by him, I know no further of that, than as he himself relates. As to what he received from others by Report, how far his Information was true or false, I know not. Indeed I wrote (with tender and affectionate respect and reverence to the Doctors Name and Memory) to Madam Owen to desire her to send me what she could, well attested, in favour of the Doctor, that I might insert it in the Margent, where he is mentioned as having an hand in that Affair at Wallingford House ; or that I might expunge that passage. But this offer being rejected with more contemptuousness and smartness than my Civility deserved, I had no more to do than to let that pass upon Record ; and to rely upon Mr. Baxter's report, and the concurrent Testimonies of such as knew the Intreagues of those Times. Yet that I might deal uprightly and upon the square, I have mention'd this (though *obiter*) to testify my Respects to him with whom I never was but once : but I was treated by him then with very great Civility indeed.

§ VIII.

I cannot deny but it would have been of great advantage to the acceptableness and usefulness of this Book, had it's Reverend Author himself revised, compleated, and corrected it, and published it himself. I am sure it had ministred more abundantly to my satisfaction : for I neither craved nor expected such a Trust and Legacy as his Manuscripts. Nor knew I any thing of this his kind purpose and will, till two or three days before he dyed. My Heart akes exceedingly at every remembrance of my incumbent Trust : and at the thoughts of my Account for all at last. I am deeply sensible of my inability for such Work ; even to discouragement, and no small Consternation of Spirit. I want not apprehensions of the Pardon which I shall need from God, and Candour from Men, both which I humbly beg for as upon the knee. I know the heart and kindness and clemency of my God through Jesus Christ : But I know not yet what Men will think, speak, write concerning me. God speak to Men for me, or give me Grace and Wisdom to bear and to improve

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prove their Censures and Reflections, if such things must be my Discipline and Lot.

*Quo quisque est major magis est placabilis ira
Et faciles motus mens Generosa capit.
Corpora Magnanimo satis est prostrasse Leoni
Pugna suum finem cum jacet hostis, habet.
At lupus & turpes instant Morientibus urfi
Et quæcunque minor nobilitate fera est.*
Ovid. Trist. Eleg. iv.

However let the Reader bear with me if I attempt to obviate what I apprehend most likely for Men to reply and urge upon me, by offering these things to serious and impartial Thoughts, relating to 1. The Author, 2. The Treatise, 3. The Publication, And 4. My self.

First the Author.

1. He was one who lov'd to see and set things in their clearest, and most genuine Light; he well considered what sort and size of Evidence and Proof all things were capable of. Matters of Sense are evident by their due Appulses on the Senses. Matters of Doctrinal Truth by Demonstration; Matters of History by credible report: and he could consider well how Certainty and Probability differed. Nor was he willing to be imposed upon, or deceived through Prejudice, Laziness, Interest, or a factious Spirit. To say he never was mistaken (for undoubtedly he had his Errours and Mistakes, some of them retracted, and publicly acknowledg'd by him when discern'd) is to attribute more to him, than any meer Man can say: and more than any impartial and severe Student will arrogate to himself. I shall never call the Retraction of a discovered Errour or Mistake, a Fault; but rather a commendable Excellence: and I judge it better to argue closely, than bitterly to recriminate or traduce. Truth needs neither Scoff nor Satyr to defend it.

2. This made him so solicitous to leave behind him such an Impartial Account of the History of his Times, and of his own Endeavours in his place and day to promote Holiness, Truth and Peace.

3. He hence observ'd how these great Concerns were either promoted or obstructed; and by whom. What was amiss, or right, either in himself or others, &c.

4. He was concerned to prevent Misapprehensions, Prejudice, Censures and Scandals for time to come; to call the Guilty to Repentance; to clear the Innocent, and warn the present and succeeding Generations against their being split upon the like Rocks; to lay all Miscarriages at their right Doors; and to undeceive Forreign Churches and Kingdoms, and to deliver them from being imposed on, by false Representations of our Affairs at home.

5. He had an acrimonious pungent Stile indeed, contracted by his plain dealing with obstinate Sinners; which he told me was much severer than his Spirit was. He lov'd to give Sins and Sinners what Names might make themselves and all Men most sensible of their aggravated Crimes. And yet he was averse from blackning them more than there was reason for in his judgment: and from concluding Men graceless or hopeless from any particular Misdemeanours or Defects.

6. He was publick spirited, and valued not (nor would he be swayed by) Parties, Names or Interests. His Soul was drawn out to a greater length, and wrought into a finer temper, than to over-look any thing truly Excellent and Worthy in any one, though of a different Character and Perswasion from himself, as to things of a lower Nature, and consistent with the Spirit and great Designs of Christianity. I have heard him great and copious in his Commendations of several Prelates and Conformists. And let the Reader pardon me if I tell him the Right Reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tenison, the Reverend present Bishops of Worcester and Ely, were expressly mention'd by him to me as Persons greatly admired, and highly valued by him; and of their readiness to serve the Publick Interest, both Civil and Religious, he told me he doubted not. And for several of their excellent and useful Labours, I think my self (amongst many others) obliged to bless God, and thank them; though I be unknown to them, and indeed deservedly below their Notice.) His great Concern and vehement Desire was for a Comprehension fit to include all peaceable, useful, sober Persons. And he thought it not impossible nor incongruous to fix upon Foundations large and strong enough, so as to take in all that might fitly contribute to
Publick

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Publick Welfare, into one good Constitution and Establishment. And to my knowledge many are animated with the same Desires. May not the Church of England be more evidently beautiful, large and safe hereby? And though Authority has not yet wrought us up to this, I humbly judge that amicable Conversation amongst those that attend our respective Ministry, and among us Ministers ourselves, would shew to all that we are propense to Peace and Love, and to mutual Usefulness and Endearments. It seems to me most strange and hateful, that different Sentiments about disputable Matters, should alienate Affections, banish Civilities of Conversation, and scarce be enquired into, and debated about, without scurrilous Reflections and enflamed Passions. Rage and force may produce Hypocrites or Adversaries, but scarce ever hearty, serious Converts: But for Men to be hired, cheated, frighted into a Change of Sentiment, is very odd indeed. Truth and Faithfulness are very valuable things; and to me as worthy of a Commendation in a Conformist, as in a Non-conformist, & *vice versa*. Nor shall I count things better or worse for the sake of Persons in whom I meet with them. Truth and Goodness make Men worthy, but what can they derive from Men? God hath shewed them to us in their proper Evidence, fit for Discovery by impartial Search, and at our peril is it to reject them: Neither can any Man's Confidence or Passion, change their Nature or justify our Refusal or Mistakes thereof. No wonder then if this Reverend Author be so impartially free in both his Narratives and Characters; whilst the Publick Interest was so much in his Eye, and lay so pressingly on his heart.

7. Whilst so devoted to the publick good of Church and State, he observed Persons, enquired into Things, studied Expedients, consulted God and Man, to know, what was the likeliest way, to heal the Wounds, and settle the Peace and Welfare of Church and State: and how to do this regularly and successfully, was the solicitous Inquest and Endeavour of his Soul: and if he did mistake his way, it was not wilfully, but through infirmity.

8. But his defeated Expectations and Endeavours amidst those many Revolutions in his time, from which resulted hindrances, neither few nor mean, made him more strictly to take the Minutes of Proceedings and Events, as they occurred; and so to make some fit Remarks thereon. And having thus furnished himself with apt Materials and Memoirs, he at last digested all into this following History; which you have faithfully from his own Original; abating some *corrigenda*. Some little words supply'd here and there which *currente calamo* were left out. Some small Chasms to be fill'd up, whereto the current Sence directed us. And in some Letters here inserted, not being by himself transcribed, the words being something less legible than others, they must be almost guessed at. Though these were few and no way affecting the Sence considerably. And some Repetitions, through the Author's own forgetfulness, left out. But the History is entirely his, transcribed and published as such from his own Copy, which I keep by me for my own Vindication carefully; and as a Memorial of himself with me.

Secondly, As to the History.

1. Of what Concern and Consequence the Matter of it is, the patient and diligent and judicious Reader may soon discern. Weighty things, when fully, credibly, and impartially related, do readily commend themselves to the Reader's Acceptation, and they do as readily meet therewith, where Ingenuity and Candour do prevail. What these things are which the Historian mainly insists upon, may be discover'd quickly by reading over the Contents thereof; whereto I would refer the Reader. First, Lest the first sheet or two, through their Graphical inaccuracy, should be offensive to him, and so discourage his progressive Reading: The History takes it's rise indeed *à levinsculis*, from meaner things; which (seeing the Author seem'd desirous and resolv'd to insert upon Reasons best known to himself) indeed I durst not blot out. Readers (and Friends to the deceased) may be of various Appetites and Humours; and different Things may have their different Relishes from variously dispos'd Palates. Why may not Histories take their start from smaller Matters, and so proceed to greater; as well as the material Origination of the Universe from its Chaos, and of Humane Bodies from their first Dust or Seed? I do indeed profess my grief and shame that they escaped me so inadvertently, but I was then bereav'd of that Composure in my Thoughts (through the tremendous Hand of God upon me otherwise, which I will not now relate) for otherwise my Caution had been greater, and so, those Sheets and other Passages more correct.

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I had neither time nor strength to attend the Press, so as to inspect the Impression sheet by sheet; and thereupon I trusted to the promised Care of the Booksellers: but I found upon review the *Errata* to be more numerous and gross by far than ever I expected. But if the Candid Reader will correct the *Errata*, as they are rendered corrigible to his view, I shall think my self greatly obliged to him. But if the Reader's first Historical Salute displease him, as being much beneath his expected Entertainment, one hours reading I hope he will find to be the utmost Exercise of his Patience, from the meanness of the Matter at his Entrance into the Book.

II. As to the Author's ordering and digesting of his own Memoirs, a Rhapsody it now appears; and as to method and equality of Style, somewhat below what curious Readers might expect; yea, and from what it had been, had it but passed the Author's stricter Thoughts and View. Yet we shall find the History greatly useful, though not exactly uniform; nor is it so confused, as to be incapable of easy References and Reductions to such proper Order as may best please the Reader: if the Design be clear and worthy, *viz.* to set in open Light the degenerate Age he lived in: the *magnalia* of Grace and Providence as to himself: his Self-censurings on all occasions: Caution and Conduct unto others: and tracing all Events to their genuine Sources and Originals, the judicious Reader will improve such things. There were several Papers loosely laid, which could not easily be found, when needed. And the defectiveness of my very much declining Memory, made me forget (and the more because of haste and business) where I had laid them after I had found them. And some few Papers mention'd, and important here, are not yet found, though search'd after; which yet hereafter may be brought to light amongst some others, intended for the Publick View, if God permit. The Reverend Author wrote them at several times, as his other Work and Studies, and frequent Infirmities would admit of. And he was more intent upon the Matter than the Method: and finding his Evening Shadows growing long, as the Preface of his own approaching and expected Change, he was willing (through the importunity of his Friends) to hasten the compleating of his Works before he died. And he had rather that the Work was done somewhat imperfectly, than not at all. It is true indeed, that he hath left us nothing of the last Seven years of his Life, save his Apology for his accused *Paraphrase and Notes on the New Testament*, for which he was so fiercely prosecuted, imprisoned, traduced and fined. And though some pressed me to draw up the Supplemental History of his Life, yet the wisest that I could consult advised me to the contrary: and I did take their counsel to be right and good; for I well knew my self very unable to do that uniformly with the rest; and I was not inclined to obtrude upon the World what was not Mr. *Baxters*. Precarious Reputation I affect not. That Fame cannot be rightfully my own which is not deserved by me. And if this Preface and my subjoyned Sermon be but candidly received, or moderately censured, and any way tributary to the Reader's benefit, I shall rejoice therein, and not expect his undeserved Commendation.

III. I am well aware (and think it worth my while to take notice) of several Things which may awaken Prejudice, Censure, or Displeasure, and occasion (if not cause) Objections and Offence, as to the Treatise and my self; which I would obviate and prevent (at least allay) if possible. I neither love to kindle Flames, nor to enrage them, nor to contribute the least breath or fuel to them. I am for Faithfulness and Truth in the softest style and way consistent with the Ends and Interest thereof. Flattering Titles and needless Pungencies I distast. What was the Author's, is not mine. To publish is not always to assent. And if Modesty and Self-diffidence do make me refrain from Censures and Corrections and Expunctions, can that be esteemed culpable? Especially when it is *vel sole Meridiano clarior*, to both my self and every Man, how much my Knowledge, Parts, Judgment, Holiness and Advantages to know what he Reports and Censures, come short of what his were. Most of the Persons (if not well nigh all) censured by him, were altogether unknown to me: Nor do I find them all, or many, mentioned by him as utterly ungodly or undone. But as far as Miscarriages or Neglects upon the Publick Stage did minister to Suspicion, and (to the prejudice thereof) affect the Publick Interest; so far they are remarked by him with resentment. If *justly*, the Equity will justify the Censure; and evidently shew how much the Interest of Church and State lay nearer to, and more upon his Heart than private Friendship

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or Concerns. But if *unjustly*, it is the undoubted right and duty of those that can, to clear the Censured from all their undue Imputations and Aspersions; and could I do it for them, my Obligations to, and value for this *quondam* excellent Historian and Divine, should not prevent my utmost cordial Engagements in that matter, namely, to wipe of all Aspersions from the Innocent, or to abate and lessen them, as far as they are capable duly of Allays. But let me meet the Reader with these cautionary offers.

1. Perhaps it may be thought unmeet by some that a Divine should turn *Historian*. *Ans.* 1. Why not as well as *Grotius*, *Du Plessis*, *Lassius*, &c. yea, and King *James* the First meddle with writing about Sacred Things. (2.) Mr. *Baxter* was neither ignorant of, nor unconcerned in, nor unfit for such a Work as this; who knew him better than he knew himself? or did more intirely search into Affairs? or lay under greater Advantages for pious and just Informations? (3.) He had no Advantages, nor heart for Gain or Honour by this his Undertaking. It is known he hath refused Preferment, even by King *Charles* the Second, but sought for none. (4.) Writing of Histories rather refer to Abilities than to Office. Men may not govern Kingdoms, Cities, nor Societies, till called thereto by solemn Designation, be they never so thoroughly qualified; nor can they administer in Publick Worship till called thereto by Solemn Ordination, or as Probationers in order to that Office. But Men may write for God and Common Good if they be able so to do. For their Abilities, Opportunities, and Capacity for Publick Service, are a Call sufficiently and safely to be depended on. (5.) The Author's Modesty, Humility, and well known Self-denial, and evident Remoteness from all Pragmaticalness and Affectation, may well prevent Suspicion of his Exorbitancy in this his Enterprize. And (6.) his great Ability and Concern to serve the Publick Interest, when as all possible help was needful, requisite and grateful, may well implead such bold Retorts upon his Undertaking. Who stays for a particular Commission to extinguish Flames, or to give needful Informations of instant Dangers, or of necessary Conduct, when great Calamities or Miscarriages cannot otherwise be prevented?

2. It is not impossible that some will judge him too impudent and unworthy in branding Persons with such ungrateful Characters, as do so evidently expose the Memory of the Dead and Living, or their Posterity, and intimate to disgrace. But (1.) Matters of Fact notoriously known are speaking things themselves: and their Approbation or Dislike from others should be as Publick as the Things themselves. Matters of Publick Evidence and Influence are as the Test of Publick Sentiments, and of the prevailing temper of those Communities wherein such things were done. And can Civilities of Conversation, or Interest, or Personal Respects and Tenderneſs, be an Equivalent with God, to what is expected by him from Bodies Politick, or from his faithful Servants in them. (2.) The Author blames himself as freely, and as publicly confesseth, and blames his own Miscarriages, as he doth any other. (3.) He spares no Man nor Party, which he saw culpable, and verily thought reproveable on just grounds. Nor is he sparing of fit Commendations, nor of moderating his Reprehensions, where he saw the Case would bear it. (4.) He was far from Partiality, and addictedness to any Party. Good and Evil, Truth and Falshood, Faithfulness and Perfidiousness, Wisdom and Folly, Considerateness and Temerity, &c. they were respectively commended or dispraised wherever they were found. (5.) Though *Oliver Cromwell*, once Protector, *Dr. Owen*, and others, seem to be sharply censur'd by him, in the *thoughts of those that valued them*; yet let the assigned Reasons be considered by the Reader, and let him fairly try his own strength in either *disproving* the Matters of Fact, and so *impeach the Truth* of the History: or in *justifying* what was done, and so implead the Criminal Charge; or in *allaying* the Censure by weighing well how much of their reported or arraigned Miscarriages may and ought to be alcribed to meer Infirmary or Mistake; or by preponderating their censured Crimes, with other worthy Deeds and Characters, justly challenging Commendations. For as to *Oliver Cromwell*, what Apprehensions and Inducements governed him, and what hold they took upon his Conscience, and how far he acted in faithfulness thereto, as in designed reference to God's Glory, to the Advancement of Religion, to the Reformation of a debauched Age, and to the Preservation of these Kingdoms from Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrariness (the general Fear and Plea of these Kingdoms at that time,) whether without or with good ground, let others judge) is not for me here to determine. I have heard much of his Personal and Family Strictness and Devotion:

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Of his Appeals to God for the Sincerity of his Designs and Heart, from some who have heard him make them as they have credibly told me : Of his Encouragement of serious Godliness, and of the great Discouragement which Irreligion and Prophaneness and Debauchery ever met with from him. These Things were good and great. But from what Principles they came, and by what right from God and Man they were his Rectoral Province, and to what ultimate End he really did direct them ; these Things require deeper Thoughts than mine, in order to a sober Judgment on them. It is more than I can do to vindicate his Right to Govern, and to behead our King, and to keep out another——but I am always glad of any thing which may allay the Guilt of Men : though I had rather find no Guilt (nor any appearance or suspicion of it) that shall need Charity or Industry to extenuate or allay it. God grant these Kingdoms greater Care and Wisdom for time to come : and cause us to sit peaceably, orderly, obediently, submissively and thankfully under the gracious Government of King *William* our present rightful and lawful Sovereign, in so great Mercy to these Kingdoms, whom may the most high God long preserve, conduct, and greatly prosper. (6.) As to the Relatives and under Agents of *Oliver Cromwell*, I offer these things: 1. The Author would not charge them with what they never did. 2. Their Disadvantages through the Exigencies, Influences, and Temptations of their Day ought to be well considered, lest otherwise Men be intemperate and excessive in their censorious Reflections on them. Things now appear (perhaps) in a far clearer Light than heretofore. 3. Instant Necessities may admit of greater Pleas : and Men at a greater distance may not so fitly judge of present Duty or Expediency. And 4. there is undoubtedly such a thing as interpretative Faithfulness and Sincerity, which so far cheers Mens hearts, and spirits resolution and appeals to God, although the Principles which bear Men up herein may be, and frequently are erroneous, and but meer Mistakes. 5. We know not all that Men can say, when calmly heard and fairly dealt with, for their own censured Actions, by way of Apology or Defence. 6. We must consider our own selves as in this World and Body ; and as liable to equivalent (if not the same) Dangers and Temptations. The fence and provident reach of that Divine Advice, *Gal. 6. 1.* is vastly great, and greatly useful, and would prevent rigid Constructions if well attended to. 7. *Oliver Cromwell's* Progeny (those that are yet alive) are chargeable no further with his Crimes than they are approved by them : and this I never heard them charged with since 60. I know them not : but I have been told that they are serious, peaceable, useful, commendable Persons, and make a lovely Figure in their respective, though more private Stations. 8. As to *Dr. Owen*, 1. It is too well known (to need my proof) how great his Worth and Learning was. How soft and peaceable his Spirit, for many of his last years, if credible Fame bely him not. And *perraro in melius mendax fama*. He was indeed both a *burning* and a *shining* Light. 2. As to the *Wallingford-House* Affair, and the Doctor's Hand therein ; our Reverend Author considered him and others as to what he thought culpable, and of pernicious Consequence and scandalous Report and Influence, as to both the present and succeeding Ages. He had no Personal Prejudice against him or others. But as both Church and State were so disorderly endangered and affected by what was there consulted and done ; so *Mr. Baxter* did so much resent the thing, as to think it fit to be recorded, and accented with fit aggravations ; as a Remonstrance to the Crime, and as a Warning to the Christian World. And he is not the only Person who hath believed, noticed and blamed that Matter. But that the Doctor is in his great Master's joys, is what our Author hath reported, his very firm persuasion of, in print. 9. As to our Brethren the *Independants*, 'tis true that no mean Ferment appears to have been upon the Author's Spirit. But (1.) is he sharper upon them, then on the *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptists*, *Prelates*, where he thought or found them culpable ? (2.) What Party did our Author wholly side with ? (3.) What bosom Friend did he ever spare wherein he found him reprehensible ? (4.) He was so intent upon Orthodox Doctrines, Catholick Union, Christian Concord and Behaviour, and Peaceable Usefulness and Conversation amongst all Protestants, and upon avoiding Divisions amongst Christ's Followers, as that whatever obstructed these Concerns, he was impatient of, and warm against. Truth, Peace, and Love, was he a Votary to, and Martyr for : and hereunto did he devote most of his Life and Labours. *Dicam quod res est*. It is scandalous that there should be Divisions, Distances, Animosities and Contentions, amongst Christians, Protestants, Dissenters, against each other, and in the Bowels of each Party. But much hereof arises from unhappy Tempers, Self-ignorance, Confidence and Inobedience, want of frequent, patient, and calm Conference and

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impartial Debates about things controverted, addictedness to Self-Interest and Reputation with our respective Parties, impatience of severe Thoughts and Studies, and of impartial Consideration before we fix and pass our Judgment, taking things too much upon Trust, Prejudice against those whose Sentiments are different from our own, laying too great a weight upon eccentrical and meaner things, prying too boldly into, and talking too confidently about things unrevealed, or but darkly hinted to us in the Sacred Text, and representing the Doctrine of our Christianity in our own Artificial Terms and Schemes, and so confining the Interest, Grace, and Heart of God and Christ to our respective Parties: as if we had forgot, or had never read *Rom. 14. 17—19. Acts 10. 34, 35. Gal. 6. 14—16. and Eph. 4. 1—6.* That Person whose Thoughts, Heart and Life shall meet me in the Spirit and Reach of *2 Pet. 1. 1—11.* shall have my hearty Love and Service, although he determine never to hear me Preach, or to Communicate with me all his days, through the Impression of his Education or Acquaintance; though at the same time I should be loth that such a narrow Thought should be the Principle, Poise and Conduct of my Church Fellowship, Spirit, or Behaviour. God hath, I doubt not, his eminent and valuable Servants in all Parties and Perswasions amongst Christians. An heavenly mind and Life is all in all with me. I doubt not but that God hath many precious faithful Ones amongst the Men called *Independants, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Prelatical*—— And I humbly judge it reasonable that (1.) The Miscarriages of former Parties be not imputed to succeeding Parties who own not, nor abet their Principles as productive of such practical Enormities. (2.) That the Miscarriages of some particular Persons be not charged on the rest, until they profess or manifest their Approbation of them. (3.) That what is repented of and pardoned, be not so received as to foment Divisions and Recriminations. (4.) That my trust from Mr. *Baxter*, and faithfulness to him, and to Posterity, be not construed as the Result of any Spleen in me against any Person or Party mentioned in this following History. (5.) And that we all value that in one another, which God thinks lovely where he forms and finds it. And 6. *O Utinam!* that we form no other Test and Canon of Christian Orthodoxy and Saving Soundness, and Christian Fellowship, than what the Sacred Scriptures give us as Explicatory of the Christian Baptismal Creed and Covenant, as influencing us into an holy Life, and heavenly Hopes and Joys. I thought once to have given the World a faithful Abstract of Mr. *Baxter's* Doctrines or Judgment, containing the Sence of what he held about Justification, Faith, Works, &c. and yet laying aside his Terms of Art: that hereby the Reader might discern the Consonancy of it to the Sacred Text, and to the Doctrinal Confessions of the Reformed Churches; his Consistence with himself, and his nearer approach in Judgment to those from whom he seems to differ much, than the prejudiced Adversaries are aware of. But this must be a Work of Time, if not an Enterprize too great for me, as I justly fear it is. But I will do by him as I would do by others, and have them do by me, *viz.* give him his owned Explication of the Baptismal Creed and Covenant, as a fit Test to try his Judgment by; and if his Doctrines in his other Treatises consist herewith, others perhaps will see more Cause to think him Orthodox in the most weighty Articles, and less to be suspected, notwithstanding his different Modes of Speech.

The Things professedly believed by him (as may be seen in his Christian Concord) were,

That there is one only God: The Father, Infinite in Being, Wisdom, Goodness, and Power: the Maker, Preserver, and Disposer of all things; and the most just and merciful Lord of All.

That Mankind being fallen by Sin from God and Happiness, under the Wrath of God, the Curse of his Law, and the Power of the Devil, God so loved the World, that he gave his only Son to be their Redeemer: who, being God, and one with the Father, did take to him our Nature, and became Man, being conceived of the Holy Ghost in the Virgin Mary, and born of her, and named JESUS CHRIST: and having lived on Earth without Sin, and wrought many Miracles, for a witness of his Truth, he gave up himself a Sacrifice for our Sins, and a Ransom for us, in suffering Death on the Cross: and being buried, he is Lord of all in Glory with the Father. And having ordained that all that truly repent, and believe in him, and love him above all things, and sincerely obey him, and that to the

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Death shall be saved, and they that will not shall be damned, and commanded his Ministers to preach the Gospel to the World: He will come again and raise the Bodies of all Men from Death, and will set all the World before him to be judged, according to what they have done in the Body: and he will adjudge the Righteous to Life Everlasting, and the rest to Everlasting Punishment; which shall be Executed accordingly.

That God the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of the Father and the Son, was sent from the Father by the Son, to inspire and guide the Prophets and Apostles, that they might fully reveal the Doctrine of Christ; And by multitudes of Evident Miracles, and wonderful Gifts to be the great Witnesſ of Christ and of the Truth of his Holy Word: And also to dwell and work in all that are drawn to believe, that, being first joyned to Christ their Head, and into one Church which is his Body, and so pardoned and made the Sons of God, they may be a peculiar People sanctified to Christ; and may mortifie the Flesh, and overcome the World and the Devil: and being zealous of good Works, may serve God in Holiness and Righteousness, and may live in the special Love and Communion of the Saints; and in hope of Christ's Coming, and of Everlasting Life.

In the belief hereof the Things consented to were as followeth:

That he heartily took ~~his~~ his one GOD, for his only GGD, and his chief Good: and this JESUS CHRIST for his only Lord, Redeemer, and Saviour, and this HOLY GHOST for his Sanctifier: and the Doctrine by him revealed, and sealed by his Miracles, and now contained in the Holy Scriptures, he took for the Law of God; and the Rule of his Faith and Life: And repenting unfeignedly of his Sins, he did resolve, through the Grace of God, sincerely to obey him, both in Holiness to God, and Righteousness to Men, and in special Love to the Saints, and in Communion with them; against all the Temptations of the Devil, the World, and his own Flesh; and this to the Death.

If therefore these things were Believed and Consented to by him; and if these things do *essentiate* our Saving Christianity, and so be sufficient to make us all one in Christ, why should some different Modes and Forms of Speech, wherewith these great Substantials may and do consist, obtain of Men to think him Heterodox, because he uses not their Terms? And why should such Distances and Discords be kept up amongst us, whilst we all of us own all the forementioned Articles, and are always ready (on all sides) to renounce whatever Opinions shall appear to overthrow or shake such Articles of Faith, and Covenanting Terms with God and Christ? And I cannot but believe that all Christians seriously bound for Heaven, and that are fixed upon these Truths, are nearer each to other in their Judgments than different Modes of Speech seem to represent them. Of such great Consequence is true Charity and Candour amongst Christians.

3. The Reverend Prelates, and the Ministers and Members of the Church of England, may possibly distaste his plainness with them, and think him too severe upon them: But 1. they are no Strangers to his professed and exemplified Moderation. Who valued their Worth and Learning more than he did? Who more endeavoured to keep up Church Communion with them, by Pen, Discourse and Practise, though not exclusively? Who more sharply handled, and more thoroughly wrote against, and reprehended total Separation from them than himself? And what Dissenter from them ever made fairer and more noble Overtures, or more judicious Proposals for a large and lasting Comprehension with them, than they knew he did? And who more fairly warned them of the dismal Consequences and calamitous Effects of so narrowing the Church of England by the strict Acts procured and executed against so many peaceable Ministers, who thereby were silenced, imprisoned, discouraged and undone? And how many Souls and Families were ruin'd and scandaliz'd by their imposed Terms, another (and that a solemn and great) Day will shew e're long. 2. Our Author never yet endeavoured to un-Church them, nor to eclipse their Worthies: nor did he ever charge their great Severities on them all. He ever would acknowledge (and he might truly do it) that they had great and excellent Men, and many such amongst them, both of their Laity and Clergy. 3. He thought (what I am satisfied is true) that many of them little knew who and what was behind the Curtain, nor what designed nor great Services were doing to France and Rome hereby. 4. And his great Sufferings from them may well (even as other things) abate their Censuring (if not prevent too

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too keen Resentments) of these Historical Accounts of them. 5. And to leave these things out was more than Mr. Baxter would allow me, or admit of. Pardon one who acts by Order, not of Choice.

4. That such copious and prolix Discourses should be here inserted about Things *fitter for oblivion*, than to be remembred, may seem liable to Exceptions and Distast from some; viz. such Discourses as respect the Solemn League and Covenant, the Oxford Act, &c. Things now abandon'd and repealed by Act of Parliament for Liberty of Conscience. But 1. those pressing Acts are yet upon Record, and so, exposed to the view of Men, from Age to Age. 2. They represent Dissenters as an intolerable Seed of Men. 3. All Readers will not readily discern what here is said by way of Apology for those of whom such Acts took hold. 4. Hereby Dissenters will appear to all succeeding Generations, as a People worthy of nothing but National Severities and Restraints. Whence 5. their Enemies will be confirmed in their groundless Thoughts and Censures of them. 6. This will not lead to that Love and Concord amongst all Protestants which God's Laws, and the Publick Interest and Welfare of Church and State require. 7. Those things abode so long in force, and to such fatal dreadful purpose, as that the Effects thereof are felt by many Families and Persons to this day. 8. And all this was but to discharge some, of no small Figure in their Day, from all Obligations to perform what had been solemnly vowed to God. Surely such as never took that Covenant could only disclaim all Obligations on themselves to keep it, by virtue of any such Vow upon themselves: but to discharge those that had taken it, from what therein they had vowed to God to do (till God himself discharge them, or that it be evident from the intrinsic unalterable Evil of the Matter vowed, that no such Vow shall stand) is more than I dare undertake to prove at present, or to vindicate in the great Day. However, a Man's own Latitude of Persuasion cannot, *as such*, absolve another, nor *eo nomine*, be another's Rule or Law. But 9. if these long Discourses be needful, pertinent, clear, and strong, as to the state of that Affair, their length may be born with. 10. The Author thought it needful to have this set in the clear open Light, to disabuse all that had been imposed on, by false, or partial and defective History in this Matter; and to remove, or prevent, or allay Scandal and Censure for time to come. 11. And if such things be also published to make our selves and others, still more sensible of what we owe to God, and to our most gracious King (and his late Sovereign Consort, and our then most gracious Queen Mary, not to be parallel'd in any History that I know of, by any of her Sex, for All truly Royal Excellencies,) and to his Parliaments, who have so much obliged us with freeing us from those so uncomfortable Bonds; what Fault can be imputed to the Publisher herein? Shall Gratitude be thought a Crime, though more copious in the Materials of it, than may every way consist with the stricter Bounds of Accuracy? 12. I am apt to think (and not without cogent ground) that very many Readers (now and hereafter) would (with the Author) have thought me unfaithful to themselves and him, had I not transmitted to Posterity *what* he left, and as he left it for their use. And I hope therefore that the Reader will not interpret this Publication as the Product of a Recriminating Spirit. God himself knows it to be no such Birth.

Thirdly, The Publication.

1. The Author wrote it for this End. 2. He left it with me to be published after his Death. 3. He left it to the Judgment of another and my self only, by a Writing ordered to be given me after his Death, as my Directory about the Publication of his other Manuscripts, which are many, and of moment. And if the rest entrusted with me about *their* being printed (one or two of which he ordered me to choose *ad libitum*, as fity supposing all might not be at leisure) shall think fit (of whose consent I nothing doubt) you may expect a considerable Volume of Letters by way of Epistolary Intercourse betwixt him and Mr. Lawson, Mr. Burgeß, Mr. Vines, Mr. Gataker, Mr. W. the Lord Chief Justice Hales, Mr. Samuel Jacomb, Mr. Dodwell, his dear Flock and Friends at Kidderminster, with several others. These Letters are Polemical, Casuistical, and Practical. Some are Monitory and Reproving: but their Names forbidden to be mentioned. Which Order shall faithfully be by me observed; *Non enim me minus obsequij quam illum consilij pœnitet*. If we may find Encouragement, I doubt not of the Reader's considerable Satisfaction and Advantage. But (to return to where I left) 4. He had
neither

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neither Time nor Strength to finish it ; nor to correct it with his own Hand. Such therefore as it is, you have it. 5. He brought it down (not long before he died) to publish it, but upon second Thoughts he changed that purpose, as his Bookseller since his Death assured me. 6. I have reason to think that the Author had some thoughts to have made further Progress in this History, but that other Things diverted him therefrom, till his Death at last made that impossible.

*Singula quid referam, nil non mortale tenemus;
Pectoris, Exceptis ingenique, bonis.*

Ovid. de Trist. Eleg. vii.

Fourthly, As to my self.

When I came up to London, Anno Dom. 1671. I was brought into Acquaintance with Mr. Baxter, by my dear and intimate Friend Mr. Joseph Trueman (*ὁ Μακαρίτης*) who it seems, unknown to me, had told Mr. Baxter concerning me, more than I ever expected or deserved. And so great was Mr. Trueman's Reputation with Mr. Baxter, as to conciliate that regard to his Character of me, which greatly promoted my Intimacy, and my more free and frequent Conversation with him ever after. Hereupon Mr. Baxter wrote to a worthy Person to seek me out, and to bring me (a perfect Stranger in the City) into Acquaintance and Employment : which accordingly was done. And some short time after Mr. Baxter and my self met together upon Ministerial Employment somewhat frequently, to mutual Satisfaction and reciprocal Endearments ; God speaking to his Heart for me. The Lord impute not to me my so small improvement of that so great Advantage. I never was deny'd admission to him, when desired by me : And many Secrets he committed to me relating to his Soul and Secular Affairs, which have been, are, and shall be such God willing, whilst I live : for I take it to be sinful to betray a Secret, unless Concealment be injurious to the Publick, or to another Person. And in that case I will never (as I think I never have done to the best of my remembrance) promise Secrecy : for I think it base, and no way capable of Vindication, to serve one Friend so as unjustly and unworthily to disserve another. At last it pleased God to cast my Lot upon Copartnership with him in Ministerial Work in *Charterhouse-yard*, in my own Dwelling-house there ; which he the rather complied with because of the vicinity of our Respective Habitations. He would not meddle with the Pastoral Work ; but would stile himself (when somewhat pleasant) my Curate ; but he would take no Money of me for his pains : but oft and freely profess his Satisfaction in his Conjunction with me, and in the serious and moderate temper of my Flock. And I know none beyond them for Peace and Love and Candour. He was greatly solicitous about my Subsistence and Encouragement after his Death. And not long before his Exit he drew up a Paper to have been read to the Congregation, to have procured me some generous Subscriptions from them for one year, besides what they usually allowed me Annually ; and to excite others thereunto, he Subscribed Ten pounds for himself. He designed it to have been proposed and effected when I was in the Country ; but coming to the knowledge of it, I put it by, which he distasted not a little. However, I am for making the Gospel and my Ministry as little chargeable as I can : for I seek not *theirs*, but *them* : and having Food and Raiment, I can be therewith Content. My Congregation is but small : but they are worthy of a far better Pastor than my self. And they are kinde to me, rather beyond, than at the rate of their Ability. And I have found God's Blessing on what they have allow'd me. And I find my Labour not in vain amongst them.

§ IX.

No Man can justly wonder that he escaped not the Scourges of Tongues and Pens, and the bold Strokes of Calumny, who well considers Humane Degeneracy, Satan's Malignity, the Dulness of some, the Rashness of others, the Credulity of others, the Narrowness of others, the Imperfections of himself, and of all, the Entertainments of God's choicest Favourites and Servants upon Record from

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from Age to Age; and the vast Reaches and Designs of Providence in all. Could I but persuade the Reader to read and pause upon some Instances upon Record in Sacred Writ, as being least liable to Exception (though many might be produced from Ancient and Modern Histories) he might there by at least prevent considerably his being Scandalized by the many Obloquies that come from inconsiderate and malignant Men. What Man of Worth could or did ever yet absolutely escape being traduced by some or other? See Jer. 15. 10. and 20. 10. Neb. 2. 19. and 6. 6, 7. Gen. 39. 14. 1 Sam. 22. 9—15. 2 Sam. 16. 3. Amos 7. 10, 11. Matth. 26. 61. Acts 24. 5—9. and 18. 13. Rom. 3. 8. If greater Persons (such as Joseph, Nehemiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Christ, and his Apostles, and David himself, Christ's Royal Antitype) were traduced by the Sons of Belial, as guilty of what their Souls abhor'd so intimately; what wonder is it to find this Reverend Person Mr. Baxter, misrepresented by the malignity and obloquy of some; and by the weakness, credulity, and mistakes of others; and those perhaps excellent Persons otherwise, in manifold respects?

Mr. Baxter is charged by some as being against King Charles the First in the first War, and too much a Fomenter of it. To this you have his Replys in the History it self; and thither I refer the Reader.

He has been also traduced by some, as having kill'd a Man in cold Blood with his own hands. From which Scandalous Report he has also vindicated himself in the following History. But for the Reader's further Satisfaction, I will here subjoyn a Letter from Dr. Allestree, which is not there inserted (that I remember). When a credible Person (Mr. F. H.) told Mr. Baxter that the Doctor had formerly said the like to him; saying, That he could not think well of one that had kill'd a Man in cold Blood with his own hands; Mr. Baxter suspecting that the Doctor's Chair and Reputation might give credit to this slanderous Report, he wrote to the Doctor, desiring to know of him whether he reported this or no; assuring him in the same Letter, that he never struck any Man in anger, in all his Life, to his remembrance——This Letter to the Doctor was dated London, Decemb. 8. 1679. Hereupon the Doctor returned him the following Answer:

SIR,

I Must profess sincerely that I cannot recollect that ever I said such words of you to Mr. H. as it seems he doth affirm I did. But yet I cannot but acknowledge it is very possible that I related (and it may be to him) that I had heard you kill'd a Man in cold blood; since I very well remember that above Thirty years since, at the end of the War, I heard that publicly spoke before Company, and with this further Circumstance, that it was a Soldier who had been a Prisoner some hours before. Now this Report relating to the Wars, in which I fear such things were no great Rarities; and from my very tender youth, I having not had the least Concern with you, nor likelihood of any for the future, did not therefore apprehend at present any concern or occasion of enquiring whether it were true; of which, upon that confident Asseveration I did make no doubt. And I took so little thought of laying up the Relation, that I protest to you, as in the presence of Almighty God, it is impossible for me, to recover who made up that Company in which I heard it, or from whom I heard it. And I wonder how it came into my mind to say that I had heard it so long after. But however, though it be some ease to me to believe that the late Discourses of it, do not come from my relating it so long since that I have heard it, neither are likely to receive any confirmation from it, unless it be made more publick than I have made it; yet I do profess it is a great affliction to me to have spoken that, though but as a Report, which it seems was a slander (for so I believe it upon your Asseveration) and not having endeavoured to know whether it were true. And as I have begg'd God's forgiveness, so I heartily desire you will forgive me. And if I could direct my self to any other way of Satisfaction, I would give it. This is the whole Account I can give of this Matter; To which I shall only add that I am,

Eaton-Colledge,
Dec. 13. 1679.

SIR,

Your very affectionate Servant,

Richard Allestree.

Such

The Preface to the Reader.

Such was the Exemplary Ingenuity and true Equity and Candour of this worthy Person.

But the boldest Stroke that ever I met with at the Reputation of this worthy Person Mr. Baxter, occurs in a Letter that I have lately received from a Person very credible (out of *Worcestershire*, Dated *March* the first, 1691.) The Sum whereof is this:

—**H**ere is a Report in some Persons mouths that Mr. Baxter, before he dyed, and so till his Death, was in a great doubt and trouble about a Future State. It is suggested that he continued in such Doubt, or rather was inclining to think there was no Future State at all, and that he ended his Days under such a Perswasion; which occasioned no small trouble to him, he having written so many things to perswade persons to believe there was.——

This Report is related to me as brought down from *London* by no mean Man; by one of great Repute in his Faculty, and well known through the Nation, frequently an Hearer of Mr. Baxter, and an honourable Person. And I am further informed by the same Hand, That it is there reported that many of his Friends, Persons of Quality about *London*, know the truth of it.

1. *Audax facinus* ! What will degenerate Man stick at ! We know nothing here that could in the least minister to such a Report as this. I that was with him all along, have ever heard him triumphing in his heavenly Expectation, and ever speaking like one that could never have thought it worth a Man's while to be, were it not for the great Interest and Ends of Godliness. He told me that he doubted not, but that it would be best for him when he had left this Life, and was translated to the heavenly Regions.

2. He own'd what he had written, with reference to the Things of God, to the very last. He advis'd those that came near him carefully to mind their Soul Concerns. The shortness of Time, the instancy of Eternity, the worth of Souls, the greatness of God, the riches of the Grace of Christ, and the excellency and import of an heavenly Mind and Life, and the great usefulness of the Word and Means of Grace pursuant to Eternal Purposes, they ever lay pressingly upon his own Heart, and extorted from him very useful Directions and Encouragements to all that came near him, even to the last. Insomuch, as that if a Polemical or Casuistical Point, or any Speculation in Philosophy or Divinity, had been but offer'd to him for his Resolution, after the clearest and briefest Representation of his Mind, which the Proposer's Satisfaction call'd for, he presently and most delightfully fell into Conversation about what related to our Christian Hope and Work.

3. Had he thought that there had been no Future State for Man to be Concern'd about, why was he so delighted in a hopeful Race of young Ministers and Christians? to my knowledge he greatly valued young Divines, and hopeful Candidates for the Ministry: He was most liberal of Counsel and Encouragement to them, and most inquisitive after, and pleas'd with their growthful Numbers and Improvement: And he told me, and spake it in my hearing, That he had the greatest Hopes and Expectations from the succeeding Generation of them: And he pleas'd himself with the Hopes and Expectations of this, that they would do God's Work much better than we had done before, and escape our Errours and Defects.

4. Any Man that reads his last Will may easily see that his Apprehensions and Disposition did not favour of such Scepticism as the Report insinuates. That part thereof which may Confirm the Reader that Mr. Baxter had no such Thoughts abiding in him, I shall here for the Reader's Satisfaction lay before him; which is as followeth:

I Richard Baxter of London Clerk, unworthy Servant of Jesus Christ, drawing to the End of this Transitory Life, having through God's great Mercy the free use of my Understanding, do make this my last Will and Testament:——My Spirit I commit, with Trust and Hope of the Heavenly Felicity, into the Hands of Jesus my glorified Redeemer and Intercessor: and by his Mediation into the hands of God my reconciled Father, the Infinite,

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Infinite, Eternal Spirit, Life, Light and Love, most great and wise and good, the God of Nature, Grace, and Glory : of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things: My absolute Owner, Ruler, and Benefactor ; whose I am, and whom (though imperfectly) I serve, seek, and trust ; to whom be glory for ever, Amen.—— To him I render most humble thanks that he hath fill'd up my Life with abundance of Mercy, pardoned my Sins by the Merits of Christ, and vouchsafed by his Spirit to Renew and Seal me as his own; and to moderate and bless to me my long Sufferings in the Flesh, and at last to sweeten them by his own Interest and comforting Approbation, who taketh the Cause of Love and Concord as his own.

Now let the Reader judge whether any thing in all this can in the least infer his Doubting or Denial of a Future State ; or any Repentance of the Pains he took to establish others in the Belief and Hopes of what the Gospel tells us of as future: It is strange to see how Men can trifle in their Soul-affairs, and how easily they can receive whatever may mortifie the Life and Joy of Christian Godliness: But we read of some that have been led Captive by the Devil at his will. But this we may believe, and all shall find that the Hell which they gave no credit to the report of, they shall surely feel, and that they shall never reach that Heaven which they would never believe Existent, and worth their serious looking after. Were it but a meer probability, or possibility, who will have the better of it? When we reach Heaven, we shall be in a Capacity of Insulting over Infidels: But if there be no Future State, they can never live to upbraid us. And it is but folly, madness, and a voluntary cheating of themselves, for Men to think that Honour, Parts, or Learning, or Interest, or Possessions can ever skreen them from the Wrath of a neglected and provoked God. And one would think that such a Spirit that can so boldly traduce and asperse Men, is much below what has acted a Pagan Roman; for even one of them, could say,

*Compositum jus fasque animi, Sanctosque recessus
Mentis, & incoctum genoroso pectus honesto
Da, cedo——*

Perf.

How little of this Spirit was in the Author and Promoter of this Aspersion, I leave to his own and others Thoughts to pause on ; who he is I know not: But for the sake of his Honour, Soul, and Faculty, I must and will request of God that he may have those softer Remorses in his own Spirit in due season, which may prevent a smarter Censure from the universal, awful Judge ; and that he would soberly pause upon what that great Judge has uttered, and left upon record in *Matth. 12. 36, 37.* for it is what that Judge will abide and try us by.

I can easily foresee that Readers of different sorts are likely to receive this Work, with different Sentiments.

1. The Interested Reader, in things related here, will judge of and relish what he reads as he finds himself concerned therein : He may possibly look upon himself as either commended or exposed, blamed or justified ; whether justly or unjustly he may best know. But I would hope that his Concernedness for the Interest of Equity and Truth, and for the Publick Good, will rather make him candid than severe.

2. The Impartial Reader is for knowing Truth in its due and useful Evidence, and for considering himself as liable to Imperfections if engaged in such work as this : and thus he will allow for others Weaknesses, as he would have his own allowed for.

3. Should any Reader be censorious, and stretch Expressions and Reports beyond their determin'd Line and Reach, sober and clear Conviction in this Case may be their Cure.

4. As to the Judicious Reader, he loves, I know, to see things in their Nature, Order, Evidence and Usefulness: and if he find Materials, he can dispose them easily, and phrase them to his own Satisfaction, and at the same time pity the injudiciousness of a Publisher, and the imperfections of the Author.

5. As to the weak Reader (for judiciousness is not every sober Person's Lot) it will be harder to convince him beyond his ability of discerning things in their distinctness, truth and strength.

6. As to the byassed Reader, it is hoped that his second serious Thoughts may cure him of his Partiality.

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7. As to the selfish Reader, it is bold for any Man to think himself Superiour to the rest of Men, and that all must be a Sacrifice to his own Concerns and Humour: A narrow Soul is a great Infelicity, both to its self, to others, and the Publick Interest.

8. The Publick Spirited Reader is more concern'd for Truth than for any Thing that Rivals it: his Thoughts and Motto is *Magna est veritas & praevalabit*; and he will think himself most gratified when Publick Expectations and Concerns are answered and secured best.

9. Those that are perfectly ignorant of what the History is most concerned in will be glad of better Informations; and the Things recorded will be (as being Novel) most grateful to him.

10. As to those that were acquainted mostly with the Things here mentioned, they will have their Memories refreshed, and meet with some Additions to their useful Knowledge.

11. And as to my self, if there be any thing untrue, injurious, or unfit, as to either Publick or Personal Concerns, the Publisher hopes that the Reader will not look upon him as obliged to justify or espouse whatever the Author may have misrepresented, through his own Personal Infirmities or Mistakes; for all Men are imperfect, and my Work was to publish the Author's Sentiments and Reports, rather than my own: Nor will I vouch for every Thing in this History, nor in any meer Humane Treatise, beyond its Evidence or Credibility. But let the Reader assure himself that I am his, in the best of Bonds and Services, whilst

London, May 13.

1696.

I am

M. S.

A

A
B R E V I A T E
O F T H E
C O N T E N T S
O F T H E
E n s u i n g N a r r a t i v e :

Which was written by Parts, at different Times.

P A R T I.

Written for the most part in 1664.

After a brief Narrative of his Birth and Parentage, and large one of his School-masters, Mr. Baxter proceeds to an Account of the means of his coming to a serious sense of Religion, and of his perplexing Doubts and their Solution; to page 9. of his bodily weakness and indispositions, to p. 11. of several remarkable Deliverances he met with: viz. from the Temptations of a Court Life; from being run over by a Waggon; in a fall from a Horse; and from Gaming, p. 11, 12. His applying himself to the Ministry, Ordination by the Bishop of Worcester, and Settlement in Dudley School as Master, p. 12, 13. His studying the Matter of Conformity, and Judgment about it at that time, p. 13, 14. His removal from Dudley to Bridgnorth, and success there, p. 14, 15. of the coming out of the Etcætera Oath, and his further studying the point of Episcopacy upon that occasion, p. 15, 16. Upon occasion of this Etcætera Oath, he passes to the Dissatisfactions in Scotland on the account of the imposition of the English Ceremonies, thence to Ship-money in England, thence to the Scots first coming hither, and so to the opening of the Long Parliament, p. 16, 17. After an Account of their Proceedings till such time as a Committee was chosen to hear Petitions against Scandalous Ministers, he shews how by that means he came to be settled in the Town of Kidderminster as Lecturer to a scandalous Incumbent, against whom a Petition had been presented to that Committee, had he not consented to his Settlement under him, p. 18, &c. a sort of a Prediction of his in a Funeral Sermon preached afterwards at Bridgnorth, p. 20. His Temptations to Infidelity, and to question the Truth of the Scriptures, &c. with the means of his being extricated out of them, p. 21, &c. a remarkable story of a false Accusation of one Mr. Cross a pious Minister in the Neighbourhood of Kidderminster, as if he attempted to ravish a Woman, with its detection, p. 24. A return to the Proceedings of the Parliament; and Account of the springs and rise of the Civil War, to p. 29. The Case of the Country stated about the Civil Differences between King and Parliament, and the Ecclesiastical Differences between the Prelatical, and the Antiprelatical Party, from p. 30. to p. 38. His own sense of, and judgment about this matter, p. 39. Here he returns to the series of his own Life, and relates a remarkable story of his preservation from the fury of the rabble at Kidderminster, who were enrag'd upon the Churchwardens going to remove a Crucifix according to order of Parliament, p. 40. upon the Peoples tumultuousness he retired to Gloucester,

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chester, where he first met with some of the Anabaptists, p.40,41. then he returns to Kidderminster, where a little after, some of Essexes Army quarter'd: but they retiring before a part of the Kings Army, and he finding the Rabble furious thought not his stay safe, and so went with the Essexians to Worcester, p. 42. October the 23d, 1640. the day of Edge-hill Fight he preach'd at Alcester; and the next day went to see the place of Battel, p.43. after this he went to Coventry; where he continued a year, preaching to the Town and Garrison, p.44. he went with some Country Gentlemen to Wem and other places, designing to leave Coventry; but soon return'd thither again; and stay'd there another year, having much trouble from Separatists, Anabaptists, and Antinomians, p.45. Of the laying the Earl of Essex aside, and the new modelling the Army, p. 47. Of the Scotch Covenant. How far Prelacy was abjur'd in it as it was explain'd by the Assembly of Divines, p.48. of Cromwell's Interest, in the new modell'd Army, and the change of the old Cause, p.49. the Fight at Naleby and its Consequences, p.50. an Account of his first coming into the Army presently after that Fight; the Principles and Temper he then found prevail amongst them, p. 50, 51. How he became a Chaplain to Col. Whalley's Regiment, and upon what grounds and considerations, p.52. how strenuously he set himself to oppose the Sectaries in the Army, p. 53. An Account of the several Marches and most remarkable Actions of the Army, while he continued in it, from p.54. to p. 58. [An Account of a Dispute he maintain'd for an whole day together with some of the Sectaries of the Army, in the Church at Agmondesham in Buckinghamshire, p. 56.] His sickness forc'd him to withdraw from the Army; retiring from which, he after several removes, returns to Kidderminster, p. 58. A further Account of the Proceedings of the Sectaries after he left the Army, and of Oliver's intreaques, p.59. An Account of the King's treatment after his delivering himself to the Scots, till he was forc'd to fly to the Isle of Wight, p. 60, 61. of the Treaty that was on foot with the King while he was confin'd there; and the Dispute between the Kings and Parliaments Divines concerning the Point of Episcopacy, and his Judgment about it, p.62. What follow'd afterwards till the King's Tryal and Execution, p. 63. Of the Engagement; his Judgment of it and Preaching against it, p.64. What hindred Cromwell's advancement after the taking off the King, p. 65. of King Charles the Second his being forc'd by the Scots to take the Covenant, before they would admit him to the Succession; and his Judgment thereupon, p. 66. Of the Order of the Rump for all Ministers upon pain of Sequestration to pray to God for success for the Army advancing against the Scots, and to return Thanks for their Victories; and his Practice about it, p.66. Of the trouble of the Presbyterian Ministers in London on account of their adherence to the King; and Mr. Love's Tryal, p. 67. of Cromwell's march into Scotland, and his Victory there; the King's march into England, and the Fight at Worcester, p. 68, 69. of what follow'd after, till Cromwell became Protectour: and the Judgment of the generality of the Ministers as to the point of Submission to him, p. 70, 71. of the Triers of Ministers chosen by Cromwell, p. 72. of the Assembly at Westminster, p. 73. Of the several Sects which sprang up in these times. Of the Vanists. Sir Henry Vane's Character, p.74,75. Of the Seekers and Ranters, p. 76. of the Quakers and Behmenists, p. 77. of other Sect-Masters, as Dr. Gell, Mr. Parker, Dr. Gibbon, &c. p. 78.

From publick he then passes to his own personal Affairs. And gives a full Account of the Sequestration of the Living of Kidderminster, p. 79. An Account of his illness after his return thither, and of several Answers of Prayer with reference thereto; as also with reference to others, p.80,81,82. A particular account of his laborious work and diligent improvement of his time to the best advantage in his Masters service while at Kidderminster, p.83. the great success of his Ministerial Labours amongst that People, p.84,85. His great advantages in order to, and in all this service, p.86,87,88,89,90. The Church Discipline kept up there, p.91, &c. the difference that arose between him and Mr. Tombs, and their publick Dispute at Bewdley, p. 96.

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PART II.

Written in 1665.

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Be pleas'd (Candid Reader) to correct these Errours in the beginning thus:

PAge 1. line 23. for and read one; and after rest r. and. p. 2. l. 10. after clock r. in the. and 1.27. dele and. p. 3. l. 5. for being r. bringing me. p. 4. l. 28. dele of. and 1.40. aiter knowledge r. was. 1.42. for wonder r. wonared. p. 117. r. that part of Physick. p. 8. l. 29. usually. p. 159. l. 14. for he r. it. 1.46. for rejections r. objections. The
as they occur inter legendum: for I could not attend the Press and prevent the Errata.

THE

T H E
L I F E
O F T H E
R E V E R E N D
Mr. Richard Baxter.

L I B. I. P A R T I.

§ 1.



Y Father's Name was *Richard* (the Son of *Richard*) *Baxter* : His Habitation and Estate at a Village called *Eaton-Constantine*, a mile from the *Wrekin-Hill*, and above half a mile from *Severn River*, and five miles from *Shrewsbury* in *Shropshire* : A Village most pleasantly and healthfully situate. My Mother's Name was *Beatrice* the Daughter of *Richard Adeney* of *Rowton*, a Village near *High-Ercall*, the Lord *Newport's* Seat, in the same County : There I was born *A. D.*

1615. on the 12th of *November*, being the Lord's Day, in the Morning at the time of Divine Worship ; and Baptized at *High-Ercall* the 19th day following : And there I lived from my Parents with my Grandfather till I was near Ten years of Age, and then was taken home.

My Father had only the Competent Estate of a Freeholder, free from the Temptations of Poverty and Riches : But having been addicted to Gaming in his Youth, and his Father before him, it was so entangled by Debts, that it occasioned some excess of worldly Cares before it was freed.

We lived in a Country that had but little Preaching at all : In the Village where I was born there was four Readers successively in Six years time, ignorant Men, and two of them immoral in their lives ; who were all my School-masters. In the Village where my Father lived, there was a Reader of about Eighty years of Age that never preached, and had two Churches about Twenty miles distant : His Eyesight failing him, he said Common-Prayer without Book ; but for the Reading of the Psalms and Chapters, he got a Common Thresher and Day-Labourer one year, and a Taylor another year : (for the Clerk could not read well) : And at last he had a Kinsman of his own, (the excellentest Stage-player in all the Country, and a good Gamester and good Fellow) that got Orders and supplied one of his Places ! After him another younger Kinsman, that could write and read, got Orders : And at the same time another Neighbour's Son that had been a while at School turn'd Minister, and who would needs go further than the rest, ventur'd to preach (and after got a Living in *Staffordshire*,) and when he had been a Preacher about Twelve or Sixteen years, he was fain to give over, it being discovered that his Orders were forged by the first ingenious Stage-Player. After him another Neighbour's Son took Orders, when he had been a while an Attorney's Clerk, and a common Drunkard, and tumbled himself into so great Poverty that he had no other way to live : It

was feared that he and more of them came by their Orders the same way with the forementioned Person: These were the School-masters of my Youth (except two of them:) who read Common Prayer on Sundays and Holy-days, and taught School and tipled on the Week-days, and whipt the Boys when they were drunk, so that we changed them very oft. Within a few miles about us, were near a dozen more Ministers that were near Eighty years old apiece, and never preached; poor ignorant Readers, and most of them of Scandalous Lives: only three or four constant competent Preachers lived near us, and those (though Conformable all save one) were the common Marks of the People's Obloquy and Reproach, and any that had but gone to hear them, when he had no Preaching at home, was made the Derision of the Vulgar Rabble, under the odious Name of a *Puritan*.

But though we had no better Teachers, it pleased God to instruct and change my Father, by the bare reading of the Scriptures in private, without either Preaching, or Godly Company, or any other Books but the Bible: And God made him the Instrument of my first Convictions, and Approbation of a Holy Life, as well as of my Restraint from the grosser sort of Lives. When I was very young, his serious Speeches of God and the Life to come, possessed me with a fear of sinning! When I was but near Ten years of Age, being at School at *High-Ercall*, we had leave to play on the Day of the King's Coronation; and at Two of the Clock afternoon on that Day there happened an Earthquake, which put all the People into a fear, and somewhat possessed them with awful thoughts of the Dreadful God. (I make no Commentary on the Time; nor do I know certainly whether it were in other Countreys.)

At first my Father set me to read the Historical part of the Scripture, which suiting with my Nature greatly delighted me; and though all that time I neither understood nor relished much the Doctrinal Part, and Mystery of Redemption, yet it did me good by acquainting me with the Matters of Fact, and drawing me on to love the Bible, and to search by degrees into the rest.

But though my Conscience would trouble me when I sinned, yet divers sins I was addicted to, and oft committed against my Conscience; which for the warning of others I will confess here to my shame.

1. I was much addicted when, I feared Correction to lie, that I might scape.
2. I was much addicted to the excessive gluttonous eating of Apples and Pears: which I think laid the foundation of that *Imbecillity* and Flatulency of my Stomach, which caused the Bodily Calamities of my Life.
3. To this end, and to concur with naughty Boys that gloried in evil, I have oft gone into other men's Orchards, and stoln their Fruit, when I had enough at home.
4. I was somewhat excessively addicted to play, and that with covetousness, for Money.
5. I was extremely bewitched with a Love of Romances, Fables and old Tales, which corrupted my Affections and lost my Time.
6. I was guilty of much idle foolish Chat, and imitation of Boys in scurrilous foolish Words and Actions (though I durst not swear).
7. I was too proud of my Masters Commendations for Learning, who all of them fed my pride, making me Seven or Eight years the highest in the School, and boasting of me to others, which though it furthered my Learning, yet helped not my Humility.
8. I was too bold and unreverent towards my Parents.

These were my Sins which in my Childhood Conscience troubled me for a great while before they were overcome.

In the Village where I lived the Reader read the Common-Prayer briefly, and the rest of the Day even till dark Night almost, except Eating time, was spent in Dancing under a May-Pole and a great Tree, not far from my Father's Door; where all the Town did meet together: And though one of my Father's own Tenants was the Piper, he could not restrain him, nor break the Sport: So that we could not read the Scripture in our Family without the great disturbance of the Taber and Pipe and Noise in the Street! Many times my Mind was inclined to be among them, and sometimes I broke loose from Conscience, and joyned with them; and the more I did it the more I was enclined to it. But when I heard them call my Father *Puritan*, it did much to cure me and alienate me from them: for I consider'd that my Father's Exercise of Reading the Scripture, was better than theirs, and would surely be better thought on by all men at the last; and I considered what it was for that he and others were thus derided. When I heard them speak

scornfully

scornfully of *others* as Puritans whom I never knew, I was at first apt to believe all the Lies and Slanders wherewith they loaded them: But when I heard my own Father so reproached, and perceived the Drunkards were the forwardest in the reproach, I perceived that it was mere Malice: For my Father never scrupled Common-Prayer or Ceremonies, nor spake against Bishops, nor ever so much as prayed but by a Book or Form, being not ever acquainted then with any that did otherwise: But only for reading Scripture when the rest were Dancing on the Lord's Day, and for praying (by a Form out of the end of the Common-Prayer Book) in his House, and for reproving Drunkards and Swearers, and for talking sometimes a few words of Scripture and the Life to come, he was reviled commonly by the Name of *Puritan*, *Precisian* and *Hypocrite*: and so were the Godly Conformable Ministers that lived any where in the Country near us, not only by our Neighbours, but by the common talk of the Vulgar Rabble of all about us. By this Experience I was fully convinc'd that Godly People were the best, and those that despised them and lived in Sin and Pleasure, were a malignant unhappy sort of People: and this kept me out of their Company, except now and then when the Love of Sports and Play enticed me.

§ 2. The chiefest help that I had for all my Learning in the Country Schools, was with Mr. *John Owen* School-master at the Free-School at *Wroxeter*, to whom I went next, who lived in Sir *Richard Newport's* House (afterward Lord *Newport*) at *Eyton*, and taught School at that ancient *Uriconium*, (where the Ruins and old Coin confirm those Histories, which make it an ancient City in the Romans Times).

The present Lord *Newport* and his Brother were then my School-fellows, in a lower Form, and Dr. *Richard Allestree* now Dr. of the Chair in *Oxford*, Canon of *Christ's-Church*, and Provost of *Eaton-Colledge*: of whom I remember that when my Master set him up into the lower end of the highest Form, where I had long been Chief, I took it so ill, that I talkt of leaving the School: whereupon my Master gravely, but very tenderly, rebuked my pride, and gave me for my Theme, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*.

§ 3. About that time it pleased God of his wonderful Mercy to open my Eyes with a clearer insight into the Concerns and Case of my own Soul, and to touch my heart with a livelier feeling of things Spiritual than ever I had found before: And it was by the means and in the order following; stirring up my Conscience more against me, by robbing an Orchard or two with rude Boys, than it was before: And being under some more Conviction for my Sin, a poor Day-Labourer in the Town (he that I before-mentioned that was wont to read in the Church for the old Parson) had an old torn Book which he lent my Father, which was called *Bunny's Resolution*, (being written by *Parson's* the Jesuit, and corrected by *Edm. Bunny*). I had before heard some Sermons, and read a good Book or two, which made me more love and honour Godliness in the General; but I had never felt any other change by them on my heart. Whether it were that till now I came not to that maturity of Nature, which made me capable of discerning; or whether it were that this was God's appointed time, or both together, I had no lively sight and sense of what I read till now. And in the reading of this Book (when I was about Fifteen years of Age) it pleased God to awaken my Soul, and shew me the folly of Sinning, and the misery of the Wicked, and the unexpressible weight of things Eternal, and the necessity of resolving on a Holy Life, more than I was ever acquainted with before. The same things which I knew before came now in another manner, with Light, and Sense and Seriousness to my Heart.

This cast me first into fears of my Condition; and those drove me to Sorrow and Confession and Prayer, and so to some resolution for another kind of Life: And many a-day I went with a throbbing Conscience, and saw that I had other Matters to mind, and another Work to do in the World, than ever I had minded well before.

Yet whether sincere Conversion began *now*, or *before*, or *after*, I was never able to this day to know: for I had before had some Love to the Things and People which were good, and a restraint from other Sins except those forementioned; and so much from those that I seldom committed most of them, and when I did, it was with great reluctancy. And both now and formerly I knew that Christ was the only Mediator by whom we must have Pardon, Justification, and Life: But even at *that time*, I had little lively sense of the Love of God in Christ to the World or me, nor of my special need of him! for *Parsons* and all Papists almost are too short upon this Subject.

And about that time it pleased God that a poor Pedlar came to the Door that

had Ballads and some good Books : And my Father bought of him Dr. *Sabb's bruised Reed*. This also I read, and found it suited to my state, and seasonably sent me ; which opened more the *Love of God* to me, and gave me a livelier apprehension of the Mystery of Redemption , and how much I was beholden to Jesus Christ.

All this while neither my Father nor I had any Acquaintance or Familiarity with any that had any Understanding in Matters of Religion , nor ever heard any pray *ex tempore* : But my Prayers were the Confession in the *Common-Prayer Book*, and sometime one of Mr. *Bradford's Prayers*, (in a Book called his *Prayers and Meditations*) and sometime a Prayer out of another Prayer-Book which we had.

After this we had a Servant that had a little Piece of Mr. *Perkins's Works* (of *Repentance*, and the right *Art of Living and Dying well*, and the *Government of the Tongue*) : And the reading of that did further inform me, and confirm me. And thus (without any means but Books) was God pleased to resolve me for himself.

§ 4. When I was ready for the University, my Master drew me into another way which kept me thence, where were my vehement desires. He had a Friend at *Ludlow*, Chaplain to the Council there, called Mr. *Richard Wicksteed* ; whose Place having allowance from the King (who maintaineth the House) for one to attend him, he told my Master that he was purposed to have a Scholar fit for the University ; and having but one, would be better to him than any Tutor in the University could be : whereupon my Master perswaded me to accept the offer, and told me it would be better than the University to me : I believed him as knowing no better my self ; and it suited well with my Parents minds, who were willing to have me as near to them as possible (having no Children but my self) : And so I left my Schoolmaster for a supposed Tutor : But when I had tried him I found my self deceived ; his business was to please the Great Ones, and seek Preferment in the World ; and to that end found it necessary sometimes to give the Puritans a flint , and call them unlearned, and speak much for Learning, being but a Superficial Scholar of himself : He never read to me, nor used any savoury Discourse of Godliness ; only he loved me, and allowed me *Books and Time* enough : So that as I had no considerable helps from him in my Studies, so had I no considerable hinderance.

And though the House was great (there being four Judges, the King's Attorney, the Secretary, the Clerk of the Fines, with all their Servants, and all the Lord President's Servants, and many more) and though the Town was full of Temptations, through the multitude of Persons, (Counsellors, Attorneys, Officers, and Clerks) and much given to tippling and excess, it pleased God not only to keep me from them, but also to give me one intimate Companion, who was the greatest help to my Seriousness in Religion, that ever I had before, and was a daily Watchman over my Soul ! We walk'd together, we read together, we prayed together, and when we could we lay together : And having been brought out of great Distress to Prosperity, and his Affections being fervent, though his Knowledge not great, he would be always stirring me up to Zeal and Diligence, and even in the Night would rise up to Prayer and Thanksgiving to God, and wonder that I could sleep so, that the thoughts of God's Mercy did not make me also to do as he did ! He was unwearied in reading all serious Practical Books of Divinity ; especially *Perkins, Bolton, Dr. Preston, Elton, Dr. Taylor, Whately, Harris, &c.* He was the first that ever I heard pray *Ex tempore* (out of the Pulpit) and that taught me so to pray : And his Charity and Liberality was equal to his Zeal ; so that God made him a great means of my good, who had more knowledge than he, but a colder heart.

Yet before we had been Two years acquainted, he fell once and a second time by the power of Temptation into a degree of Drunkenness, which so terrified him upon the review (especially after the second time) that he was near to Despair ; and went to good Ministers with sad Confessions : And when I had left the House and his Company, he fell into it again and again so oft, that at last his Conscience could have no Relief or Ease but in changing his Judgment, and disowning the Teachers and Doctrines which had restrained him. And he did it on this manner : One of his Superiours, on whom he had dependance, was a man of great Sobriety and Temperance, and of much Devotion in his way ; but very zealous against the Nonconformists, ordinarily talking most bitterly against them, and reading almost only such Books as encouraged him in this way : By converse with this Man, my Friend was first drawn to abate his Charity to Nonconformists ; and then to think and speak reproachfully of them ; and next that to dislike all those that came near them, and to say that such as *Bolton* were too severe, and enough to make men mad : And the last I heard of him was, that he was grown a Fudler, and Railer at strict men. But whether God recovered him, or what became of him I cannot tell.

§ 5. From

§ 5. From *Ludlow* Castle, after a year and half, I returned to my Father's House, and by that time my old School-master, Mr. *John Owen*, was sick of a Consumption (which was his Death :) and the Lord *Newport* desired me to teach that School till he either recovered or died, (resolving to take his Brother after him if he died): which I did about a quarter of a year, or more.

After that old Mr. *Francis Garbett* (the faithful, learned Minister at *Wroxeter*) for about a Month read *Logick* to me, and provoked me to a closer Course of Study; which yet was greatly interrupted by my bodily weakness, and the troubled Condition of my Soul. For being in expectation of Death, by a violent Cough, with Spitting of Blood, &c. of two years continuance, supposed to be a deep degree of a Consumption, I was yet more awakened to be serious, and solicitous about my Soul's everlasting State: And I came so short of that sense and seriousness, which a Matter of such infinite weight required, that I was in many years doubt of my Sincerity, and thought I had no Spiritual Life at all. I wondered at the senseless hardness of my heart, that could think and talk of Sin and Hell, and Christ and Grace, of God and Heaven, with no more feeling: I cried out from day to day to God for Grace against this senseless Deadness: I called my self the *most hard hearted Sinner*, that could feel nothing of all that I knew and talk of: I was not then sensible of the incomparable Excellency of *Holy Love*, and Delight in God, nor much employed in Thanksgiving and Praise: But all my Groans were for more Contrition, and a broken Heart, and I prayed most for *Tears and Tenderneß*.

And thus I complained for many Years to God and Man, and between the Expectations of Death, and the Doubts of my own Sincerity in Grace, I was kept in some more care of my Salvation, than my Nature (too stupid and too far from Melancholy) was easily brought to.

At this time I remember, the reading of Mr. *Ezek. Culverwell's* Treatise of Faith did me much good, and many other excellent Books, were made my Teachers and Comforters: And the use that God made of Books, above Ministers, to the benefit of my Soul, made me somewhat excessively in love with good Books; so that I thought I had never enow, but scrap'd up as great a Treasure of them as I could.

Thus was I long kept with the Calls of approaching Death at one Ear, and the Questionings of a doubtful Conscience at the other! and since then I have found that this method of God's was very wise, and no other was so like to have tended to my good. These Benefits of it I sensibly perceived.

1. It made me vile and loathsome to my self, and made Pride one of the hatefullest Sins in the World to me! I thought of my self as I now think of a detestable Sinner, and my Enemy, that is, with a *Love of Benevolence*, wishing them well, but with little Love of Complacency at all: And the long continuance of it, tended the more effectually to a habit.

2. It much restrained me from that sportful Levity and Vanity which my Nature and Youthfulness did much incline me to, and caused me to meet Temptations to Sensuality with the greatest fear, and made them less effectual against me.

3. It made the Doctrine of Redemption the more savoury to me, and my thoughts of Christ to be more serious and regardful, than before they were. I remember in the beginning how savoury to my reading was Mr. *Perkins's* short Treatise of the *Right Knowledge of Christ crucified*, and his *Exposition of the Creed*; because they taught me how to live by Faith on Christ.

4. It made the World seem to me as a Carkass that had neither Life nor Loveliness: And it destroyed those Ambitious desires after *Literate Fame*, which was the Sin of my Childhood! I had a desire before to have attained the highest Academical Degrees and Reputation of Learning, and to have chosen out my Studies accordingly; but *Sickness* and *Solicitousneß* for my doubting Soul did shame away all these Thoughts as Fooleries and Childrens Plays.

5. It set me upon that Method of my Studies, which since then I have found the benefit of, though at the time I was not satisfied with my self. It caused me first to seek God's Kingdom and his Righteousness, and most to mind the One thing needful; and to determine first of my Ultimate End; by which I was engaged to choose out and prosecute all other Studies, but as meant to that end: Therefore *Divinity* was not only carried on with the rest of my Studies with an equal hand, but always had the first and chiefest place! And it caused me to study *Practical Divinity* first, in the most *Practical Books*, in a *Practical Order*; doing all purposely for the informing and reforming of my own Soul. So that I had read a multitude of our English *Practical Treatises*, before I had ever read any other Bodies of Divinity, than *Ursine* and *Amesius*, or two or three more.

By

By which means my *Affection* was carried on with my Judgment: And by that means I prosecuted all my Studies with unweariedness and delight: And by that means all that I read did stick the better in my memory: and also less of my *time* was lost by lazy intermissions: (but my bodily Infirmities always caused me to lose (or spend) much of it in Motion and Corporal Exercises; which was sometimes by Walking, and sometimes at the Plow, and such Country Labours).

But one loss I had by this Method, which hath proved irreparable; That I mist that part of Learning which stood at the greatest distance (in my thoughts) from my Ultimate End, (though no doubt but remotely it may be a valuable means), and I could never since find time to get it. Besides the Latin Tongue, and but a mediocrity in Greek (with an inconsiderable trial at the Hebrew long after) I had no great skill in Languages: Though I saw that an accurateness and thorow insight in the Greek and Hebrew were very desirable; but I was so eagerly carried after the Knowledge of Things, that I too much neglected the study of Words. And for the *Mathematicks*, I was an utter stranger to them, and never could find in my heart to divert any Studies that way. But in order to the Knowledge of Divinity my inclination was most to *Logick* and *Metaphysics*, with that part *Physicks* which treateth of the Soul, contenting my self at first with a slighter study of the rest: And these had my *Labour* and *Delight*. Which occasioned me (perhaps too soon) to plunge my self very early into the study of *Controversies*; and to read all the School-men I could get; (for next *Practical Divinity*, no Books so suited with my Disposition as *Aquinas*, *Scotus*, *Durandus*, *Ockam*, and their Disciples; because I thought they narrowly searched after Truth, and brought Things out of the darkness of Confusion: For I could never from my first Studies endure *Confusion*! Till *Equivocals* were explained, and *Definition* and *Distinction* led the way, I had rather hold my Tongue than speak! and was never more weary of Learned Mens Discourses, than when I heard them long wrangling about unexpounded Words or Things, and eagerly Disputing before they understood each others Minds; and vehemently asserting *Modes* and *Consequences* and *Adjuncts*, before they considered of the *Quod sit*, the *Quid sit*, or the *Quotuplex*. I never thought I understood any thing till I could *anatomize* it, and see the *parts distinctly*, and the *Conjunction* of the parts as they make up the whole. *Distinction* and *Method* seemed to me of that necessity, that without them I could not be said to know; and the Disputes which *forsook* them, or *abused* them, seem but as incoherent Dreams.

§ 6. And as for those Doubts of my own Salvation, which exercised me many years, the chiefest Causes of them were these:

1. Because I could not distinctly trace the Workings of the Spirit upon my heart in that method which Mr. Bolton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Rogers, and other Divines describe! nor knew the Time of my Conversion, being wrought on by the fore-mentioned Degrees. But since then I understood that the Soul is in too dark and passionate a plight at first, to be able to keep an exact account of the order of its own Operations; and that *preparatory Grace* being sometimes longer and sometimes shorter, and the first degree of Special Grace being usually very small, it is not possible that one of very many should be able to give any true account of the *just Time* when Special Grace began, and advanced him above the state of Preparation.

2. My second Doubt was as aforesaid, because of the *hardness of my heart*, or want of such *lively Apprehensions* of Things Spiritual, which I had about Things Corporal. And though I still groan under this as my sin and want, yet I now perceive that a Soul in Flesh doth work so much after the manner of the Flesh, that it much desireth sensible Apprehensions; but Things *Spiritual* and *Distant* are not so apt to work upon them, and to stir the Passions, as Things present and sensible are; especially being known so darkly as the state and operations of separated Souls, are known to us who are in the Body: And that the Rational Operations of the higher Faculties (the Intellect and Will) may without so much passion, set God and Things Spiritual highest within us, and give them the preheminance, and subject all Carnal Interest to them, and give them the Government of the Heart and Life: and that this is the ordinary state of a Believer.

3. My next Doubt was, lest *Education* and *Fear* had done all that ever was done upon my Soul, and *Regeneration* and *Love* were yet to seek; because I had found Convictions from my Childhood, and found more *Fear* than *Love* in all my Duties and *Restraints*.

But I afterward perceived that *Education* is God's ordinary way for the Conveyance of his Grace, and ought no more to be set in opposition to the Spirit, than the preaching of the Word; and that it was the great Mercy of God to begin with me so soon, and to prevent such sins as else might have been my shame and sorrow while I lived; and that Repentance is good, but Prevention and Innocence is better; which though we cannot attain in perfection, yet the more the better. And I understood, that though *Fear* without *Love* be not a state of Saving Grace, and greater *Love* to the *World* than to *God* be not consistent with Sincerity; yet a little predominant *Love* (prevailing against worldly *Love*) conjunct with a far greater measure of *Fear*, may be a state of Special Grace! And that *Fear* being an easier and irresistible Passion, doth oft obscure that measure of *Love* which is indeed within us! And that the Soul of a Believer groweth up by degrees, from the more troublesome (but safe) Operations of *Fear*, to the more high and excellent Operations of Complacential *Love*; even as it hath more of the sense of the *Love* of God in Christ, and belief of the Heavenly Life which it approacheth: And that it is long before *Love* be sensibly predominant in respect of *Fear* (that is, of *Self-love* and *Self-preservation*), though at the first it is predominant against *Worldly Love*. And I found that my hearty *Love* of the *Word* of God, and of the Servants of God, and my desires to be more holy, and especially the hatred of my Heart for loving God no more, and my *Love* to love him, and be pleasing to him, was not without some *Love* to himself, though it workt more sensibly on his nearer Image.

4. Another of my Doubts was because my Grief and Humiliation was no greater, and because I could weep no more for this.

But I understood at last that God breaketh not all Mens hearts alike, and that the gradual proceedings of his Grace might be one cause, and my Nature not apt to weep for other Things another: And that the Change of our Heart from Sin to God, is true Repentance; and a loathing of our selves is true Humiliation! and that he that had rather leave his Sin, than have leave to keep it, and had rather be the most holy, than have leave to be unholy or less holy, is neither without true Repentance, nor the *Love* of God.

5. Another of my Doubts was, because I had after my Change committed some Sins deliberately and knowingly: And be they never so small, I thought he that could sin upon knowledge and deliberation had no true Grace, and that if I had but had as strong Temptations to Fornication, Drunkenness, Fraud, or other more heinous Sins, I might also have committed them! And if these proved that I had then no Saving Grace, after all that I had felt, I thought it unlikely that ever I should have any.

This stuck with me longer than any of the rest; and the more, because that every Sin which I knowingly committed did renew it: And the terms on which I receive Consolation against it are these: (Not as those that think every Sin against Knowledge doth nullifie all our former Grace and Unregenerate us; and that every time we Repent of such, we have a new Regeneration: but)

1. All Saving Grace doth indeed put the Soul into a state of Enmity to Sin as Sin, and consequently to every known Sin.

2. This Enmity must shew it self in Victory; for bare striving, when we are overcome, and yielding to sin when we have a while striven against it, proveth not the Soul to be sincere.

3. Yet do not God's Children always overcome; for then they should not sin at all! But he that saith he hath no sin deceiveth himself.

4. God's Children always overcome those Temptations which would draw them to a wicked unholy state of Life, and would unregenerate them and change their state, and turn them back from God to a fleshly worldly Life; and also to any particular Sin which proveth such a state, and signifieth a Heart which hath more habitual Love to the World than unto God (which may well be called a *Mortal Sin*, as proving the Sinner in a state of Death; as others may be called *Venial Sins*, which are consistent with Spiritual Life and a Justified State).

5. Therefore whenever a justified Person sinneth, the Temptation at that time prevaileth against the Spirit, and the Love of God! not to the Extinction of the Love of God, nor to the Destruction of the *Habit*, nor the setting up of the contrary *Habit* in predominancy; as setting up the habitual Love of any Sin above the habitual Love of God! The inclination of the Soul is still most to God: And he esteemeth him most, and preferreth him in the adherence of his Will. in the main bent and course of Heart and Life; only he is overcome, and so far abateth the actual

actual Love and Obedience to God, as to commit this particular Act of Sin, and remit or omit that Act of Love.

6. And this it is possible for a Justified Person to do upon some deliberation : For as Grace may strive one instant only in one Act, and then be suddenly overcome ; so it may strive longer, and keep the Mind on Considerations of restraining Motives, and yet be overcome.

7. For it is not the meer *Length* of Consideration which is enough to excite the Heart against Sin, but there must be *clearness of Light*, and *liveliness* in those Considerations : And sometimes a sudden Conviction is so clear, and great, and sensible, that in an instant it stirreth up the Soul to an utter abhorrence of the Temptation, when the same Man at another time may have all the same thoughts, in so sleepy a degree as shall not prevail. And sometimes the weakness of Grace as much appeareth by making no resistance at all, by causing deliberation (even in Sins of Passion and Surprize) as at other times it doth, by yielding after dull deliberations.

8. And though a *little Sin* must be *hated*, and *universal Obedience* must prove our Sincerity, and no one Sin must be wilfully continued in ; yet it is certain that God's Servants do not oft commit Sins *materially* great and heinous (as Fornication, Drunkenness, Perjury, Oppression, Deceit, &c.) and yet that they *often* commit some *lesser Sins*, (as idle thoughts, and idle words, and dulness in holy Duties, defectiveness in the Love of God, and omission of holy Thoughts and Words, &c.) And that the Tempter oft getteth advantage even with them, by telling them that the *Sin is small*, and such as God's Servants ordinarily commit ; and that naturally we fly with greater fear from a *great danger* than from a less ; from a wound at the heart than a cut finger ! And therefore one reason why *idle words* and *sinful thoughts* are even *deliberately* oftner committed than most heinous Sins, is because the Soul is not *awaked* so much by *fear* and *care* to make resistance : And Love needeth the help of *fear* in this our weak condition.

9. And it is certain that usually the Servants of God, being men of *most knowledge*, do therefore *sin against more knowledge* than others do ; for there are but few Sins, which they know not to be Sins : They know that idle Thoughts and Words, and the omissions of the contrary, are their sins.

10. There are some Sins of such difficulty to avoid, (as the disorder or omission of holy Thoughts, and the defects of Love to God, &c.) and some Temptations so strong, and the Soul in so sluggish a case to resist, that good Thoughts which are in deliberation used against them, are borne down at last, and are less effectual.

11. And our present stock of Habitual Grace is never sufficient of it self, without Co-operating Grace from Christ : And therefore, when we provoke him to withhold his help, no wonder if we shew our weakness, so far as to stumble in the way to Heaven, or to step out into some by-path, or break over the hedge, and sometimes to look back, and yet never to *turn back*, and go again from God to the World.

12. And because no fall of a Saint, which is *Vetial*, an *Infirmity*, consistent with Grace, doth either destroy the *habit* of Love and Grace, or set up a contrary habit above it, nor yet pervert the *scope and bent* of the Conversation, but only prevaieth to a particular Act, it therefore followeth, that the Soul riseth up from such a Sin by true Repentance, and that the new Nature or Habit of Love within us, will work out the Sin as soon as it hath advantage : As the Needle in the Compass will return to its proper Point, when the force that moved it doth cease ; and as a running Stream will turn clear again, when the force that muddied it is past. And this Repentance will do much to increase our hatred of the Sin, and fortifie us against the next Temptation : so that though there be some Sins, which through our great Infirmity we daily commit, as we daily repent of them (as disordered Thoughts, defects of Love, neglect of God, &c.) yet it will not be so with those Sins which a *willing, sincere, habituated Penitent* hath more in his power to cast out.

13. And yet when all is done, Sin will breed *fears*, (and the more, by how much the more *deliberate and wilful* it is :) And the best way to keep under Doubts and Terrours, and to keep up Comfort, is to keep up *Actual Obedience*, and quickly and penitently return when we have sinned.

This much I thought meet to say for the sake of others who may fall into the same Temptations and Perplexities.

§ 7. The Means by which God was pleased to give me some Peace and Comfort, were,

1. The Reading of many Consolatory Books.

2. The observation of other Mens Condition: When I heard many make the very same Complaints that I did, who were People of whom I had the best esteem, for the uprightness and holiness of their Lives, it much abated my fears and troubles. And in particular it much comforted me, to read him whom I loved as one of the holiest of all the Martyrs, Mr. *John Bradford*, subscribing himself so often, [*The hard-hearted sinner*; and *the miserable hard-hearted sinner*] even as I was used to do my self.

3. And it much increased my peace when God's Providence called me to the comforting of many others that had the same Complaints: While I answered their Doubts, I answered my own; and the Charity which I was constrained to exercise for them redounded to my self, and insensibly abated my Fears, and procured me an increase of quietness of Mind.

And yet after all, I was glad of *Probabilities* instead of full undoubted *Certainties*; and to this very day, though I have no such degree of Doubtfulness as is any great trouble to my Soul, or procureth any great disquieting Fears, yet cannot I say that I have such a certainty of my own sincerity in Grace, as excludeth all Doubts and Fears of the contrary. An. 1664

§ 8. At that time also God was pleased much to comfort and settle me by the acquaintance of some Reverend peaceable Divines; Mr. *Garbet* (aforesaid) and Mr. *George Baxter* of *Little Wenlock*, (very holy men and peaceable, who laboured faithfully with little success till they were above fourscore years of Age apiece;) especially old Mr. *Samuel Smith*, sometime of *Prattlewell* in *Essex*, but then of *Cresfage* in *Shropshire*, (who hath written on the 6th of *Hosea*, the first *Psalms*, the 23d *Psalms*, the 51st *Psalms*, the 90th *Psalms*, the *Eunuch's Conversion*, *Noah's Dove*, the *Great Affliction*, and other Books.) This good Man was one of my most familiar Friends, in whose Converse I took very much delight; who was buried but this Winter 1664. at his Native place at *Dudley* in *Worcestershire*.

§ 9. And because the Case of my Body had a great Operation upon my Soul, and the History of it is somewhat necessary to the right understanding of the rest, and yet it is not a Matter worthy to be oft mentioned, I shall here together give you a brief Account of the most of my Afflictions of that kind, reserving the mention of some particular Deliverances to the proper place.

I was naturally of a sound Constitution, but very thin and lean and weak, and especially of a great debility of the Nerves. At seven years old I had the Measles, and at fourteen the Small-pox: I too soon after them went into the cold, and after (in a Looiness) went into a River or Brook to wash me; and I eat raw Apples and Pears and Plumbs in great quantities for many years: All which together brought me into a violent Catarrh and Cough, which would not let me sleep quietly in the Night. When this had continued about two years, my Body being very thin, and Consumptions then common in the Country, I was much afraid of a Consumption: And first I did eat great store of raw Garlick, which took off some part of my Cough, but put an Acrimony into my Blood, which naturally was acrimonious.

After this the Spitting of Blood increased my fears: After that Sir *Henry Herbert* advised me to take the Flower of Brimstone, which I continued till I had taken seven Ounces; which took off most of the remainder of my Cough, but increased the Acrimony of my Blood.

Then an unskillful Physician perswaded me that I had a Hectick, and to cure that I took much Milk from the Cow, and other pituitous cooling things, and constantly anointed my Stomach and Reins with refrigerating Oils of Violets and Roses; and was utterly restrained from my usual Exercise! By this time I had an extream chilliness without, and yet a strange scurf on my Tongue, with a constant extream desire of stretching, that I thought I could almost have endured a Rack; and an incredible flatulency at the Stomach, and a bleeding at the Nose.

The next Physician (an Aged and Experienced Doctor) was confident the Scurvy was my chief Distemper, and thereupon prescribed me more Acrimonious Medicaments, Scurvy-grass, Horle-radish, Mustard, Wormwood, &c. which abundantly increased my bleeding at the Nose; insomuch as I bled many times half a Pint or a Pint a day, and it continuing long, I was much weakned: Yet under this fear of the Scurvy I continued two years taking excessive quantities of Acrimonious

monious Things; eating abundance of Mustard at every Meal, and drinking only Wormwood-beer, &c. and using some Exercise, as much as time would give me leave.

By this time divers eminent Physicians agreed that my Disease was the Hypochondriack Melancholy, and not the Scurvy.

To recite a Catalogue of my Symptoms and Pains, from Head to Feet, would be a tedious interruption to the Reader: I shall therefore only say this, that the Symptoms and Effects of my General Indisposition were very terrible; such as a flatulent Stomach, that turn'd all things into Wind; a Rheumatick head to a very great degree; and great sharpness in my Blood, which occasioned me no small trouble by the excoriation of my Fingers ends, which upon any heat I us'd, or Aromatick thing I took, would be raw and bloody: and every Spring and Fall, or by any kind of heating, my Nose still fell a bleeding, and that with such a great violence, and in such excessive quantities, as often threatned my Life: which I then ascribed to such Causes as I have since liv'd to see my self mistaken in; for I am now fully satisfied that all proceeded from Latent Stones in my Reins, occasioned by unsuitable Diet in my Youth.

And yet two wonderful Mercies I had from God:

1. That I was never overwhelm'd with real Melancholy. My Distemper never went so far as to possess me with any inordinate Fancies, or damp me with sinking Sadness, although the Physicians call'd it the *Hypocondriack Melancholy*. I had at several times the Advice of no less than Six and thirty Physicians, by whose order I us'd Druggs without number almost, which God thought not fit to make successful for a Cure: and indeed all Authors that I read, acquainted me that my Disease was incurable; whereupon I at last forsook the Doctors for the most part, except when the urgency of a Symptom, or Pain, constrained me to seek some present ease.

2. The second Mercy which I met with, was, that my Pains, though daily and almost continual, did not very much disable me from my Duty; but I could Study, and Preach, and Walk almost as well if I had been free: (of which more anon).

At last falling into a sudden and great decay and debility, I went to Sir *Theodore Mayerne*, who kept me in a long Course of Physick, which did me some good for the present; and after that, riding much in the Army did me more good than any thing: But having one Symptom on me (the constant excoriation of my three foremost Fingers ends on both Hands to the raw flesh) he sent me to *Tunbridge-Waters*, where I staid three Weeks; and after that my Desfluxions and Agitation of the Serous Matter, much encreased, (though the Excoriation ceased at that time) and hastned my greater ruine. Especially one Errour of his did me hurt: He vehemently perswaded me to the eating of Apples, which of all things in the World had ever been my most deadly Enemies; so that when it was too late, Dr. *Mayerne* perceived that though Acrimony disposed the matter, yet meer flatulency pumped up the Blood, and was the most immediate Cause of the *Hæmorrhagie*. Having taken cold with riding thin clothed in the Snow, and having but two days eaten Apples before Meat, as he perswaded me, I fell into such a bleeding as continued six days, with some fits of intermission; so that about a Gallon of Blood that we noted was lost, and what more I know not: Upon this both he and other Physicians gave me up as hopeless, through the weakness thereby occasioned, and concluding that all would end in a Dropsie, (for my Leggs began to swell): By a Friend's perswasion I wrote to Dr. *George Bates*, (Archiatre to King *Charles* the Second, as Sir *Theodore Mayerne* was to King *Charles* the First) who concurred so exactly in all points with Dr. *Mayerne*, as if they had consulted, (the Case and the Medicaments prescribed being unusual) that I marvelled at their Concord: and by both their Counsels (though neither of them had any considerable hope of my Life), I was necessitated, besides other Remedies, to be oft in purging, for all my weakness, to prevent a Dropsie. Within a quarter of a year I was able weakly to Preach again; but continued divers years in languishing Pains and Weaknesses, double or fourfold to what I had before: So that besides all my former Infirmities, ever after this Bleeding my chief Disease is a *Præmatura Senectus*, through the great Diminution of Nature's Stock: And just the same Symptoms as most men have about Four-score years of Age, are added to those which I had before.

In some seeming Necessities my latter Physicians, after all this, did four or five times take some Blood from me; and once a spoonful in about seven Ounces of Serum did coagulate; but at no other time would one jot of it ever coagulate or co-

here,

here, but was a meer putrilage *sine fibra*, like thin Ink or Saw-pit Water.

To keep this Blood in the relaxed Vessels was now all my Cares, which daily fled abroad upon my Eyes, and Teeth, and Jaws, and Joynts, so that I had scarce rest night or day: (of some of the Effects, and my Remedy which God blessed to my ease, I shall speak more afterward). With such Blood, in a kind of Atrophie, which hath caused a very troublesome Drowsiness to seize upon and follow me, I have lived now these many years, and wrote all the Books that ever I wrote, and done the greatest part of my Service: My chiefest Remedies are,

1. Temperance as to quantity and quality of Food: for every bit or Spoonful too much, and all that is not exceeding ease of digestion, and all that is flatulent, do turn all to Wind, and disorder my Head.

2. Exercise till I sweat: For if I walk not hard with almost all my strength, an hour before Dinner, and an hour before Supper, till I sweat well, I am not able to digest two Meals; and cannot expect to live when I am disabled for Exercise, being presently overwhelmed with chilliness, flatulency, and ferocity.

3. A constant Extrinsic Heat, by a great Fire, which may keep me still near to a Sweat, if not in it: (for I am seldom well at ease but in a Sweat).

4. Beer as hot as my Throat will endure, drunk all at once, to make me Sweat.

These are the Means which God hath used to draw out my days, and give me ease (with one Herb inwardly taken); which I write for the sake of any Students that may be near the same Distempers; but almost all Physick did me harm: And no Aromaticall Thing now can I taste, but it setteth my Nose a bleeding, though since I bled a Gallon I am not so prone to it as before.

I have cast in all this here together, that the Reader may better understand other things, and may not too oft be troubled with such Matters. But now at the Age of near Seventy years, what Changes and sad Days and Nights I undergo, I after tell.

§ 10. About the Eighteenth year of my Age Mr. *Wickstead*, with whom I had lived at *Ludlow*, had almost persuaded me to lay by all my Preparations for the Ministry, and to go to *London*, and get acquaintance at Court, and get some Office, as being the only rising way. I had no mind of his Counsel who had helped me no better before; yet because that they knew that he loved me, and they had no great inclination to my being a Minister, my Parents accepted of his Motion: He told them that if I would go up and live a while with Sir *Henry Herbert*, then Master of the Revels, he would quickly set me in a rising way.

I would not be disobedient, but went up, and stayed at *Whitehall* with Sir *H. H.* about a month: But I had quickly enough of the Court; when I saw a Stage-Play instead of a Sermon on the Lord's-days in the Afternoon, and saw what Course was there in fashion, and heard little Preaching, but what was as to one part against the Puritans, I was glad to be gone: And at the same time it pleased God that my Mother fell sick, and desired my return; and so I resolved to bid farewell to those kind of Employments and Expectations.

While I was in *London* I fell into Acquaintance with a sober, godly, understanding Apprentice of Mr. *Philemon Stephens* the Bookseller, whose Name was *Humphrey Blunden* (who is since turned an extraordinary Chymist, and got *Jacob Behem* his Books translated and printed), whom I very much loved, and who by his Consolatory Letters and Directions for Books, did afterwards do me the Offices of an useful Friend.

§ 11. When I was going home again into the Country about *Christmas-day*, the greatest Snow began that hath been in this Age, which continued thence till *Easter*, at which some places had it many yards deep; and before it was a very hard Frost, which necessitated me to Frost-nail my Horse twice or thrice a day. On the Road I met a Waggon loaded, where I had no passage by, but on the side of a bank, which as I passed over, all my Horses feet slipped from under him, and all the Girths brake, and so I was cast just before the Waggon Wheel, which had gone over me, but that it pleased God, that suddenly the Horses stooped, without any discernable cause, till I was recovered: which commanded me to observe the Mercy of my Protector.

§ 12. This mindeth me of some other Dangers and Deliverances which I past over. At Seventeen years of Age, as I rode out on a great unruly Horse for pleasure, which was wont on a sudden to get the Bitt in his Teeth, and set on running; as I was in a Field of high Ground, there being on the other side a Quick-set Hedge, a very deep narrow Lane, about a Stories height below me; suddenly the Horse

got the Bridle as aforesaid, and set on running; and in the midst of his running unexpectedly turned aside, and leapt over the top of the Hedge into that deep Lane: I was somewhat before him at the Ground, and as the Mire saved me from the hurt beneath, so it pleased God that the Horse never touched me, but he light with two feet on one side of me, and two on the other; though the place made it marvellous, how his feet could fall besides me.

§ 13. While I look back to this, it maketh me remember how God at that time did cure my inclination to Gaming: About Seventeen years of Age being at *Ludlow* Castle, where many idle Gentlemen had little else to do, I had a mind to learn to play at Tables; and the best Gamester in the House undertook to teach me! As I remember, the first or second Game, when he had so much the better that it was an hundred to one, besides the difference of our skills, the standers by laugh'd at me, as well as he, for not giving it up, and told me the Game was lost: I knew no more but that it was not lost till all my Table-men were lost, and would not give it over till then. He told me, that he would lay me an hundred to one of it, and in good earnest laid me down ten shillings to my six pence: As soon as ever the Money was down, whereas he told me that there was no possibility of my Game, but by one Cast often, I had every Cast the same I wished, and he had every one according to my desire, so that by that time one could go four or five times about the Room his Game was gone, which put him in so great an admiration, that I took the hint, and believed that the Devil had the ruling of the Dice, and did it to entice me on to be a Gamester. And so I gave him his Ten shillings again, and resolved I would never more play at Tables whilst I lived.

§ 14. But to return to the place where I left: When I came home from *London*, I found my Mother in extremity of Pain, and spent that Winter in the hearing of her Heart-piercing Groans, (shut up in the great Snow, which many that went abroad did perish in) till on *May* the 10th she died.

At *Kidderminster*, the Town being in want of fire, went all to shovel the way over the Heath to *Stone-bridge*, from whence their Coals come; and so great and sudden a storm of Snow fell, as overwhelmed them; so that some perished in it, and others saved their Lives by getting into a little Cote that standeth on the Heath, and others scaped home with much ado.

§ 15. Above a year after the Death of my Mother, my Father married a Woman of great Sincerity in the Fear of God, *Mary* the Daughter of *Sir Tho. Hunkes*: whose Holiness, Mortification, Contempt of the World, and fervent Prayer (in which she spent a great part of her Life) have been so exceeding Exemplary, as made her a Special Blessing to our Family, an Honour to Religion, and an honourable Pattern to those that knew her. She lived to be 96 years old.

§ 16. From the Age of 21 till near 23, my Weakness was so great, that I expected not to live above a year; and my own Soul being under the serious apprehension of the Matters of another World, I was exceeding desirous to Communicate those Apprehensions to such ignorant, presumptuous, careless Sinners as the World aboundeth with. But I was in a very great perplexity between my Encouragements and my Discouragements: I was conscious of my personal insufficiency, for want of that measure of Learning and Experience, which so great and high a Work required. I knew that the want of Academical Honours and Degrees was like to make me Contemptible with the most, and consequently hinder the Success of my Endeavours. But yet expecting to be so quickly in another World, the great Concernments of miserable Souls, did prevail with me against all these Impediments; and being conscious of a thirsty desire of Mens Conversion and Salvation, and of some competent perswading Faculty of Expression, which fervent Affections might help to actuate, I resolved that if one or two Souls only might be won to God, it would easily recompence all the dishonour which for want of Titles I might undergo from Men!

And indeed I had such clear Convictions my self of the madness of secure presumptuous Sinners, and the unquestionable Reasons which should induce men to a holy Life, and of the unspeakable greatness of that Work, which in this hasty Inch of Time, we have all to do, that I thought that Man that could be ungodly, if he did but hear these things, was fitter for *Bedlam*, than for the Reputation of a sober rational Man: And I was so foolish as to think, that I had so much to say, and of such Convincing Evidence for a Godly Life, that Men were scarce able to withstand it; not considering what a blind and senseless Rock the Heart of an obdurate sinner is; and that old *Adam* is too strong for young *Luther* (as he said). But these Apprehensions determined my choice.

§ 17. Till this time I was satisfied in the Matter of Conformity: Whilst I was young I had never been acquainted with any that were against it, or that questioned it. I had joyned with the Common-Prayer with as hearty fervency as afterward I did with other Prayers! As long as I had no Prejudice against it, I had no stop in my Devotions from any of its Imperfections.

At last at about 20 years of Age, I became acquainted with Mr. *Simmonds*, Mr. *Cradock*, and other very zealous godly Nonconformists in *Shrewsbury*, and the adjoining parts, whose fervent Prayers and favourable Conference and holy Lives did profit me much. And when I understood that they were People persecuted by the Bishops, I found much prejudice arise in my heart against those that persecuted them, and thought those that silenced and troubled such Men could not be the genuine Followers of the Lord of Love.

But yet I resolved that I would study the Point, as well as I was able, before I would be confident on either side: And it prejudiced me against the Nonconformists, because we had but one of them near us, (one Mr. *Barnel* of *Uppington*) who, though he was a very honest blameless Man, yet was reputed to be but a mean Scholar; when Mr. *Garbet*, and some other Conformists, were more Learned Men: And withal, the Books of the Nonconformists were then so scarce, and hard to be got (because of the danger) that I could not come to know their reasons. Whereas on the contrary side, Mr. *Garbet* and Mr. *Samuel Smith*, did send me *Downham*, *Sprint*, Dr. *Burges*, and others of the strongest that had wrote against the Nonconformists; upon the reading of which I could not see but the Cause of the Conformists was very justifiable, and the reasoning of the Nonconformists weak.

Hereupon when I thought of Ordination, I had no Scruple at all against Subscription: And yet so precipitant and rash was I, that I had never once read over the Book of Ordination, which was one to which I was to Subscribe; nor half read over the Book of Homilies, nor exactly weighed the Book of Common-Prayer, nor was I of sufficient Understanding to determine confidently in some Controverted Points in the 39 Articles. But my Teachers and my Books having caused me in general to think the Conformists had the better Cause, I kept out all particular Scruples by that Opinion.

§ 18. At that time old Mr. *Richard Foley* of *Stourbridge* in *Worcestershire*, had recovered some alienated Lands at *Dudley*, which had been left to Charitable Uses, and added something of his own, and built a convenient new School-House, and was to choose his first School-Master and Usher: By the means of *James Berry* (who lived in the House with me, and had lived with him) he desired me to accept it. I thought it not an inconvenient Condition for my Entrance, because I might also Preach up and down in Places that were most ignorant, before I presumed to take a Pastoral Charge (to which I had no inclination). So to *Dudley* I went, and Mr. *Foley* and *James Berry* going with me to *Worcester*, at the Time of Ordination, I was Ordained by the Bishop, and had a Licence to teach School; for which (being Examined) I Subscribed.

§ 19. Being settled (with an Usher) in the new School at *Dudley*, and living in the House of Mr. *Richard Foley* Junior, I there preached my first Publick Sermon in the upper Parish Church; and afterwards Preached in the Villages about; and there had occasion to fall afresh upon the study of Conformity: For there were many private Christians thereabouts that were Nonconformists, and one in the House with me. And that excellent Man, Mr. *William Fenner*, had lately lived two miles off at *Sedgeley*, who by defending Conformity, and honouring it by a wonderfully powerful and successful way of Preaching, Conference, and holy Living, had stirred up the Nonconformists the more to a vehement pleading of their Cause: And though they were there generally godly honest People, yet smartly censorious, and made Conformity no small fault: And they lent me Manuscripts and Books which I never saw before; whereupon I thought it my Duty to set upon a serious impartial Trial of the whole Cause.

The Cause of Episcopacy Bishop *Downham* had much satisfied me in before; and I had not then a sufficient Understanding of the difference betwixt the Arguments for an Episcopacy in general, and for our *English* Diocesans in particular. The Cause of Kneeling at the Sacrament I studied next: and Mr. *Paybody* fully satisfied me for Conformity in that. I turned over *Cartwright* and *Whitgift*, and others; but having lately procured Dr. *Ames* fresh suit, I thought it my best way to study thoroughly Dr. *Burges* (his Father-in-law) and him, as the likeliest means to avoid distraction among a multitude of Writers, and not to lose the Truth in crowds

crowds of Words ; seeing these two were reputed the strongest on each side. So I borrowed *Amesius* his *Fresh Suit*, &c. and because I could not keep it, I transcribed the strength of it the broad Margin of Dr. *Burges* his *Rejoinder*, over against each Paragraph which he replied to : And I spent a considerable time in the strictest Examination of both which I could perform.

And the result of all my Studies was as followeth : Kneeling I thought lawful, and all meer Circumstances determined by the Magistrate, which God in Nature or Scripture hath determined of only in the General. The Surplice I more doubted of; but more inclined to think it lawful : And though I purposed, while I doubted, to forbear it till necessity lay upon me, yet could I not have justified the forsaking of my Ministry for it ; (though I never wore it to this day). The Ring in Marriage I made no Scruple about. The Cross in Baptism I thought Dr. *Ames* proved unlawful; and though I was not without some doubting in the Point, yet because I most inclined to judge it unlawful, never once used it to this day. A Form of Prayer and Liturgy I judged to be lawful, and in some Cases lawfully imposed : Our Liturgy in particular, I judged to have much disorder and defectiveness in it, but nothing which should make the use of it, in the ordinary Publick Worship, to be unlawful to them that have not Liberty to do better. Discipline I wanted in the Church, and saw the sad Effects of its neglect : But I did not then understand that the very Frame of Diocesan Prelacy excluded it, but thought it had been only the Bishops personal neglects. Subscription I began to judge unlawful, and saw that I sinned by temerity in what I did : For though I could still use the Common Prayer, and was not yet against Diocesans, yet to Subscribe, *Ex Animo*, *That there is nothing in the three Books contrary to the Word of God*, was that, which if it had been to do again, I durst not do. So that Subscription, and the Cross in Baptism, and the promiscuous giving of the Lord's Supper to all Drunkards, Swearers, Fornicators, Scorners at Godliness, &c. that are not Excommunicate by a Bishop or Chancellor that is out of their Acquaintance. These three were all that I now became a Nonconformist to.

But most of this I kept to my self. I daily disputed against the Nonconformists ; for I found their Censoriousness and Inclinations towards Separation, (in the weaker sort of them) to be a Threatning Evil, and contrary to Christian Charity on one side, as Persecution is on the other. Some of them that pretended to much Learning, engaged me in Writing to dispute the Case of Kneeling at the Sacraments ; which I followed till they gave it over. I laboured continually to repress their Censoriousness, and the boldness and bitterness of their Language against the Bishops, and to reduce them to greater Patience and Charity. But I found that their Sufferings from the Bishops were the great Impediment of my Success, and that he that will blow the Coals must not wonder if some Sparks do fly in his face ; and that to persecute Men, and then call them to Charity, is like whipping Children to make them give over Crying. The stronger sort of Christians can bear Mulcts and Imprisonments and Reproaches for obeying God and Conscience, without abating their Charity or their Weakness to their Persecutors ; but to expect this from all the weak and injudicious, the young and passionate, is against all Reason and Experience : I saw that he that will be loved, must love ; and he that rather chooseth to be more feared than loved, must expect to be hated, or loved but diminutively : And he that will have Children, must be a Father : and he that will be a Tyrant must be contented with Slaves.

§ 20. In this Town of *Dudley* I lived (not a Twelve-month) in much comfort, amongst a poor tractable People, lately famous for Drunkenness, but commonly more ready to hear God's Word with submission and reformation, than most Places where I have come : so that having since the Wars set up a Monthly Lecture there, the Church was usually as much crowded within, and at the Windows, as ever I saw any *London* Congregations : (Partly through the great willingness of the People, and partly by the exceeding populousness of the Country, where the Woods and Commons are planted with Nailers, Scithe-Smiths, and other Iron-Labourers, like a continued Village).

And here in my weakness I was obliged to thankfulness to God, for a convenient Habitation, and the tender care of Mr. *R. Foley's* Wife, a Gentlewoman of such extraordinary Meekness and Patience, with sincere Piety, as will not easily be believed by those that knew her not ! who died about two years after.

§ 21. When I had been but three quarters of a year at *Dudley*, I was by God's very gracious Providence invited to *Bridgnorth*, the second Town of *Shropshire*, to preach there as Assistant to the worthy Pastor of that place. As soon as I heard
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the place described, I perceived it was the fittest for me ; for there was just such Employment as I desired, and could submit to, without that which I scrupled, and with some probability of peace and quietness.

The Minister of the place was Mr. *William Madstard*, a grave and severe Ancient Divine, very honest and conscionable, and an excellent Preacher, but somewhat afflicted with want of Maintenance, and much more with a dead-hearted unprofitable People. The Town Maintenance being inconsiderable, he took the Parsonage of *Oldbury* near the Town, a Village of scarce twenty Houses, and so desired me to be one half day in the Town, and the other at the Village ; but my Lot after fell out to be mostly in the Town. The place is priviledged from all Episcopal Jurisdiction, except the Archbishop's Triennial Visitation. There are six Parishes together, two in the Town, and four in the Country, that have all this Priviledge. At *Bridgnorth* they have an Ordinary of their own, who, as an Official, keepeth a constant Ecclesiastical Court, having the Jurisdiction of those six Parishes. This reverend and good man, Mr. *Madstard*, was both *Pastor* and *Official*, the Place usually going along with that of the Preacher of that Town (though separable) : By which means I had a very full Congregation to preach to, and a freedom from all those things which I scrupled or thought unlawful. I often read the Common Prayer before I preached, both on the Lord's-days and Holy-days ; but I never administred the Lord's Supper, nor ever Baptized any Child with the Sign of the Cross, nor ever wore the Surplice, nor was ever put to appear at any Bishop's Court.

But the People proved a very ignorant, dead-hearted People, (the Town consisting too much of Inns and Alehouses, and having no general Trade to imploy the Inhabitants in, which is the undoing of great Towns) : so that though through the great Mercy of God, my first Labours were not without Success, to the Conversion of some ignorant careless Sinners unto God, and were over-valued by those that were already regardful of the Concernments of their Souls, yet were they not so successful as they proved afterwards in other places. Though I was in the fervour of my Affections, and never any where preached with more vehement desires of Mens Conversion (and I account my Liberty with that measure of Success which I there had, to be a Mercy which I can never be sufficiently thankful for) yet with the generality an Applause of the Preacher was most of the success of the Sermon which I could hear of ; and their tipling and ill company and dead-heartedness quickly drowned all.

§ 22. Whilst I here exercised the first Labours of my Ministry, two several Assaults did threaten my Expulsion : The one was a new Oath, which was made by the Convocation, commonly called *The Et cætera Oath* : For it was to swear us all, *That we would never Consent to the Alteration of the present Government of the Church, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Arch-deacons, &c.* This cast the Ministers throughout England into a Division, and new Disputes. Some would take the Oath, and some would not. An. 1640

Those that were for it, said, That Episcopacy was *Jure Divino*, and also settled by a Law, and therefore if the Sovereign Power required it, we might well swear that we would never consent to alter it ; and the King's Approbation of these Canons made them sufficiently obligatory unto us.

Those that were against it, said, 1. That Episcopacy was either *contra jus Divinum*, or at best not *Jure Divino*, and therefore mutable when the King and Parliament pleased.

2. Or at least that it was undeniable, That Archbishops, and Deans, and Chapters, and Arch-deacons, &c. were not all *Jure Divino* : nay, that the English frame of Diocessans having many hundred Parish Churches under one Bishop *in fini gradus*, was not only against the Word of God, but destructive of all the Episcopacy which was known in the Church at least for 200 years.

3. They said that it was intolerable to swear to a blind *Et cætera* ; for literally it included all the Officers of the Ecclesiastical Courts that are now in Exercise of the Government ; Lay-Chancellors (that use the Keys for Excommunication and Absolution) Surrogates, Commissaries, Officials, and the rest. And was it ever known that all the Clergy was sworn to such an Anomalous Rable ?

4. They said that for ought they knew this Government in whole, or in some part, might be altered by the King and Parliament by a Law : And to tie up our selves by an Oath that we would never obey such a Law, nor consent to that which the King might command us, this they thought was a Bond of Disobedience, next to a Rebellion.

5. They

5. They said that it was against the Subjects Liberty ; which alloweth them soberly to Petition the King and Parliament for a Redress of any Grievance.

And if now a Lay-Chancellor's use of the Keys, *e. g.* were no burden to the People, we know not how God may make such Alterations by his Providence, as may make that a Grievance which now is none.

6. And they said it was against the Priviledges of Parliament, that such an Oath should be devised and imposed upon the Subjects, without a Law, or the Parliaments consent.

These and other Reasons were pleaded against it : (And afterward when the Parliament took it into consideration, it was Condemned on these and other Accounts). The Ministers of the Country met together at *Bridgnorth* to Debate this Business, that they might have no Division : and some few were for the Oath, but more against it. This put me upon deeper Thoughts of the Point of Episcopacy, and of the *English* frame of Church-Government than ever I had before : and now I had the opportunity of seeing some Books, which I never had before. My very dear Friend, Mr. *William Rowley*, (a Gentleman of *Shrewsbury*) sent me *Gerfonus Bucerus* his *Dissertatio de Gubernatione Ecclesiæ*, and *Didoclarus Altare Damascusum* ; and shortly after I had *Parker de Polit. Eccles.* and *Baynes's Diocesanes Trial* ; and I received Bishop *Downham*, and compared his Reasons with *Bucers*, *Didoclarus*, &c. And though I found not sufficient Evidence to prove all kind of Episcopacy unlawful, yet I was much satisfied that the *English* Diocesan frame, was guilty of the Corruption of Churches and Ministry, and of the ruine of the true Church Discipline, and substituting an heterogeneal thing in its stead.

And thus the *Et cætera* Oath, which was imposed on us for the unalterable subjecting of us to Diocesans, was a chief means to alienate me, and many others from it. For now our drowsie mindfulness of that subject was shaken off by their violence ; and we that thought it best to follow our business, and live in quietness, and let the Bishops alone, were rowzed by the terrours of an Oath to look about us, and understand what we did.

§ 23. This Oath also stirred up the differing Parties (who before were all one Party, even *quiet Conformists*) to speak more bitterly against one another than heretofore : And the dissenting Party began to think better of the Cause of Nonconformity, and to honour the Nonconformists more than they had done. And it fell out that at the same time when we were thus rowzed up in *England*, or a little before, the *Scots* were also awakened in *Scotland* : For when all was quiet there under a more moderate Episcopacy than we had then in *England*, (though that Nation had been used to *Presbytery*) a new Common-Prayer Book (that is, the *English* one with some few Alterations) was framed, and imposed on the People of *Scotland* ; who having not been used to that way of Worship, one Woman in *Edinburgh* cried out in the Church, *Popery, Popery*, and threw her Stool at the Priest ; and others imitated her presently, and drove him out of the Church ; and this little Spark set all *Scotland* quickly in a Flame. Insomuch that other Places taking as much distaste at the Common Prayer, and at the Bishops also for its sake, and for fear of the Silencing of their Ministers, and some Ministers increasing their distaste, the Lords presently were divided also ; insomuch that the King was fain to instruct the Earl of *Trequare*, as his Commissioner, to suppress the Malecontents : But in a short time the number of them so encreased, that the King's Commissioners could do no good on them, but they got the power of all the Land, because the far greatest part of the Nobility with the Ministry were conjoyned. Hereupon they all entered into a National Covenant, to the same purpose as formerly that Nation had done, but they did it without the King's Authority. The Oath or Covenant was against Popery and Prelacy and Superstition, and to uphold the Gospel and Reformation. The *Aberdeen* Doctors dissented from the Covenant, and many Writings past on both sides between the Covenanters and them, till at last the ensuing Wars did turn the Debates to another strain.

§ 24. It fell out unhappily that at the same time while the *Scots* were thus discontented, the King had imposed a Tax here, called *Ship-money*, as for the strengthening of the Navy ; which being done without Consent of Parliament, made a wonderful murmuring all over the Land, especially among the Country Nobility and Gentry ; for they took it as the overthrow of the Fundamental Laws or Constitution of the Kingdom, and of Parliaments, and of all Propriety.

They said that the Subjects Propriety in his Estate, and the Being of Parliaments, and that no Laws be made, nor Moneys taken from the Subjects, but by the Parliaments Consent, are part of the Constitution of the Republick or Government.

And

And they said that the King having long disused Parliaments upon Displeasure against them, because they curbed *Monopolies*, and corrected Abuses of Officers, &c. had no way to lay them by for ever, but to invade the Subjects Propriety, and to assume the power of laying Taxes and raising Moneys without them; and that if thus Parliaments and Propriety were destroyed, the Government was dissolved or altered, and no Man had any Security of Estate or Liberty or Life, but the Pleasure of the King, whose Will would be the only Law. They said also, that those that counselled him to this were Enemies to the Commonwealth, and unfitter to counsel him than Parliaments, who are his highest Court and Council.

The poor Plowmen understood but little of these Matters; but a little would stir up their Discontent when Money was demanded: But it was the more intelligent part of the Nation that were the great Complainers. Insomuch that some of them denied to pay the Ship-money, and put the Sheriffs to distrain; the Sheriffs, though afraid of a future Parliament, yet did it in obedience to the King. Mr. *Hampden* and the Lord *Say* brought it to a Suit; where Mr. *Oliver St. John* and other Lawyers boldly pleaded the Peoples Cause. The King had before called all the Judges to give their Opinions, Whether in a Case of need he might impose such a Tax, or not. And all of them gave their Opinion for the Affirmative, except Judge *Hutton* and Judge *Crook*. The Judgment passed for the King against Mr. *Hampden*: But this made the Matter much more talk of throughout the Land, and considered of by those that thought not much of the Importance of it before.

§ 25. Some suspected that many of the Nobility of *England* did secretly Confederare with the *Scots*, so far as to encourage them to come into *England*; thinking that there was no other way to cause the Calling of a Parliament, which was the thing that now they bent their minds to as the Remedy of these things. The Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Clare*, the Earl of *Bullingbrook*, the Earl of *Mulgrave*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Brook*, and I know not how many more, were said to be of this Confederacy. But *Heylin* himself hath more truly given you the History of this, That the *Scots*, after they came in, did perswade these Men of their own danger in *England*, if Arbitrary Government went on, and so they petitioned the King for a Parliament, which was all their Confederacy; and this was after their second Coming into *England*.

The *Scots* came with an Army, and the King's Army met them near *Newcastle*; *An. 1639* but the *Scots* came on till an Agreement was made, and a Parliament called; and the *Scots* went home again.

But shortly after, this Parliament so displeased the King that he Dissolved it, and the War against the *Scots* was again undertaken, (to which, besides others, the Papists by the Queens means did voluntarily contribute): whereupon the *Scots* complain of evil Counsels and Papists as the cause of their renewed dangers, and again raise an Army and come into *England*. And the *English* at *York* petition the King for a Parliament, and once more it is resolved on, and an Agreement made, *An. 1640* but neither the *Scottish* or *English* Army disbanded. And thus began the *Long Parliament* as it was after called.

§ 26. The *Et cetera* Oath was the first thing that threatned me at *Bridgenorth*; and the second was the passage of the Earl of *Bridgwater*, Lord President of the *Marches* of *Wales*, through the Town in his Journey from *Ludlow* to the King in the North: For his coming being on *Saturday* Evening, the most malicious persons of the Town went to him, and told him that Mr. *Madeftard* and I did not sign with the Cross, nor wear the Surplice, nor pray against the *Scots* (who were then upon their Entrance into *England*; and for which we had no Command from the King, but a printed Form of Prayer from the Bishops.) The Lord President told them, That he would himself come to Church on the morrow, and see whether we would do these things or not. Mr. *Madeftard* went away, and left Mr. *Swain* (the Reader) and my self in the danger. But after he had spoken for his Dinner, and was ready to go to Church, the Lord President suddenly changed his purpose, and went away on the Lord's Day as far as *Lichfield*; requiring the Accusers and the Bailiffs to send after him to inform him what we did. On the Lord's Day at Evening they sent after him to *Lichfield* to tell him that we did not conform: but though they boasted of no less than the hanging of us, they received no other Answer from him, but that he had not the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and therefore could not meddle with us; but if he had, he should take such order in the business as were fit: And the Bailiffs and Accusers had no more wit than to read his

Letter to me, that I might know how they were baffled. Thus I continued in my Liberty of preaching the Gospel at *Bridgenorth* about a year and three quarters, where I took my Liberty (though with very little Maintenance) to be a very great mercy to me in those troublesome times.

§ 27. The Parliament being fate, did presently fall on that which they accounted Reformation of Church and State, and which greatly displeased the King as well as the Bishops. They made many long and vehement Speeches against the Ship-money, and against the Judges that gave their Judgment for it, and against the *Et cetera* Oath, and the Bishops and Convocation that were the formers of it; but especially against the Lord *Thomas Wentworth* Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Dr. *Laud* Archbishop of Canterbury, as the evil Counsellors, who were said to be the Cause of all. These Speeches were many of them printed, and greedily bought up throughout the Land, especially the Lord *Falklands*, the Lord *Digbys*, Mr. *Grimstones*, Mr. *Pims*, Mr. *Nath. Fiennes*, &c. which greatly increased the Peoples Apprehension of their Danger, and inclined them to think hardly of the King's Proceedings, but especially of the Bishops. Particular Articles of Accusation were brought in against the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop, the Judges, Bishop *Wren*, Bishop *Pierce*, and divers others.

The Concord of this Parliament consisted not in the Unanimity of the Persons (for they were of several Tempers as to Matters of Religion), but in the Complication of the Interest of those Causes which they severally did most concern themselves in. For as the King had at once imposed the Ship-money on the Commonwealth, and permitted the Bishops to impose upon the Church their displeasing Articles, and bowing towards the Altar, and the Book for Dancing on the Lord's Day, and the Liturgy on *Scotland*, &c. and to Suspend or Silence abundance of Ministers that were conformable, for want of this Super-canonical Conformity; so accordingly the Parliament consisted of two sorts of Men, who by the Conjunction of these Causes were united in their Votes and Endeavours for a Reformation: One Party made no great matter of these Alterations in the Church; but they said, That if Parliaments were once down, and our Propriety gone, and Arbitrary Government set up, and Law subjected to the Prince's Will, we were then all Slaves, and this they made a thing intolerable; for the remedying of which, they said, every true *English* Man could think no price too dear: These the People called *Good Commonwealth's Men*. The other sort were the more Religious Men, who were also sensible of all these things, but were much more sensible of the Interest of Religion; and these most inveighed against the Innovations in the Church, the bowing to Altars, the Book for Sports on Sundays, the Casting out of Ministers, the troubling of the People by the High-Commission Court, the Pilloring and Cutting off Mens Ears, (Mr. *Burtons*, Mr. *Prins*, and Dr. *Bastwicks*) for speaking against the Bishops, the putting down Lectures, and Afternoon Sermons and Expositions on the Lord's Days, with such other things, which they thought of greater weight than Ship-money. But because these later agreed with the former in the Vindication of the Peoples Propriety and Liberties, the former did the easilier concur with them against the Proceedings of the Bishops and High Commission Court.

And as soon as their Inclination was known to the People, all Countreys sent in their Complaints and Petitions. It was presently known how many Ministers Bishop *Wren* (and others of them) had suspended and silenced; how many thousand Families had been driven to flee into *Holland*, and how many thousand into *New-England*: Scarce a Minister had been Silenced, that was alive, but it was put into a Petition. Mr. *Peter Smart* of *Durham*, and Dr. *Layton* (a Scotch Physician, who wrote a Book called *Sion's Plea against the Prelates*) were released out of their long Imprisonment: Mr. *Burton*, Mr. *Prin*, and Dr. *Bastwick*, who (as is said) had been pillored, and their Ears cut off, and they sent into a (supposed) perpetual Imprisonment into the distant Castles of *Gernsey*, *Fersey*, and *Carnarvon*, were all set free, and Damages voted them for their wrong: And when they came back to *London*, they were met out of the City by abundance of the Citizens, with such Acclamations as could not but seem a great Affront to the King, and be much displeasing to him. The Lord Keeper *Finch* and Secretary *Windebank* fled beyond Sea, and lived themselves: The guilty Judges were deeply accused, and some of them imprisoned for the Cause of Ship-money. But the great Displeasure was against the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, and Archbishop *Laud*: Both these were sent to the Tower, and a Charge drawn up against them, and managed presently against the Lord Deputy by the ablest Lawyers and Gentlemen of the House. This held them work

a considerable time : The King was exceeding unwilling to consent unto his death ; and therefore used all his skill to have drawn off the Parliament from so hot a Prosecution of him.

And now began the first Breach among themselves : For the Lord Falkland, the *An. 1641* Lord Digby, and divers other able Men, were for the sparing of his Life, and gratifying the King, and not putting him on a thing so much displeasing to him. The rest said, If after the Attempt of Subverting the Fundamental Laws and Liberties, no one Man shall suffer Death, it will encourage others hereafter to the like. The Londoners petitioned for Justice : And too great numbers of Apprentices and others, (being imboldened by the Proceedings of the Parliament, and not fore-knowing what a Fire the Sparks of their temerity would kindle) did too triumphingly and disorderly urge the Parliament, crying *Justice, Justice*. And it is not unlikely that some of the Parliament-men did encourage them to this, as thinking that some backward Members would be quickned by Popular Applause : And withal, to work on the Members also by disgrace, some insolent Painter did (seditiously) draw the Pictures of the chief of them that were for saving the Lord Deputy, and called them the *Straffordians* (he being Earl of *Strafford*) and hang'd them with their Heels upward on the *Exchange*. Though it cannot be expected that in so great a City there should be no Persons so indiscreet as to commit such disorderly Actions as these, yet no sober Men should countenance them, or take part with them, whatever ends might be pretended or intended. The King called these Tumults : the Parliament called them the *Cities Petitioning* ! Those that connived at them were glad to see the People of their mind in the main, and thought it would do much to facilitate their Work, and hold the looser Members to their Cause : For though the House was unanimous enough in condemning Ship-money, and the *Et cetera* Oath, and the Bishops Innovations, &c. yet it was long doubtful which side would have the major Vote in the matter of the Earl of *Strafford's* Death, and such other Acts as were most highly displeasing to the King. But disorderly means do generally bring forth more Disorders, and seldom attain any good end for which they are used.

§ 28. The Parliament also had procured the King to consent to several Acts which were of great importance, and emboldened the People by confirming their Authority : As an Act against the High Commission Court, and Church-mens Secular or Civil Power ; and an Act that this Parliament should not be dissolved till its own Consent, (alleging that the dissolving of Parliaments emboldened Delinquents, and that Debts and Disorders were so great that they could not be overcome by them in a little time) : Also an Act for Triennial Parliaments. And the People being confident that all these were signed by the King, full sore against his will, and that he abhorred what was done, did think that the Parliament which had constrained him to this much, could carry it still in what they pleased, and so grew much more regardful of the Parliament, and sided with them not only for their Cause, and their own Interest, but also as supposing them the stronger side (which the Vulgar are still apt to follow).

§ 29. But to return to my own matters : This Parliament, among other parts of their Reformation, resolved to reform the corrupted Clergy, and appointed a Committee to receive Petitions and Complaints against them ; which was no sooner understood, but multitudes in all Countreys came up with Petitions against their Ministers. The King and Parliament were not yet divided, but concurred, and so no partaking in their Differences was any part of the Accusation of these Ministers, till long after when the Wars had given the occasion ; and then that also came into their Articles : but before it was only matter of Insufficiency, false Doctrine, illegal Innovations, or Scandal, that was brought in against them.

Mr. *John White* being the Chair-man of the Committee for *Scandalous Ministers* (as it was called) published in print one Century first of Scandalous Ministers, with their Names, Places, and the Articles proved against them : where so much ignorance, insufficiency, drunkenness, filthiness, &c. was charged on them, that many moderate men could have wished that their Nakedness had been rather hid, and not exposed to the Worlds derision, and that they had remembered that the Papists did stand by, and would make sport of it. Another Century also was after published.

Among all these Complainers, the Town of *Kedermister* in *Worcestershire*, drew up a Petition against their Ministers : The Vicar of the place they Articled against as one that was utterly insufficient for the Ministry, presented by a Papist, unlearned, preached but once a quarter, which was so weakly, as exposed him to

laughter, and perswaded them that he understood not the very Substantial Articles of Christianity ; that he frequented Alehouses, and had sometimes been drunk ; that he turned the Table Alter-wise, &c. with more such as this. The Vicar had a Curate under him in the Town whom they also accused ; and a Curate at a Chapel in the Parish, a common Tippler and a Drunkard, a railing Quarreller, an ignorant insufficient Man, who (as I found by Examining him) understood not the common Points of the Childrens Catechism, but said some good words to them sometimes out of *Musculus's Common Places in English*, which was almost the only Book he had ; and his Trade in the Week-days was unlawful Marriages. The People put their Petition into the Hands of Sir Henry Herbert Burgeſs for *Bewdley*, a Town two miles distant. The Vicar knowing his insufficiency, and hearing how two others in his Case had ſped, deſired to compound the Buſineſs with them ; and by the mediation of Sir Henry Herbert, and others, it was brought to this, That he ſhould inſtead of his preſent Curate in the Town, allow 60 *l. per Annum* to a Preacher whom fourteen of them nominated, ſhould chooſe ; and that he ſhould not hinder this Preacher from preaching whenever he pleaſed, and that he himſelf ſhould read Common Prayer, and do all elſe that was to be done : and ſo they preferred not their Petition againſt him, nor againſt his Curates, but he kept his Place, which was worth to him near 200 *l. per Ann.* allowing that 60 *l.* out of it to their Lecturer. To perform this he gave a Bond of 500 *l.*

Theſe things being thus finiſhed, ſome of them deſired old Mr. *Lapthorn* (a famous Man, turned from Nonconformity by King *James*) to come and preach with them on trial to be their Lecturer : Mr. *Lapthorn's* roughneſs and great immethodicalneſs, and digreſſions, ſo offended the intelligent leading Party, that they rejected him ſomewhat uncivilly, to his great diſpleaſure.

Hereupon they invited me to them from *Bridgnorth* : The Bailiff of the Town, and all the Feoffees deſired me to preach with them, in order to a full determination. My mind was much to the place as ſoon as it was deſcribed to me ; becauſe it was a full Congregation, and moſt convenient Temple ; an ignorant, rude and revelling People for the greater part, who had need of preaching ; and yet had among them a ſmall Company of Converts, who were humble, godly, and of good Converſations, and not much hated by the reſt, and therefore the ſitter to aſſiſt their Teacher ; but above all, becauſe they had hardly ever had any lively, ſerious preaching among them : For *Bridgnorth* had made me reſolve that I would never more go among a People that had been hardened in unprofitableneſs under an awakening Miniſtry ; but either to ſuch as never had any convincing Preacher, or to ſuch as had profited by him. As ſoon as I came to *Kiddermiſter*, and had preached there one day, I was choſen *Nemine contradicente*, (for though fourteen only had the power of chooſing, they deſired to pleaſe the reſt). And thus I was brought by the gracious Providence of God, to that place which had the chiefſt of my Labours, and yielded me the greateſt Fruits of Comfort. And I noted the mercy of God in this, that I never went to any place in my Life, among all my Changes, which I had before deſired, deſigned or thought of, (much leſs ſought) ; but only to thoſe that I never thought of, till the ſudden Invitation did ſurprize me.

§ 30. When I had been here a while, in the beginning of *July*, the two Families which I had laſt lived in, at *Dudley* and *Bridgnorth*, were at once viſited with Sickneſs, and they both ſent for me (upon a conceit of my ſkill in Phyſick), but being from home I went to neither of them ; and it proved a moſt contagious malignant Fever next the Plague ; Mrs. *Foley* and ſome of her Family died : and Mr. *Maſteſard*, his Wife, and a Gentlewoman that lived with them, died within a day or two each of other. Being with my old Friend Mr. *William Rowley*, the ſad Meſſage came to us (Mr. *Maſteſard* being his Kiſman) and I went with him to the Funeral, and preached his Funeral Sermon in ſo deep a ſenſe of the miſery of that unprofitable People, and the deep groans which I have heard from their faithful Paſtor, for their obdurateness, that I could not forbear to tell them my fears of ſome heavy Judgment to come upon that place, which they were more capable of laying to heart than their Paſtor's death. I had never before (nor ever did I ſince) preſume upon ſuch kind of Predictions, (nor did I ſpeak that with any pretence of Propheſie) but the expreſſion of that fear I could not then ſuppreſs : My Text was *Ezek. 33. 33.* And when this cometh to paſs (loe it will come) then ſhall they know that a Prophet hath been among them. And when the War was begun, the Town (being againſt the Parliament) was a Garriſon for the King, kept by the Neighbour Gentlemen of the Country ; who fortified the Caſtle, and when the Par-

Parliament's Forces came to take the Town, they cast such effectual Fire-works from the Castle as burnt down the Town to the Ground, and burnt also the great Church where I preached that Sermon, and where Mr. *Madstard* was interred: So that the Inhabitants were undone, and fain to lye under Hedges, till the Compassion of others afforded them Entertainment and Habitation. And as for their Church, it was a great while before it was rebuilt, and that after two general Collections for it. The first time that I came among them when the Wars were past, I chose the same Text again to preach on, to call their sins against their faithful Pastor to remembrance: But they and I were so much interrupted with Tears, that (with some Pawses) I had much ado to proceed on to the end.

§ 31. Whilst I continued at *Kedermister*, it pleased God to give me much Encouragement by the Success of my weak but hearty Labours: As when I was young, I used to keep a daily Catalogue of my daily Mercies and Sins, but when I grew elder I found that Course had its Inconveniences, and took up too much time, and therefore I only recorded those which were extraordinary; even so when I first entered upon my Labours in the Ministry, I took special notice of every one that was humbled, reformed or converted; but when I had laboured long, it pleased God that the Converts were so many, that I could not afford time for such particular Observations about every one of them, lest I should omit some greater Work; but was fain to leave that to their compassionate familiar Neighbours, and take notice my self of Families and considerable Numbers at once, that came in and grew up I scarce knew how.

§ 32. All this forementioned time of my Ministry was past under my fore-described Weaknesses, which were so great as made me live and preach in some continual expectation of Death, supposing still that I had not long to live. And this I found through all my Life to be an unvaluable mercy to me: For,

1. It greatly weakned Temptations.
2. It kept me in a great Contempt of the World.
3. It taught me highly to esteem of time: so that if any of it past away in idleness or unprofitableness, it was so long a pain and burden to my mind! So that I must say to the Praise of my most wise Conductor, that time hath still seemed to me much more precious than Gold or any Earthly Gain, and its Minutes have not been despised, nor have I been much tempted to any of the Sins, which go under the name of *Pastime*, since I understood my Work.
4. It made me study and preach *things necessary*, and a little stirred up my sluggish heart, to speak to Sinners with some Compassion, as a dying Man to dying Men.

These, with the rest which I mentioned before when I spake of my Infirmities, were the Benefits which God afforded me by Affliction! I humbly bless his gracious Providence, who gave me his Treasure in an Earthen Vessel, and trained me up in the School of Affliction, and taught me the *Cross of Christ* so soon; that I might be rather *Theologus Crucis*, as *Luther* speaketh, than *Theologus Gloriæ*; and a *Cross-bearer*, than a *Cross-maker* or *Imposer*.

§ 33. At one time above all the rest, being under a new and unusual Distemper, which put me upon the present Expectations of my Change, and going for Comfort to the Promises as I was used, the Tempter strongly assaulted my Faith, and would have drawn me towards Infidelity it self. Till I was ready to enter into the Ministry, all my Troubles had been raised, by the hardness of my heart, and the doubtings of my own Sincerity; but now all these began to vanish, and never much returned to this day: And instead of these, I was now assaulted with more pernicious Temptations; especially to question the certain Truth of the Sacred Scriptures; and also the Life to come, and Immortality of the Soul. And these Temptations assaulted me not as they do the Melancholy, with horrid vexing Importunity; but by pretence of sober Reason, they would have drawn me to a settled doubting of Christianity.

And here I found my own Miscarriage, and the great Mercy of God. *My Miscarriage*, in that I had so long neglected the well settling of my Foundations, while I had bestowed so much time in the Superstructures and the Applicatory part! For having taken it for an intolerable Evil, once to question the Truth of Scriptures and the Life to come; I had either taken it for a Certainty upon Trust, or taken up with Common Reasons of it, which I had never well considered, digested, or made mine own. Inasmuch as when this Temptation came, it seemed at first to answer and enervate all the former Reasons of my feeble Faith, which made me take the Scriptures for the Word of God; and it set before me such Mountains of

Difficulty

Difficulty in the Incarnation, the Person of Christ, his Undertaking and Performance with the Scripture Chronology, Histories and Stile, &c. which had stalled and overwhelmed me, if God had not been my strength. And here I saw much of the *Mercy of God*, that he let not out these terrible and dangerous Temptations upon me, while I was weak and in the infancy of my Faith; for then I had never been able to withstand them. But Faith is like a Tree, whose Top is small while the Root is young and shallow: and therefore as then it hath but small rooting, so is it not liable to the shaking Winds and Tempests as the big and high-grown Trees are: But as the top groweth higher, so the root at once grows greater, and deeper fixed, to cause it to endure its greater Assaults.

Though formerly I was wont when any such Temptation came, to cast it aside, as fitter to be abhorred than considered of, yet now this would not give me satisfaction; but I was fain to dig to the very Foundations, and seriously to Examine the Reasons of Christianity, and to give a hearing to all that could be said against it, that so my Faith might be indeed my own. And at last I found that *Nil tam certum quamquod ex dubio certum*; Nothing is so firmly believed, as that which hath been sometime doubted of.

§ 34. In the storm of this Temptation, I questioned a while whether I were indeed a Christian or an Infidel, and whether Faith could consist with such Doubts as I was conscious of: For I had read in many Papists and Protestants, that Faith had *Certainty*, and was more than an Opinion; and that if a Man should live a godly Life, from the bare apprehensions of the *Probability* of the Truth of Scripture, and the *Life* to come, it would not save him, as being no true Godliness or Faith. But my Judgment closed with the Reason of Dr. Jackson's Determination of this Case, which supported me much, that as in the very Assenting Act of Faith there may be such weakness, as may make us cry, *Lord increase our Faith: We believe, Lord help our belief*; so when Faith and Unbelief are in their Conflict, it is the *Effects* which must shew us which of them is victorious. And that he that hath so much Faith as will cause him to deny himself, take up his Cross, and forsake all the Profits, Honours, and Pleasures of this World, for the sake of Christ, the Love of God, and the hope of Glory, hath a saving Faith, how weak soever: For God cannot condemn the Soul that truly loveth and seeketh him: And those that Christ bringeth to persevere in the Love of God, he bringeth to Salvation. And there were divers Things that in this Assault proved great Assistances to my Faith.

1. That the Being and Attributes of God were so clear to me, that he was to my Intellect what the Sun is to my Eye, by which I see it self and all Things: And he seemed mad to me that questioned whether there were a God: that any Man should dream that the World was made by a Conflux of Irrational Atoms, and Reason came from that which had no Reason, or that Man, or any Inferiour Being was independent; or that all the being, Power, Wisdom, and Goodness which we conversed with, had not a Cause which in Being, Power, Wisdom and Goodness, did excel all that which it had caused in the World, and had not all that *formaliter vel eminenter* in it self which it communicated to all the Creatures. These, and all the Suppositions of the Atheist, have ever since been so visibly foolish and shameful to my Apprehension, that I scarce find a Capacity in my self of doubting of them; and whenever the Tempter hath joyned any thing against these, with the rest of his Temptations, the rest have been the easier overcome, because of the overwhelming cogent Evidences of a Deity, which are always before the Eyes of my Soul.

2. And it helped me much to discern that this God must needs be related to us as our Owner, our Governour, and our Benefactor, in that he is related to us as our Creator; and that therefore we are related to him as his *own*, his *Subjects*, and his *Beneficiaries*; which as they all proceed by undeniable resultancy from our *Creation* and *Nature*, so thence do our Duties arise which belong to us in those Relations, by an undeniable resultancy; and that no shew of Reason can be brought by any Infidel in the World to excuse the Rational Creature from Loving his Maker, with all his heart and soul and might, and devoting himself and all his Faculties to him from whom he did receive them, and making him his ultimate End who is his full Efficient Cause. So that *Godliness* is a Duty so undeniably required in the Law of Nature, and so discernable by Reason it self, that nothing but unreasonableness can contradict it.

3. And then it seemed utterly improbable to me that this God should see us to be Lovers by our Love and Duty to him, and that our Duty should be made to be our Bane, or make us the more miserable by how much the more faithfully we perform

perform it! And I saw that the very Possibility or Probability of a Life to come, would make it the Duty of a Reasonable Creature to seek it, though with the loss of all below.

4. And I saw by undeniable Experience, a strange Universal Enmity between the Heavenly and the Earthly Mind, the Godly and the Wicked, as fulfilling the Prediction *Gen. 3. 15.* The War between the Woman's and the Serpent's Seed, being the daily Business of all the World. And I saw that the wicked and haters of Godliness are so commonly the greatest and most powerful and numerous, as well as cruel, that ordinarily there is no living according to the Precepts of Nature and undeniable Reason, without being made the Derision and Contempt of Men (if we can scape so easily).

5. And then I saw that there is no other Religion in the World which can stand in competition with Christianity: Heathenism and Mahometanism are kept up by Tyranny, and Beastly Ignorance, and blush to stand at the Bar of Reason: And Judaism is but Christianity in the Egg or Bed. And *meer Deism*, which is the most plausible Competitor, is so turned out of almost all the whole World, as if Nature made its own Confession, that without a Mediator it cannot come to God.

6. And I perceived that all other Religions leave the People in their worldly, sensual, and ungodly state; even their Zeal and Devotion in them, being commonly the Servants of their Fleshly Interest: And the Nations where Christianity is not, being drowned in Ignorance and Earthly mindedness, so as to be the shame of Nature.

7. And I saw that Christ did bring up all his serious and sincere Disciples to real Holiness and to Heavenly mindedness, and made them new Creatures, and set their Hearts and Designs and Hopes upon another Life; and brought their Sense into subjection to their Reason, and taught them to resign themselves to God, and to love him above all the World. And it is not like that God will make use of a Deceiver for this real visible Recovery and Reformation of the Nature of Man; or that any thing but his own Zeal can imprint his Image.

8. And here I saw an admirable suitableness in the Office and Design of Christ, to the Ends of God, and the Felicity of Man: and how excellently these Supernatural Revelations do fall in, and take their place in subserviency to Natural Verities; and how wonderfully *Faith* is fitted to bring Men to the Love of God; when it is nothing else but the beholding of his amiable attractive Love and Goodness in the Face of Christ, and the Promises of Heaven, as in a Glass, till we see his Glory.

9. And I had felt much of the Power of his Word and Spirit on my self; doing that which Reason now telleth me must be done: And shall I question my Physician when he hath done so much of the Cure, and recovered my depraved Soul so much to God.

10. And as I saw these Assistances to my Faith, so I perceived that whatever the Tempter had to say against it, was grounded upon the Advantages which he took from my Ignorance, and my Distance from the Times and Places of the Matters of the Sacred History, and such like things which every Novice meeteth with in almost all other Sciences at the first, and which wise well-studied Men can see through.

§ 35. All these Assistances were at hand before I came to the immediate Evidences of Credibility in the Sacred Oracles themselves. And when I set my self to search for those, I found more in the Doctrine, the Predictions, the Miracles, antecedent, concomitant, subsequent, than ever I before took notice of: which I shall not here so far digress as to set down, having partly done it in several Treatises; as *The Saints Rest*, Part 2. *The Unreasonableness of Infidelity*; *A Saint or a Bruit*, in my *Christian Directory*; and since more fully in a Treatise, called, *The Reasons of the Christian Religion*; my *Life of Faith*, &c.

§ 36. From this Assault I was forced to take notice, That it is our *Belief of the Truth of the Word of God, and the Life to come*, which is the Spring that sets all Grace on work, and with which it rises or falls, flourishes or decays, is actuated or stands still. And that there is more of this secret Unbelief at the Root than most of us are aware of; and that our love of the World, our boldness with Sin, our neglect of Duty are caused hence. I observed easily in my self, that if at any time Satan did more than at other times weaken my Belief of Scripture, and the Life to come, my Zeal in every Religious Duty abated with it, and I grew more indifferent in Religion than before: I was more *inclined to Conformity* in those Points which

which I had taken to be sinful, and was ready to think, why should I be singular and offend the Bishops and other Superiours, and make my self contemptible in the World, and expose my self to Censures, Scorns, and Sufferings, and all for such little things as these, when the Foundations themselves have so great difficulties, as I am unable to overcome. But when Faith revived, then none of the Parts or Concernments of Religion seemed small, and then Man seemed nothing, and the World a shadow, and God was all.

In the beginning I doubted not of the truth of the *Holy Scriptures*, or of the *Life to come*, because I saw not the *Difficulties* which might cause doubting: After that I saw them and I doubted, because I saw not that which should satisfy the mind against them: Since that, having seen both *Difficulties and Evidences*, though I am not so unmolested as at the first, yet is my Faith I hope much stronger, and far better able to repel the Temptations of Satan, and the Sophisms of Infidels than before: But yet it is my daily Prayer, That God would increase my Faith, and give my Soul a clear sight of the Evidences of his Truth, and of himself, and of the invisible World.

§ 37. Whilst I was thus employed between outward Labours and inward Trials, Satan stirr'd up a little inconsiderable rage of wicked men against me. The Town having been formerly eminent for Vanity, had yearly a *Shew*, in which they brought forth the painted forms of Giants, and such like foolery, to walk about the Streets with; and though I said nothing against them, as being not simply evil, yet on every one of those Days of Riot, the Rabble of the more vicious sort had still some spleen to vent against me, as one part of their Game. And once all the ignorant Rout were raging mad against me for preaching the Doctrine of Original Sin to them, and telling them that Infants before Regeneration, had so much Guilt and Corruption, as made them loathsome in the Eyes of God: whereupon they vented it abroad in the Country, That I preached that God hated, or loathed Infants; so that they railed at me as I passed through the Streets. The next Lord's Day I cleared and confirmed it, and shewed them that if this were not true, their Infants had no need of Christ, of Baptism, or of Renewing by the Holy Ghost. And I askt them whether they durst say that their Children were saved without a Saviour, and were no Christians, and why they baptized them, with much more to that purpose; and afterward they were ashamed and as mute as fishes.

Once one of the drunken Beggars of the Town raised a slander of me, That I was under a Tree with a Woman (an ill-fam'd Beggar of the Town): All the Drunkards had got it in their mouths, before I could find out the Original. I got three or four of them bound to the Good Behaviour, and the Sot himself that raised the Slander, confessed before the Court that he saw me in a rainy day on Horseback stand under an Oak which grew in a thick Hedge, and the Woman afore-said standing for shelter on the other side the Hedge under the same Tree, and that he believed that we saw not one another; but he spake it as a Jest, and the Company were glad of the occasion to feed their Malice. So they all askt me forgiveness, and I desired the Magistrate immediately to release them all.

There lived at *Kinver* an ancient, prudent, Reverend Divine, Mr. *John Croß*, (who died since, Pastor of *Matthews Friday-street* in *London*): This godly Man had been the chief means of the good which was done in *Kidderminster* before my coming thither; when I came, I got him to take every second day in a Weekly Lecture. It came to pass once, that a Woman defamed him at *Kidderminster* openly, and told the People that he would have ravished her. Mr. *Croß* being a wise Man, sent one before to desire the Bailiff and Justice to call her to Examination, and he came after and sat in a common dark coloured Coat, among many others, in the Bailiff's Parlour, as if he had been one of the Magistrates. The Bailiff called her in, and she stood impudently to the Accusation: The Bailiff askt her whether she knew the Man if she saw him; which she confidently affirmed. He askt her, Is it this Man, or that Man, or the other Man, or any there? And she said, O no, God forbid that she should accuse any of them. Mr. *Croß* said, Am not I the Man; and she said, No, she knew the Man well enough. And when they had told her that this was Mr. *Croß*, she fell down on her knees, and askt him forgiveness, and confessed that one of his Neighbours (who was his great Accuser at the Bishops Courts) had hired her to report it. But the Good Man forgave them all.

§ 38. And here I must return to the Proceedings of the Parliament, because the rest will not be well understood without connoting the Occasions of them which were administered. When the *Londoners* cried to the House for Justice, and honour-
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ed those Members who were for the punishment of Delinquents, and dishonoured those that pleased the King, a Breach began to be made among themselves: And the Lord Digby, the Lord Falkland, and divers others, from that time forward joyned with the King; being not so immoveable as many of the rest, whom neither hope nor fear nor discontent would alienate from the Cause which they thought well of. Yet others were tried with the offer of Preferments: The Lord Say was made one of the Privy Council; Mr. Oliver St. John was made the King's Solicitor, &c. But as this did not alter them, so others of them would accept of no Preferment, lest they should be thought to seek themselves, or set their Fidelity to Sale. When the Earl of Strafford was Condemned, and the King desired to sign the Bill, many Bishops were called to give him their Advice, and it is commonly reported, that Archbishop Usher and divers others told him, that he might lawfully concur with the Judgment of his Parliament proceeding according to Law, though his own Judgment were that their Sentence was unjust: But Dr. Juxon, the Bishop of London, advised him to do nothing against his Conscience: and others would give no Advice at all. When the King had Subscribed, and Strafford was beheaded, he much repented it, even to the last, as his Speeches at his Death express. And the Judgments of the Members of the Parliament were different about these Proceedings.

Some thought that the King should not at all be displeased and provoked, and that they were not bound to do any other Justice, or attempt any other Reformation but what they could procure the King to be willing to. And these said, When you have displeased and provoked him to the utmost, he will be your King still! and when you have sate to the longest, you must be dissolved at last: you have no power over his Person, though you have power over Delinquent Subjects: And if he protect them by Arms, you must either be ruined your selves by his displeasure, or be engaged in a War: Displeasing him is but exasperating him; and would you be ruled by a King that hateth you? Princes have great Minds, which cannot easily suffer Contradiction and Rebukes: The more you offend him, the less you can trust him; and when mutual Confidence is gone, a War is beginning: And if it come to a War, either you will conquer or be conquered, or come to Agreement. If you are conquered, you and the Commonwealth are ruined, and he will be absolute, and subdue Parliaments, and Govern as he pleaseth. If you come to an Agreement, it will be either such as you force him to, or as he is willing of: If the latter, it may be easilier and cheaper done before a War than after: If the former, it will much weaken it: And if you Conquer him, what the better are you? He will still be King: You can but force him to an Agreement; and how quickly will he have power and advantage to violate that which he is forced to; and to be avenged on you all for the displeasure you have done him: He is ignorant of the Advantages of a King that cannot foresee this]. These were the Reasons of many that were for pleasing the King.

But on the other side there were Men of divers tempers: Some did not look far before them, but did what they thought was best at present: whether any designed the subduing of the King, and the change of Government, at that time, I cannot tell: For I then heard of no notable *Secretary* in the House but young Sir Henry Vane, (whose Testimony was the Death of the Earl of Strafford, when other Evidence was wanting, and of whom I shall say more anon). But the leading and prevailing part of the House were for the Execution of Strafford, and for punishing some Delinquents, though it did displease the King: And their Reasons (as their Companions tell us) were such as these: They said, If that be your Principle that the King is not to be displeased, or provoked, then this Parliament should never have been called, which you know he was forced to against his Will: and then the Ship-money should have gone on, and the Subjects Propriety, and Parliaments, have been overthrown: And then the Church Innovations should not have been controuled, nor any stop to the Subverters of our Government and Liberties attempted: then no Members should speak freely against any of these in the House; for you know that all these are very displeasing: And then what do we here? Could not the King have pleased himself without us? Or do we come to be his Instruments, to give away the Peoples Liberties, and set up that which was begun? Either it is our Duty to reform, and to recover our Liberties, and relieve our Country, and punish Delinquents, or it is not? If it be not, let us go home again: If it be, let us do it and trust God: For if the fears of foreseen Oppositions shall make us betray our Country and Posterity, we are perfidious to them, and Enemies to our selves, and may well be said to be worse than Infidels, much

rather than they that provide not for their Families; when Infidels have not thought their Lives too good to save the Commonwealth. And as for a War, the danger of it may be avoided: It is a thing uncertain, and therefore a present certain Ruine, and that by our own hand, is not to be chosen to avoid it. The King may see the danger of it as well as we, and avoid it on better Terms: Or if he were willing, he may not be able to do any great harm: Do you think that the People of *England* are so mad, as to fight against those whom they have chosen to represent them? to destroy themselves, and the hopes of their Posterity? Do they not know that if Parliaments be destroyed, their Lives and Estates are meerly at the Will and Mercy of the Conquerour? And do not you see that the People are every where for the Parliament? And for *Revenge*; what need we fear it when the Parliament may continue till it consent to its Dissolution? And sure they will not consent till they see themselves out of the danger of *Revenge*]. Such as these were the Reasonings of that Party which prevailed.

But others told them, That those that adhered to the Bishops, and were offended at the Parliaments Church Reformations, would be many; and the King will never want Nobility and Gentry to adhere to him; and the Common People will follow their Landlords, and be on the stronger side: and the intelligent part, who understand their own Interests, are but few: And when you begin a War, you know not what you do]. Thus were Mens minds then in a Division: but some unhappy means fell out to unite them so as to cause them to proceed to a War.

§ 39. The things that heightened former Displeasures to a miserable War were such as follow, on both Parts: On the Parliaments part were principally, 1. The Peoples indiscretion that adhered to them; 2. The imprudence and violence of some Members of the House, who went too high: 3. The great Diffidence they had of the King when they had provoked him.

On the other side it was hastened, 1. By the Calling up of the Northern Army. 2. By the King's imposing a Guard upon the House. 3. By his entering the House to accuse some Members. 4. By the miscarriage of the Lord *Digby* and other of the King's Adherents. 5. But above all by the terrible Massacre in *Ireland*, and the Threatnings of the Rebels to Invade *England*. A little of every one of these.

§ 40. 1. Those that desired the Parliaments Prosperity were of divers sorts. Some were calm and temperate, and waited for the Fruits of their Endeavours in their season: And some were so glad of the hopes of a Reformation, and afraid lest their Hearts and Hands should fail for want of Encouragement, that they too much boasted of them, and applauded them: which must needs offend the King, to see the People joyce in others as their Deliverers, and as saving them from him; and so to see them preferred in Love and Honour before him. But some were yet more indiscreet: The remnant of the old Separatists and Anabaptists in *London* was then very small, and scarce considerable; but they were enough to stir up the younger and unexperienced sort of Religious People, to speak too vehemently and intemperately against the Bishops and the Church and Ceremonies, and to jeer and deride at the Common Prayer, and all that was against their minds: (For the young and raw sort of Christians are usually prone to this kind of Sin; to be self-conceited, petulant, wilful, censorious, and injudicious in all their management of their Differences in Religion, and in all their Attempts of Reformation): scolding and clamouring at that which they think evil, they usually judge a warrantable Course: And it is hard finding any sort of People in the World, where many of the more unexperienced are not indiscreet, and proud and passionate.

These stirr'd up the Apprentices to joyn with them in Petitions, and to go in great numbers to *Westminster* to present them: And as they went they met with some of the Bishops in their Coaches going to the House; and (as is usual with the passionate and indiscreet when they are in great Companies) they too much forgot Civility, and cried out, *No Bishops*; which either put them really into a fear, or at least so displeased them, as gave them occasion to meet together, and draw up a Protestation against any Law which in their Absence should be passed in the Parliament, as having themselves a place there, and being, as they said, deterred from coming thither by those Clamours and Tumults.

This Protestation was so ill taken by the Parliament, as that the Subscribers of it were voted Delinquents, and sent to Prison, as going about to destroy the power of Parliaments; (and among them even Bishop *Hall* himself).

These numerous Petitioners also were very offensive to the King, insomuch that once some of his Cavaliers came out upon them armed as they passed by *Whitehall*, and caught some of them, and cut off their Ears; and Sir *Richard Wiseman* leading them, there was some Fray about *Westminster-Abbey* between the Cavaliers and them, and Sir *Richard Wiseman* was slain by a stone from off the *Abbey Walls*. And when at last the King forsook the City, these Tumults were the principal Cause alledged by him, as if he himself had not been late. Thus rash Attempts of Head-strong People, do work against the good Ends which they themselves intend; and the Zeal which hath censorious Strife and Envy, doth tend to Confusion, and every evil Work: And *Overdoing* is the ordinary way of *Undoing*.

§ 41. 2. And some Members of the House did cherish these Disorders; and because that the Subjects have liberty to Petition, therefore they made use of this their Liberty in a disorderly way. When they had disgraced Ship-money, and the *Et cætera* Oath, and Bowing towards Altars, and such things as were against Law, they stopt not there, but set themselves to cast out the *Bishops* and the *Liturgy* which were settled by Law. And though Parliaments may draw up Bills for repealing Laws, yet hath the King his Negative Voice, and without his Consent they cannot do it; which though they acknowledged, yet did they too easily admit of Petitions against the Episcopacy and Liturgy, and connived at all the Clamours and Papers which were against them.

Had they only endeavoured the Ejection of Lay Chancellors, and the reducing of the Diocesses to a narrower Compass, or the setting up of a Subordinate Discipline, and only the Correcting and Reforming of the Liturgy, perhaps it might have been borne more patiently; but some particular Members concurred with the Desires of the imprudent Reformers, who were for no less than the utter Extirpation of Bishops and Liturgy: To which purpose the Lord *Brook* wrote his Book against Episcopacy. And in the House of Commons Sir *Henry Vane* endeavoured to draw all up to the *highest* Resolutions, and by his Parts and Converse drew many (so far) to his mind. And also the sense of the younger less experienced sort of the Ministers and private Christians in the Country, was much against amending the *Bishops* and *Liturgy*, and thought this was but to guild over our Danger, and lose our Opportunity; but they were for an utter Extirpation. Though none of all this was the Sense of the Parliament, yet those Members which were of this Opinion did much to encourage the Petitioners, who in a disorderly manner laboured to effect it.

The Bishops themselves who were accounted most moderate (*Usher*, *Williams*, *Morton*) and many other Episcopal Divines with them, had before this in a Committee at *Westminster*, agreed on certain Points of Reformation, which I will give you afterward, though out of the proper place, when we come to our Proposals at the King's Return 1660. But when the same Men saw that greater Things were aimed at, and Episcopacy it self in danger, or their Grandeur and Riches at the least, most of them turned against the Parliament, and were almost as much displeased as others.

§ 42. 3. And the great distrust which the Parliament had of the King, was another thing which hastened the War: For they were confident that he was unmoveable as to his Judgment and Affections, and that whatever he granted them, was but in design to get his advantage utterly to destroy them; and that he did but watch for such an Opportunity: They supposed that he utterly abhorred the Parliament, and their Actions against his Ship-money, his Judges, Bishops, &c. and therefore whatever he promised them, they believed him not, nor durst take his word; which they were hardened in by those former Actions of his, which they called, *The Breach of his former Promises*.

§ 43. And the Things on the other side, which occasioned their Diffidence, and caused the War, were these following especially above all the rest: 1. The Armies of the *Scots* and *English* did long continue in the North undisbanded, in their Quarters, till the Parliament should provide their Pay. Some say other Business caused the delay, and some say that the Parliament was not willing that they should be so soon disbanded; but the Army of the *English* wanting pay, was easily discontented: And the Parliament say that the Court drew them into a Plot against the House, to march suddenly up towards *London*, and to Master the Parliament: Divers of the Chief Officers were Examined, (*Sir Jacob Astley*, *O Neale*, *Sir Fulk Huncks* (my Mother-in-Law's Brother) and many others; and they almost all confessed some such thing, that some near the King (but not he himself) had treated with them about bringing up the Army, but none of them talkt of destroying or

forcing the Parliament. These Examinations and Depositions were published by the Parliament, which did very much to persuade abundance of People that the King did but watch while he quieted them with Promises, to Master them by Force, and use them at his Pleasure. And this Action was one of the greatest Causes of the dangerous diffidence of the King.

§ 44. 2. Another was this : When the Parliament had set a Guard upon their own House, (which they took to be their Priviledge) the King discharged them, and set another Guard upon them of his choosing : which made them seem as much afraid, as if he had made them Prisoners, and would at some time or other command that Guard to Execute his Wrath upon them ; whereupon they dismissed them, and called for a Guard of the City Regiments. This also did increase the Diffidence.

§ 45. 3. Another great Cause of the Diffidence and War was this : The King was advised no longer to stand by, and see the Parliament affront him, and do what they listed ; but to take a sufficient Company with him, and to go suddenly in Person to the House, and there to demand some of the Leading Members to be delivered up to Justice, and tried as Traitors : Whereupon he goeth to the House of Commons with a Company of Cavaliers with Swords and Pistols, to have charged five of the Members of that House, and one of the Lords House, with High Treason ; viz. Mr. Pim, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Strowd, and Sir Arthur Haselrigge, and the Lord Kimbolton (after Earl of Manchester and Lord Chamberlain) of the Lords : But the King was not so secret or speedy in this Action, but the Members had notice of it before his coming, and absented themselves (being together at an inner House in Red-Lyon Court in Watlingstreet near Breadstreet in London) : And so the King and his Company laid hands on none, but went their ways. Had the five Members been there, the rest supposed they would have taken them away by violence.

When the King was gone, this Alarm did cast the House into such Apprehensions, as if one after another, their Liberties or Lives must be assaulted by the Sword if they pleased not the Court : So that they presently voted it a Breach of their Priviledges, and an Effect of the King's evil Counsellors, and published their Votes ; to awaken the People to rescue them, as if they were in apparent Danger.

The King being disappointed, publisheth a Paper in which he chargeth the Members with Treason, as stirring up the Apprentices to tumultuous Petitioning, &c. But confesseth his Error in violating their Priviledges.

§ 46. 4. And another thing which hastened the War, was, that the Lord Digby and some other Cavaliers, attempted at Kingston upon Thames, to have suddenly got together a Body of Horse ; which the Parliament took as the beginning of a War, or an Insurrection and Rebellion : But the Party was dissipated before they could grow to any great Strength ; and the Parliament voted him a Delinquent, and sent to apprehend him and bring him to Justice, with his Partakers : But he fled into France ; and when he was there, the Parliament intercepted some of his Letters to the King, advising him to get away from London, to some place of Strength, where his Friends might come to him ; which they took as an Advice to him to begin a War. Thus one thing after another blew the Coals.

§ 47. 5. But of all the rest, there was nothing that with the People wrought so much, as the Irish Massacree and Rebellion : The Irish Papists did by an unexpected Insurrection, rise all over Ireland at once, and seized upon almost all the Strengths of the whole Land, and Dublin wonderfully escaped (a Servant of Sir John Clotworthy's discovering the Plot) which was to have been surprised with the rest, Octob. 23. 1641. Two hundred thousand Persons they murdered, (as you may see in the Earl of Orary's Answer to a Petition, and in Dr. Jones's Narrative of the Examinations, and Sir John Temple's History, who was one of the resident Justices :) Men, Women and Children were most cruelly used ; the Women ript up, and filthily used when they killed them, and the Infants used like Toads or Vermin : Thousands of those that escaped, came stript and almost famished to Dublin, and afterwards into England to beg their Bread : Multitudes of them were driven together into Rivers, and cast over Bridges and drowned : Many Witnesses swore before the Lords Justices, that at Porrdown-bridge a Vision every Day appeared to the Passengers of naked Persons standing up to the middle in the River, and crying out, *Revenge, Revenge!* In a word, scarce any History mentioneth the like barbarous Cruelty as this was : The French Massacree murdered but Thirty, or Forty Thousand ; but Two Hundred Thousand was a Number which astonished those that heard it.

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This filled all *England* with a Fear both of the *Irish*, and of the Papiſts at home ; for they ſuppoſed that the Prieſts and the Intereſt of their Religion were the Cauſe : In ſo much, that when the Rumour of a Plot was occaſioned at *London*, the poor People, all the Countries over, were ready either to run to Arms, or hide themſelves, thinking that the Papiſts were ready to riſe and cut their Throats : And when they ſaw the *English* Papiſts join with the King againſt the Parliament, it was the greateſt thing that ever alienated them from the King.

Hereupon, the Parliament was ſolicitous to ſend help to *Dublin*, leſt that alſo ſhould be loſt. The King was ſo forward to that Service, that he preſt the Parliament that he might go over himſelf : The Parliament liked that worſt of all, as if they had been confident that ill Counſellors adviſed him to it, that he might get at the Head of two Armies, and unite them both againſt the Parliament, and by his Abſence make a Breach, and hinder the Proceedings of the Houſes.

Thoſe that came out of *Ireland* repreſent the woful Caſe of it, and the direful Uſage of the Proteſtants, ſo as provoked the People to think that it was impoſſible that any Danger to them could be greater than their Participation of the like. The few that were left at *Dublin* got into Arms, but complained of their Neceſſities, and the multitude of their Enemies ! So that an Hundred were uſed to fight againſt a Thouſand : And to increaſe the Flame, ſome *Irish* Rebels told them, that they had the King's Commiſſion for what they did ; which though the ſoberer part could not believe, yet the credulous timorous vulgar were many of them ready to believe it : And the *English* Souldiers (under Sir Charles Cootes, the Lord Incbequin, &c.) ſend over word that it was the common Feaſt of the *Irish*, that when they had done with the handful that was left in *Ireland*, they would come over into *England*, and deal with the Parliament and Proteſtants here. Theſe Threatnings with the Name of Two hundred thouſand murdered, and the Recital of their monſtrous Cruelties, made many thouſands in *England* think that nothing could be more neceſſary than for the Parliament to put the Countrey into an armed Poſture for their own Defence. And that ſide which the Papiſts of *England* took, they could hardly think would be their Security.

§ 48. Things being thus ripened for a War in *England*, the King forſaketh *London*, and goeth into the North, in *Yorkſhire* he calleth the Militia of the Country which would join with him, and goeth to *Hull*, and demandeth entrance ; Sir John Hotbam is put in truſt with it by the Parliament, and denieth him entrance with his Forces.

The Parliament nameth Lord Lieutenants for the Militia of the ſeveral Counties, and the King nameth other Lord Lieutenants by a Commiſſion of Aray, and each of them command the ſaid Lord Lieutenants to ſettle the Militia.

The Parliament publiſheth their Votes to the People, That the King, miſſed by *An. 1641* evil Counſel, was raiſing a War againſt his Parliament : The Lord Willouby of *Parham* in *Lincolnſhire*, the Lord Brook in *Warwickſhire*, and others in other Counties, call in the Country to appear in Arms for the Parliament : The King's Lords call them in to appear for the King : both King and Parliament publiſhed their Declarations juſtifying their Cauſe.

The Parliament chooſeth the Earl of *Effex* for their General, and reſolveth the raiſing of an Army, as [For the Defence of the King and Parliament, and the Liberties of the Subjects, againſt evil Counſellors and Delinquents] : They publiſh a Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom firſt, and a Declaration of the Cauſes of their taking up Arms afterward : which two contain moſt of the Reaſons of their Cauſe.

The King answereth them, and goeth to *Nottingham*, and there ſetteth up his Standard to Summon his Subjects to his Aid.

The Lord Brook and the Earl of *Northampton* had ſome ſkuffling in *Warwickſhire* : The Earl of N. with ſome Forces aſſaulted *Warwick* Caſtle, kept by Major John Bridges, and *Coventry* City, kept by Col. John Barker, and was repulſt from both. A Party aſſaulted Mr. *Purefoyes* Houſe, and burnt the Barns, where Mr. George Abbot, with a few of his Servants, repulſt them.

At *Nottingham* there were but about Two thouſand came in to the King's Standard, whereas the *Londoners* quickly fill'd up a gallant Army for the Earl of *Effex* ; and the Citizens abundantly brought in their Money and Plate (yea, the Women their Rings) to *Guildhall* to pay the Army.

Hereupon the King ſent to the Parliament from *Nottingham* the Offer of a Treaty, with ſome General Propoſals, which in my Opinion was the likeliſt Opportunity that ever the Parliament had for a full and ſafe Agreement ; and the King ſeemed

seemed very serious in it, and the lowness of his Condition upon so much Trial of his People, was very like to have wrought much with him. But the Parliament was perswaded that he did it but to get time to fill up his Army, and to hinder their Proceedings, and therefore accepted not of his Offer for a Treaty, but instead of it sent him Nineteen Proposals of their own; *viz.* That if he would Disband his Army, come to his Parliament, give up Delinquents to a Legal Course of Justice, &c. he should find them dutiful, &c. And the King published an Answer to these Nineteen Propositions; in which he affirmeth the Government to be mixt, having in it the best of Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy, and that the Legislative Power is in the King, Lords and Commons conjunct, and that the Lords are a sufficient skreen to hinder the King from wronging the Commons, and to keep off Tyranny, &c. And he adhereth only to the Law which giveth him the power of the Militia! Out of this Answer of the King's to these Nineteen Proposals, some one drew up a Political Catechism, wherein the Answers of every Question were *verbatim* the words of the King's Declaration, as if therein he had fully justified the Parliaments Cause.

The great Controversie now was the present power of the Militia: The King said that the Supreme Executive Power, and particularly the Power of the Militia, did belong to him, and not to the Parliament, and appealed to the Law. The Parliament pleaded that as the Execution of Justice against Delinquents did belong to him; but this he is bound by Law to do by his Courts of Justice, and their Executions are to be in his Name; and by a Stat. *Edw. 3.* if the King by the Little Seal, or the Great Seal, forbid a Judge in Court to perform his Office, he is nevertheless to go on: Also that for the Defence of his Kingdoms against their Enemies, the Militia is in his power; but not at all against his Parliament and People, whom Nature it self forbiddeth to use their Swords against themselves. And they alledged most the present danger of the Kingdoms, *Ireland* almost lost, *Scotland* disturbed, *England* threatened by the *Irish*, and the Ruine of the Parliament sought by Delinquents, whom they said the King, through evil Counsel did protect: And that they must either secure the Militia, or give up the Protestant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Land, and their own Necks to the Will of Papists and Delinquents.

§ 49. And because it is my purpose here, not to write a full History of the Calamities and Wars of those Times, but only to remember such Generals with the Reasons and Connexion of Things, as may best make the state of those Times understood by them that knew it not personally themselves, I shall here annex a brief Account of the Country's Case about these Differences: not as a Justifier or Defender of the Assertions, or Reasons, or Actions of either Party which I rehearse; but only in faithfulness Historically to relate things as indeed they were.

And 1. It is of very great moment here to understand the Quality of the Persons which adhered to the King, and to the Parliament, with their Reasons.

A great part of the Lords forsook the Parliament, and so did many of the House of Commons, and came to the King; but that was for the most of them, after *Edghill* Fight, when the King was at *Oxford*. A very great part of the Knights and Gentlemen of *England* in the several Counties (who were not Parliament Men) adhered to the King; except in *Middlesex*, *Essex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, &c. where the King with his Army never came: And could he have got footing there, it's like that it would have been there as it was in other places: And most of the Tenants of these Gentlemen, and also most of the poorest of the People, whom the other called the Rabble, did follow the Gentry, and were for the King.

On the Parliaments side were (besides themselves) the smaller part (as some thought) of the Gentry in most of the Counties, and the greatest part of the Tradesmen, and Free-holders, and the middle sort of Men; especially in those Corporations and Countries which depend on Cloathing and such Manufactures.

If you ask the Reasons of this Difference, ask also, why in *France* it is not commonly the Nobility nor the Beggars, but the Merchants and middle sort of Men, that were Protestants. The Reasons which the Party themselves gave was, Because (say they) the Tradesmen have a Correspondency with *London*, and so are grown to be a far more Intelligent sort of Men than the ignorant Peasants that are like Brutes, who will follow any that they think the strongest, or look to get by: And the Freeholders, say they, were not enslaved to their Landlords as the Tenants are: The Gentry, (say they) are wholly by their Estates and Ambition more dependent

dependent on the King, than their Tenants on them ; and many of them envied the Honour of the Parliament, because they were not chosen Members themselves. The other side said, That the Reason was because the Gentry (who commanded their Tenants) did better understand Affairs of State than half-witted Tradesmen and Freeholders do.

But though it must be confessed, That the Publick Safety and Liberty wrought very much with most, especially with the Nobility and Gentry, who adhered to the Parliament, yet was it principally the differences about Religious Matters that filled up the Parliaments Armies, and put the Resolution and Valour into their Soldiers, which carried them on in another manner than mercenary Soldiers are carried on. Not that the Matter of *Bishops* or *no Bishops* was the main thing, (for Thousands that wished for Good Bishops were on the Parliaments side) though many called it *Bellum Episcopale*; (And with the *Scots* that was a greater part of the Controversie.) But the *generality* of the People through the Land (I say not *all*, or every *one*) who were then called *Puritans*, *Precisions*, *Religious Persons*, that used to talk of God, and Heaven, and Scripture, and Holiness, and to follow Sermons, and read Books of Devotion, and pray in their Families, and spend the Lord's Day in Religious Exercises, and plead for Mortification, and serious Devotion, and strict Obedience to God, and speak against Swearing, Cursing, Drunkenness, Profaneness, &c. I say, the main Body of this sort of Men, both Preachers and People, adhered to the Parliament. And on the other side, the Gentry that were not so precise and strict against an Oath, or Gaming, or Plays, or Drinking, nor troubled themselves so much about the Matters of God and the World to come, and the Ministers and People that were for the King's Book, for Dancing and Recreations on the Lord's Days; and those that made not so great a matter of every Sin, but went to Church and heard Common Prayer, and were glad to hear a Sermon which lasht the *Puritans*, and which ordinarily spoke against this strictness and preciseness in Religion, and this strict Observation of the Lord's Day, and following Sermons, and praying *Ex tempore*, and talking so much of Scripture and the Matters of Salvation, and those that hated and derided them that take these Courses, the main Body of these were against the Parliament. Not but that some such for Money, or a Landlord's Pleasure, served them; as some few of the stricter sort were against them, or not for them (being Neuters): but I speak of the notable Division through the Land.

If you ask how this came to pass, it requireth a longer Answer than I think fit here to give: But briefly, Actions spring from *natural Dispositions* and *Interest*. There is somewhat in the *Nature* of all worldly Men which maketh them earnestly desirous of Riches and Honours in the World; and they that value them most will *seek them*; and they that *seek them* are more like to find them than those that despise them; and he that taketh the *World* and *Preferment* for his *Interest* will *estimate* and choose all means accordingly; and where the World is predominant, Gain goeth for Godliness, and serious Religion, which would mortify their Sin is their greatest Enemy: Yet Conscience must be quieted, and Reputation preserved, which can neither of them be done, without some Religion: Therefore such a Religion is necessary to such as is consistent with a worldly Mind; which Outside-formality, Lip-service and Hypocrisy is; but *Seriousness*, *Sincerity* and *Spirituality* is not.

On the other side, there is that in the new Nature of a spiritual Believer, which inclineth him to things above, and causeth him to look at worldly Grandeur and Riches, as things more dangerous than desirable; and he is dead to the World, and the World to him by the Cross of Christ; no wonder therefore if few such attain great Matters in the World, or ever come to Preferment or Greatness upon Earth: And there is somewhat in them which maketh them more fearful of displeasing God, than all the World, and will not give them leave to stretch their Consciences, or turn aside when the Interest, or Will of Man requireth it: And the Laws of Christ, to which they are so devoted, are of such a stream as cannot suit with carnal Interest. There is an universal and radicated Enmity between the Carnal and the Spiritual, the *Serpent's* and the *Woman's* Seed, the *fleshy Mind*, and the *spiritual Law of God*, through all the World, in all Generations, *Gen. 3. 15. Rom. 8. 6, 7, 8.* Thus Enmity is found in *England*, as well as in other Countries, between the *Godly* and the *Worldly* Minds; as he that was born after the Flesh did persecute him that was born after the Spirit, even so was it here: The vulgar Rabble of the carnal and prophane, the Fornicators, Drunkards, Swearers, &c. did every where hate them that reprov'd their Sin, and condemned them by a holy Life. This Difference was universal, and their Enmity implacable, farther than

than common Grace abated it, or special Grace cured it. So that every where serious, godly People, that would not run with others to excess of Ryot, were spoken against and derided by the Names of Precisians, Zealot, Over-strict, the holy Brethren, and other Terms of Scorn.

These things being supposed, it unhappily fell out that in the Days of Queen Mary (that we may fetch the matter *ab origine*) our Reformers, being Fugitives at Frankford, fell into a Division: One part of them were for Diocesans, and the English Liturgy and Ceremonies, that they might no more than needs depart from the Papists, nor seem unconstant by departing from what King Edward had begun. The other were for Calvin's Discipline and way of Worship; for the setting up of a Parochial Discipline instead of a Diocesan; and to have a Government in every particular Church, and not only *One* over a Thousand, or many Hundred Churches: and for a plain and serious way of Worship, suited as near as possible to God's Word.

When these two Parties returned into England, the Diocesan Party got Queen Elizabeth's Countenance, and were preferred, and their way set up. The other Party petitioned, and hoped, and waited, but were discountenanced, rebuked, and by Law suppressed. This lamentable Breach was never healed: The discountenanced Party were fervent Preachers, of holy Lives, and so were many of the Bishops also in those days! But if those that succeeded them had been as *holy* and as *diligent* Preachers, they had kept up their Honour and Places without such Assaults as they have undergone. But when Jewel, Pelkington, Grindal, and such like were dead, many succeeded them whom the People took to be other kind of Men. And the silenced Disciplinarians (as then they were called) did by their Writings, their secret Conference and Preaching, and their Godly Lives, work much upon such as were religiously addicted. And moreover, besides what they received from such Teachers, there is (I know not perfectly whence), among the most of the Religious serious People of these Countreys, a suspicion of all that is Ceremonious in God's Service, and of all which they find not warrant for in Scripture, and a greater inclination to a rational convincing earnest way of Preaching and Prayers, than to the written Forms of Words which are to be read in Churches. And they are greatly taken with a Preacher that speaketh to them in a familiar natural Language, and exhorteth them as if it were for their Lives; when another that readeth or saith a few composed Words in a reading Tone, they hear almost as a Boy that is saying his Lesson: And they are much perswaded that a just Parochial Discipline would greatly reform the Church, and that Diocesans by excluding it, cherish Vice.

Now upon the Difference between the Diocesans and the Disciplinarians, the Diocesans found that their very Places, and Power, and Lands, and Lordships were assaulted by the contrary Opinion; and therefore they thought it necessary to suppress the Promoters of it. And so putting Episcopacy, Liturgy, Ceremonies, and all into the Subscriptions which they imposed on all that would be Ministers or Schoolmasters, they kept and cast out very many worthy Men: For some that were for Liturgy and Ceremonies, were not for Diocesans, but for Parish Discipline; and some that were for Bishops were not for the Ceremonies; and some that were for the rest yet scrupled some one, and he that could not Subscribe to all, was forbidden to preach the Gospel: whereas in the mean time many Bishops preached very seldom, and abundance of Places had ignorant Readers that could not preach, and silly Preachers, whose Performances were so mean, that they had better kept to the Reading of the Homilies; and many of these were of Scandalous Lives.

Hereupon the Disciplinarians cried out of the ignorant scandalous Ministers; and almost all the scandalous Ministers (and all that studied Preferment) cried out of the Nonconformists: The name *Puritan* was put upon them, and by that they were commonly known: when they had been called by that name awhile, the vicious Multitude of the Ungodly called all *Puritans* that were strict and serious in a Holy Life, were they ever so conformable! So that the same name in a Bishops mouth signified a Nonconformist, and in an ignorant Drunkards or Swearers mouth, a godly obedient Christian. But the People being the greater number, became among themselves the Masters of the Sense. And in Spalaten's time, when he was decrying *Calvinism*, he devised the name of *Doctrinal Puritans*, which comprehended all that were against *Arminianism*. Now the ignorant Rabble hearing that the Bishops were against the Puritans, (not having wit enough to know whom they meant) were emboldened the more against all those whom they called

led Puritans themselves, and their Rage against the Godly was increased: and they cried up the Bishops, partly because they were against the Puritans, and partly because they were earnest for that way of Worship which they found most consistent with their Ignorance, Carelessness, and Sins. And thus the Interest of the Dioceans and of the Prophane and Ignorant sort of People were unhappily twisted together in *England*.

And then on the other side, as all the Nonconformists were against the Prelates, so other of the most serious godly People were alienated from them on all these forefaid conjunct Accounts.

1. Because they were derided and abused by the Name of *Puritans*.
2. Because the Malignant Sort were permitted to make Religious Persons their common Scorn.
3. Because they saw so many insufficient and vicious Men among the Conformable Clergy.
4. Because they had a high esteem of the Parts and Piety of most of the Nonconformable Ministers.
5. Because they grieved to see so many Excellent Men silenced, while so many Thousand were perishing in Ignorance and Sin.
6. Because though they took the Liturgy to be lawful, yet a more orderly serious Scriptural way of Worship was much more pleasing to them.
7. Because Fasting and Praying, and other Exercises, which they found much benefit by, were so strictly lookt after, that the High Commission and the Bishops Courts did make it much more perillous, than common Swearing and Drunkenness proved to the Ungodly.
8. Because the Book that was published for Recreations on the Lord's Day made them think that the Bishops concurred with the Prophane.
9. Because Afternoon Sermons and Lectures, though by Conformable Men, began to be put down in divers Counties.
10. Because so great a number of Conformable Ministers were suspended or punished for not reading the Book of Sports on Sundays, or about Altars, or such like: and so many Thousand Families, and many worthy Ministers, driven out of the Land.
11. Because when they saw Bowing towards Altars, and the other Innovations added, they feared worse, and knew not where they would end.
12. And lastly, Because they saw that the Bishops proceeded so far as to *swear Men* to their whole Government by the *Et cætera* Oath, and that they approved of Ship-money, and other such incroachments on their Civil Interests.

All these upon my own knowledge were the true Causes why so great a number of those Persons who were counted most Religious, fell in with the Parliament in *England*; insomuch that the generality of the stricter diligent sort of Preachers joyned with them, though not in meddling with Arms, yet in Judgment, and in flying to their Garrisons; and almost all those afterwards called *Presbyterians*, were before Conformists: Very few of all that Learned and Pious Synod at *Westminster* were Nonconformists before, and yet were for the Parliament, supposing that the Interest of Religion lay on that side.

Yet did they still keep up an honourable esteem of all that they thought Religious on the other side; such as Bishop *Davenant*, Bishop *Hall*, Bishop *Morton*, Archbishop *Usher*, &c. But as to the generality, they went so unanimously the other way, that upon my knowledge many that were not wise enough to understand the Truth about the Cause of the King and Parliament, did yet run into the Parliaments Armies, or take their part (as Sheep go together for Company) moved by this Argument, [Sure God will not suffer almost all his most Religious Servants to err in so great a matter.] And [If all these should perish what will become of Religion.] But these were insufficient Grounds to go upon. And abundance of the ignorant sort of the Country, who were Civil, did flock in to the Parliament, and filled up their Armies afterward, meerly because they heard Men *swear* for the Common Prayer and Bishops, and heard others *pray* that were against them; and because they heard the King's Soldiers with horrid Oaths abuse the name of God, and saw them live in Debauchery, and the Parliaments Soldiers flock to Sermons, and talking of Religion, and praying and singing Psalms together on their Guards. And all the sober Men that I was acquainted with, who were against the Parliament, were wont to say, [The King hath the better Cause, but the Parliament hath the better Men.]

And indeed, this unhappy Complication of the Interest of Prelacie, and Prophaneness, and Opposition of the Interest of Prelacie to the Temper of the generality of the Religious Party, was the visible Cause of the overthrow of the King in the Eye of all the understanding World, that ever was capable of observing it.

§ 50. And whereas the King's Party usually say, that it was the seditious Preachers that stirred up the People, and were the Cause of all this, I answer,

1. It is partly true, and partly not : It is not true that they stirred them up to War (except an inconsiderable Number of them, one perhaps in a County, if so much.) But it is true that they discovered their dislike of the Book of Sports, and bowing to Altars, and diminishing Preaching, and silencing Ministers, and such like ; and were glad that the Parliament attempted a Reformation of them.

2. But then it is as true, that almost all these were conformable Ministers, the Laws and Bishops having cast out the Nonconformists long enough before ; inso-much, that I know not of two Nonconformists in a County. But those that made up the Assembly at *Westminster*, and that through the Land, were the Honour of the Parliaments Party, were almost all such as had till then conformed, and took those things to be lawful in case of necessity, but longed to have that necessity removed.

§ 51. When the War was beginning, the Parties set Names of Contempt upon each other, and also took such Titles to themselves and their own Cause, as might be the fittest means for that which they designed : The old Names of *Puritans* and *Formalists* were not now broad enough, nor of sufficient force. The King's Party, as their *serious Word*, called the Parliaments Party *Rebels*, and as their common ludicrous Name, *The Round-heads* (the original of which is not certainly known : Some say, it was because the Puritans then commonly wore short Hair, and the King's Party long Hair : Some say, it was because the Queen, at *Strafford's Tryal*, asked who that *Round headed Man* was, meaning Mr. Pym, because he spake so strongly.)

The Parliaments Party called the other side commonly by the Name of *Malignants*, as supposing that the generality of the Enemies of serious Godliness went that way, in a desire to destroy the Religious out of the Land. (And the Parliament put that Name into their Mouths) and the Souldiers they called *Cavaliers*, because they took that Name to themselves ; and afterwards they called them *Dam-me's* because God *Damn me* was become a common Curse, and as a By-word among them.

The King professed to fight for the Subjects Liberties, the Laws of the Land, and the Protestant Religion. The Parliament profest the same, and all their Commissions were granted as [*for King and Parliament*] for the Parliament professed, that the Separation of the King from the Parliament, could not be without a Destruction of the Government, and that the Dividers were the Destroyers and Enemies to the State, and if the Soldiers askt each other at any Surprize or Meeting [*who are you for?*] those on the King's side said, [*for the King*] and the others said, [*for King and Parliament*] the King disowned their Service, as a Scorn, that they should say they fought for *King and Parliament*, when their Armies were ready to charge him in the Field. They said to this,

1. That they fought to redeem him from them that took him a voluntary Captive, and would separate him from his Parliament.

2. That they fought against his *Will* only, but not against his *Person*, which they desired to rescue and preserve, nor against his *Authority* which was for them.

3. That as all the Courts of Justice do execute their Sentences in the *King's Name*, and this by his *own Law*, and therefore by his *Authority*, so much more might his Parliament do.

§ 52. But now we come to the main matter ; What satisfied so many of the intelligent part of the Countrey to side with the Parliament when the War began ?

What inclined their *Affections* I have before shewed ; and it is not to be doubted but their Approbation of the Parliament in the cause of Reformation made them the easilier believe the lawfulness of their War : But yet there were some Differences which put the matter to debates among themselves. In *Warwickshire*, Sir *Francis Nashdale*, a religious Knight, was against the Parliaments War and Covenant, (though not for the Justness of the War against them.) In *Glocestershire*, Mr. *Geree*, an old ancient Nonconformist, and Mr. *Capell*, a learned Minister (who put out himself to prevent being put out for the Book of Recreations) and some others with them

them were against the lawfulness of the War ; so was Mr. *Lyford* of *Sherborn* in *Dorsetshire*, and Mr. *Francis Bamfield*, his Successor, and some other Godly Ministers in other Countries : And many resolved to meddle on no side.

Those that were against the Parliaments War were of three Minds or Parties . One Part thought that *no King* might be resisted (but these I shall not take any more notice of.) The other thought that *our King* might not be at all resisted ; because he is our Sovereign, and we have sworn to his Supremacy ; and if he be Supreme, he hath neither Superior, nor Equal : And Oaths are to be interpreted in the strictest Sense. The third sort granted that in some Cases the King might be resisted, as *Bilson*, and other Bishops hold, but not in this Case.

1. Because the Law giveth him the Militia, which was contended for ; and the Law is the measure of Power.

2. Because, say they, the Parliament began the War, by permitting Tumults to deprive the Members of their Liberty, and affront and dishonour the King.

3. Because the Members themselves are Subjects, and took the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, and therefore have no Authority to resist.

4. It is not lawful for Subjects to defend Reformation or Religion by Force, against their Sovereigns ; no such good Ends will warrant evil Means.

5. It is contrary to the Doctrine of Protestants, and the ancient Christians, and Scripture it self, which condemneth all that resist the higher Powers ; and as for the Primitive Christians, it is well known they were acquainted with no other lawful Weapons against them but *Prayers and Tears*.

6. It importeth a false Accusation of the King, as if he were about to destroy Religion, Liberties, or Parliaments, all which he is resolved to defend, as in all his Declarations doth appear.

7. It justifieth the Papists Doctrine and Practices of Rebellion, and taketh the Odium from them unto our selves, and layeth a Reproach upon the Protestant Cause.

8. It proceedeth from Impatience and Distrust of God, which causeth Men to fly to unlawful means. Religion may be preserved better by patient Sufferings.

These were their Reasons who were against the Parliaments War, which may be seen more at large in Mr. *Dudley Diggs* his Book, and Mr. *Welden's*, and Mr. *Michael Hudson's*, and Sir *Francis Nethercole's*.

§ 53. As for those on the Parliaments side, I will first tell you what they said to these Eight Reasons ; and next, what Reasons moved them to take the other side.

1. To the First Reason, they said (as before) that for the Law to give the King the Militia, signifieth no more but that the People in Parliament consented to obey him in Matter of Wars, and to fight for him, and under his Conduct : For the Law is nothing but the Consent of King and Parliament ; and the Militia is nothing but the Peoples own Swords and Strength : And that this Consent of theirs should be supposed to be meant against *themselves*, as if they consented to destroy themselves whenever he commanded it, is an Exposition against Nature, Sense, and Reason, and the common Sentiments of Mankind. And they said that the same Law required Sheriffs to exercise the Militia in Obedience to the Decrees of his Courts of Justice, and this against the King's Personal Commands, and in the King's Name. Because King and Parliament have by Law settled those Courts and Methods of Execution, a Command of the King alone can no more prevail against them, than it can abrogate a Law. And the Law, said they, is above the King, because King and Parliament are more than the King alone. And they pretend also Presidents for their Resistance.

2. To the Second, they said, that when 200000 Protestants were murdered in *Ireland*, and their Friends so bold in *England*, and the Parliaments Destruction so industriously endeavoured, it was no time for them to rebuke their Friends upon terms of Civility and good Manners, though their Zeal was mixt with Indiscretion ; and that if the *Londoners* had not shewed that Zeal for them, it might have emboldned their Enemies against them ; and that if the permitting of Petitioners to crowd to them too boldly, and speak too unmannerly can be called, the raising of a War (when they fought with none, but were assaulted themselves) then the calling up of the Army from the North, was much more so, and so they were not the Beginners. Or had they been the Beginners, it had been lawful, being but to bring Delinquents to Justice, as the Sheriff himself may in Obedience to a Court of Justice. But the *Irish* Flames which threatned them were kindled before all these

3. To the third they said, that the Parliament are Subjects *limitedly*, and not *simply*, as the King is not an *absolute*, but a *limited* King, *viz.* limited by the Laws and Constitutions of the Government; they are Subjects to him according to Law, but not subject to Arbitrary Government against Law: Their Propriety is excepted in their Subjection, and they have certain Liberties which are not subject to the Will of the King. And also, they said, That as the Sheriff is a *Subject*, and a Court of Justice; *Subjects*, and yet may resist the King's Letters, even under the Broad-Seal, and his Messengers or armed Men that act illegally (because the Law, which hath his Authority and the Parliament's, enable them so to do) so also may the Parliament, which is his highest Court of Justice. And they said, that as they have a part in the Legislative Power, they have part in the *Summa Potestas*, and so far are not Subjects. And they said, that the bare Title of *Supreme* is no Argument against the Constitution of a Kingdom, though it be expressed in an Oath. For the King is stiled, the Supreme Governor of *France*, and yet the Oath of Supremacy doth not bind us to believe, that no *French* Man may lawfully bear Arms against him.

4. They say to the fourth, That they wholly grant it; that though Religion may be the end of a lawful War, yet not of a Rebellion: nor may any Reformation be performed by any Actions which belong not to the Places and Callings of the Performers. But where the means are Lawful, Religion and Reformation are lawful Ends.

5. To the fifth they said, That they agree with all good Christians and Protestants, that true Authority may not be resisted by any Subject: But all Protestants, or most, agree with them, that a limited Governor, which hath not Authority to do what he lists, may perform an Act of Will, which is no Act of Authority; and they maintained, that the highest Power was in the Law-givers and Laws, and that the Parliament was the highest Judicature, and that it was Rebellion in them that resisted the Parliament in their legal prosecution of Delinquents, and Defence of the Land and themselves: and that *Paul, Rom. 13.* determineth not at all, whether the Emperors or the Senate was the higher Power; and that the Resisters of the Parliament are the condemned Breakers of that Order and Command.

6. To the sixth they said, that they Charge nothing on the King, but what their Eyes behold, *viz.* That he hath forsaken his Parliament, and raiseth Arms against them, and protecteth Delinquents: And this they mention but as Matter of *Fact*; for the culpability they charge upon his evil Counsellors, and Instruments: For the King being no Subject, is liable to no Accusations in any of his Courts: But it is the *Irish*, the Papist, and those guilty Persons who would ruine all, to save themselves from Justice, whom they accuse, and not the King. And whatever the King's Declarations say, Ship-money hath been imposed, the Judges have been corrupted, the *German* Horse were to have been brought in; the Northern Army was to have been brought up against the Parliament; the House was invaded and their Members demanded, a Guard was set upon them, and their Destruction (by their Enemies) was powerfully endeavoured.

7. To the seventh they said, That for the supreme legislative Authority to defend it self and the Land, and for the King's Courts of Justice to prosecute Delinquents (though against the King's Will) is no dishonour to the Protestant Religion, nor any thing like the Papists Doctrine and Practices of Rebellion; nor any Justification of them. If it were, then the very Constitution of our ancient Government or Kingdom, would it self be a dishonour to our Religion.

8. To the last they say, That Patience is our Duty so far as we are called to Sufferings, and God is to be *trusted* in the way which he hath appointed us: But if the *Irish* Rebels had foretold the Parliament and Justices of their Insurrection, and then exhorted them to Patience and Non-resistance and trusting God, or if a Thief that would rob us to exhort us to be *patient* and not resist, he doth but exhort us to be guilty of his Sin. The Protestants Patience was that which pleased the *Irish*; or (if a King must be brought in as a Party) the *French* Mens Patience in the *Parisian* Massacre pleased *Charles IX.* and the Executioners: And if in all Countries the Protestants would let the Papists cut their Throats, and die in the Honour of Patience, it would satisfie those bloody Adversaries, who had rather we died in such Honour, than lived without it: But if such Patience would be a poor Excuse for a Father that sought not to preserve his Children, much less for the Parliament that stand still while Papists and Delinquents subvert both Church and State.

These were their Answers to their Accusers in those Points.

§ 54. The Sum of those Reasons which satisfied many that adhered to the Parliament, were these, which I will but briefly name.

1. As to the *Danger of the State*, the Matters of *Fact* did make it seem undeniable to them: Ship-money they judged not of according to the Sum; but they thought Propriety was thereby destroyed, and Parliaments cast aside and made unnecessary: And they saw that this Parliament was called upon the *Scots*, and then called *Discontented Lords* importunity, after many Parliaments had been dissolved in displeasure, and after they had been long forborn: And the calling up of the Northern Army, and the demanding of the Members, made Multitudes think that the ruine of the Parliament was the great Design; and their ungrateful beginning and proceedings made this seem credible, so that I met with few of that sort that doubted of it. But above all, the Two hundred thousand kill'd in *Ireland*, affrighted the Parliament and all the Land. And whereas it is said, that the King hated that, as well as they: They answered, that though he did, his hating it would neither make all those alive again, nor preserve *England* from their threatned Assault, as long as Men of the like malignity were protected, and could not be kept out of Arms, nor brought to Justice.

2. The *End* of the War did much prevail with them: For they thought that to master and destroy the Parliament, was to leave the People hopeless, as to any Security of their Propriety or Liberties, or any Remedy against meer *Will*! For there is no other Power that may relieve them: And if Parliaments were so used before, what would they be, (said they) if by such a War they should be conquered. And they thought that the ruine of the State and of Men's Propriety, was such an *End* as *no means* could be lawfully used for; and that the *Preservation of the Kingdom* was such an *End* as would make lawful any necessary means, which God himself had not forbidden.

3. And then as to Authority, they thought that the Legislative Power is the chiefest part of Sovereignty; and that the Parliament having a part in the Legislative Power, had so far inherently a Power to defend it, which no Law can suppose them to give away: And as the *Peoples Representatives*, they supposed themselves much Intrusted to secure their reserved Liberties, which the Law giveth not the King any Authority to take away.

4. And they supposed that Government being that Publick Work which upholdeth the Common Peace, it is to be done by Publick Instruments and Means; and that the Kings Laws are his Instruments of Government, and also his Publick Courts and Officers: And that the Subjects cannot know so well, whether private Commands or Commissions be real or counterfeit, nor are so much bound to take notice of them. And that the Judgments and Executions of the Courts of Justice, being the Effect of Laws which King and Parliament have made, are of greater Authority than contrary Commissions or Commands from the King alone.

5. It much confirmed them because all confessed, That the Sheriffs of Counties must raise the *posse Comitatus* for the Execution of some Decrees of Courts of Justice, though the King forbid it, or grant a Commission to any to hinder it: And that the foresaid Statute of *Edw. 3.* maketh even the King's Letters under the Broad Seal to be void when they would hinder Justice.

6. And they pleaded the Law of Nature, which is greater than Positive Laws, That no Nation is bound to destroy it self. The Militia being nothing but the Peoples own Sword, they say they are not bound to destroy themselves with it; nor can any Law be so interpreted. And whereas it was said, That the King fought not to destroy the Parliament, but to bring some among them to punishment; they said, that it belongeth to the Parliament to judge its Members; and that if on pretence of punishing offending Members, the King may come and fetch away, or demand those that displease him, Parliaments and Liberties and all Security of them is gone.

7. The King's Answer to the Nineteen Propositions, greatly confirmed many, when they saw the King himself declaring to them, That the Legislative Power was in Kings, Lords, and Commons, and that the Government was mixt, and was not Arbitrary; which they thought it must needs be, if his Commissions were of greater power than his Laws and Courts, and if no resistance might be made against any that executed an illegal Commission.

8. It most prevailed with many, that the Parliament professed not to fight against either the *Person or Authority of the King*, though against *his Will*; but that their War was only against *Subjects*. They said that some Subjects were Delinquents that fled from Justice, against whom they might raise Arms offensively; and other Subjects took Arms against the Parliament; and against these they made a Defensive War: But all of them were *Subjects*, and not *Kings*: And the King's *Will* or Commission is not enough to save all Subjects from punishment, when his Law is against it; nor to authorize them to destroy the Parliament and their Country.

9. They were much emboldened because this Parliament was continued by Law till it should dissolve it self. And therefore some said, the King's Presence is virtually with them, he being a part of the Parliament: and others said, that no War could be lawful which was for their dissolution or ruine, or to deprive them of their Liberty; and that the defence of them was lawful, whom the Law continued.

10. They alledged King *James*, who, they said, of any Man did most endeavour to advance his Prerogative, and yet in his printed Treatise for Monarchy confesseth, That a King cannot lawfully make a War against the Body of his Kingdom, but only against an offending Faction. Therefore, say they, not against the Representative Body, till it be proved that by perfidiousness they have forfeited the Virtue and Honour of their Representation.

11. They alledged *Barclay, Grotius*, and other Defenders of Monarchy, especially that passage of *Grotius de Jure Belli*, where he saith, *That if several Persons have a part in the Summa Potestas (of which he maketh Legislation a chief Act), each part hath naturally the power of defending its own Interest in the Sovereignty against the other part if they invade it.* And addeth over boldly, *That if in such a War they conquer, the conquered party loseth to them his share:* And saith, *That this is so true that it holdeth, though the Law expressly say, that one of the Parties shall have the power of the Militia, it being to be understood that he shall have it against Forreign Enemies and Delinquents, and not against the other part.*

12. It much confirmed them to find the most Learned Episcopal Divines speak so high for the Legislative Power of Parliaments (as *Tho. Hooker* doth *Eccles. Pol. lib. 1.* for the Eighth Book, which saith more than the Parliament ever said, was not then published). And for resistance in several Cases, as Bishop *Bilson* doth, even in that Treatise wherein he so strongly defendeth Obedience, and which he dedicated to Queen *Elizabeth*. And to find how far they defend the *French, Dutch, and German* Protestants Wars.

13. They said that the Carnal respect of Men for personal Interests, hath made all the stream of most Mens Words and Writings go on the Prince's side; but Tyanny is a Mischiefe as well as Disobedience, and that which all Ages, and most Nations have grievously smarted by: and they that befriend it, are guilty of the Sin, and of the Ruines which it procureth: It keepeth out Christianity from five parts of the World: It corrupteth it and keepeth out the Protestant Truth in most of the sixth part: The Eastern and the Western Churches suffer under it, to the perdition of millions of Souls. If Bodily Sufferings were all, the matter were nothing; but it is Mens Souls, and the Interest of the Gospel, which is the Sacrifice to their *Wills*.

14. Lastly, This greatly confirmed many, that the Matter being a Controversie, whether the Disobedience and Resistance of King or Parliament, is now the Rebellion and Sin, the simple People are not wiser than the States-men that differ about it. How then should they better quiet their Judgments, than in the Judgment of the Parliament, who are the Trustees of the People, and the chief Court and Council of the King, and have so many Lawyers and Wise men among them, and are so greatly interested in the common Good themselves? If it were but the Question, *Which is the King's Governing Will, which the People must obey?* And a Soldier saith, It is my Commission, and the High Court of Parliament saith, It is the Law declared in a Court of Justice, a Parliament seemeth to be the properest Judge: As in Controversies of Physick, who is to be believed before the Colledge of Physicians? Or in Controversies of Religion, who before a General Council? If the House of *York* and *Lancaster* fight for the Crown, and both Command the Subjects Arms, the poor Peasants are not able to judge of their Titles: And if a Parliament shall not judge for them who shall?

These were the Reasons which caused Men to adhere to the Parliament in this War.

§ 55. For my own part I freely confess, that I was not judicious enough in Politicks and Law to decide this Controversie which so many Lawyers and Wise men differed in. And I freely confess, that being astonish'd at the *Irish* Massacre, and perswaded fully both of the Parliaments good endeavours for Reformation, and of their *real danger*, my Judgment of the *main Cause* much sway'd my Judgment in the Matter of the Wars: and the Arguments *à fine*, & *à natura*, & *necessitate*, which common Wits are capable of discerning, did too far incline my Judgment in the Cause of the War, before I well understood the Arguments from our particular Laws: And the Consideration of the Quality of the *Parties* that sided for each Cause, in the Countries, did greatly work with me, and more than it should have done: And I verily thought, that if that which a Judge in Court saith sententially is Law, must go for Law to the Subject, as to the Decision of that Cause, though the King send his Broad Seal against it, then that which the Parliament saith is Law, is Law to the Subjects (about the Dangers of the Common-wealth) whatever it be in it self; and that if the King's Broad Seal cannot prevail against the Judge, much less against *their* Judgment.

I make no doubt but both Parties were to blame (as it commonly falleth out in most Wars and Contentions) and I will not be he that shall Justifie either of them. I doubt not but the Headiness and Rashness of the younger unexperienced sort of religious People, made many Parliament Men and Ministers overgo themselves, to keep pace with those hot Spurs; no doubt but much Indiscretion appeared, and worse than Indiscretion in the tumultuous Petitioners, and much Sin was committed in the dishonouring of the King, and provocation of him, and in the uncivil Language against the Bishops and Liturgie of the Church: But these things came principally from the Sectarian separating Spirit, which blew the Coals among foolish Apprentices: And as the Sectaries increased so did this Insolence increase. I have my self been in *London*, when they have on the Lord's Days stood at the Church Doors while the Common Prayer was reading, saying, *We must stay till he is out of his Pottage*. And such unchristian Scorns and Jests did please young inconsiderate Wits, that knew not what Spirit they were of, nor whither such unwarrantable things did tend. Learned Mr. *John Ball*, though a Nonconformist, discerned the stirrings of this insolent Sectarian Spirit betimes, and fell a writing against it; even then when some were crying out of Persecution, and others were tender of such little Differences: One or two in the House, and five or six Ministers that came from *Holland*, and a few that were scattered in the City, which were the *Brownists* Relicts, did drive on others according to their own dividing Principles, and sowed the Seeds which afterward spread over all the Land; though then there were very few of them in the Countreys, even next to none. As Bishop *Hall* speaks against the justifying of the Bishops, so do I against justifying the Parliament, Ministers, or City: I believe many unjustifiable things were done; but I think that a few Men among them all, were the Doers or Instigators of it.

But I then thought that whosoever was faulty, the *Peoples Liberties and Safety* could not be forfeited: And I thought that all the Subjects were, not guilty of all the Faults of King or Parliament when they defended them: Yea, that if both their Causes had been bad as against each other, yet that the Subjects should adhere to that Party which most secured the welfare of the Nation, and might defend the Land under their Conduct, without owning all their Cause. And herein I confess I was then so zealous, that I thought it a great Sin for Men that were able to defend their Country, to be Neuters: And I have been tempted since to think that I was a more competent Judge upon the Place, when all things were before our eyes, than I am in the review of those Days and Actions so many Years after, when Distance disadvantage the Apprehension. A Writer (against *Cromwel's* Decimation) recanting his great Adherence to the Parliament in that War, yet so abhorreth Neutrality, that he likeneth him rather to a Dog than a Man that could stand by when his Country was in such a case: But I confess for my part I have not such censorious Thoughts of those that then were Neuters as formerly I have had: For he that either thinketh both sides raised an unlawful War, or that could not tell which (if either) was in the right, might well be excused if he defended neither.

I was always satisfied, 1. That the Dividers of the King and Parliament were the Traitors, whoever they were: and that the Division tended to the Dissolution of the Government.

2. And that the Authority and Person of the King were inviolable, out of the reach of just Accusation, Judgment, or Execution by Law ; as having no Superiour, and so no Judge.

3. I favoured the Parliaments Cause, as they professed 1. To bring Delinquents to a Legal Trial :

2. And to preserve the Person and Government of the King, by a Conjunction with his Parliament.

But Matters that Warrs and Blood are any way concerned in are so great and tenderly to be handled, that I profess to the World that I dare not, I will not justify any thing that others or I my self have done of any such consequence. But though I never hurt the Person of any Man, yet I resolve to pray daily and earnestly to God, that he will reveal to me whatever I have done amiss, and not suffer me through Ignorance to be impenitent, and would forgive me both my known and unknown Sins, and cleanse this Land from the Guilt of Blood.

§ 56. Having inserted this much of the Case of History of those Times, I now proceed to the Relation of the Passages of my own Life, beginning where I left.

When I was at *Kidderminster* the Parliament made an Order for all the People to take a Protestation to defend the King's Person, Honour and Authority, the Power and Privileges of Parliaments, the Liberties of the Subject, and the Protestant Religion, against the common Enemy meaning the Papists ; the *Irish* Massacre and Threatnings occasioning this Protestation. I obeyed them in joyning with the Magistrate in offering the People this Protestation ; which caused some to be offended with me.

About that time the Parliament sent down an Order, for the demolishing of all Statues and Images of any of the three Persons in the blessed Trinity, or of the Virgin *Mary*, which should be found in Churches, or on the Crosses in Church-yards. My Judgment was for the obeying of this Order, thinking it came from just Authority ; but I meddled not in it, but left the Churchwarden to do what he thought good. The Churchwarden (an honest, sober, quiet Man) seeing a Crucifix upon the Cross in the Church-yard, set up a Ladder to have reacht it, but it proved too short : whilst he was gone to seek another, a Crew of the drunken riotous Party of the Town (poor Journey-men and Servants) took the Alarm, and run altogether with Weapons to defend the Crucifix, and the Church Images (of which there were divers left since the time of Popery) : The Report was among them, that I was the Actor, and it was me they sought ; but I was walking almost a mile out of Town, or else I suppose I had there ended my days : when they mist me and the Churchwarden both, they went raving about the Streets to seek us. Two Neighbours that dwelt in other Parishes, hearing that they sought my Life, ran in among them to see whether I were there, and they knockt them both down in the Streets, and both of them are since dead, and I think never perfectly recovered that hurt. When they had foamed about half an hour, and met with none of us, and were newly housed, I came in from my walk, and hearing the People Cursing at me in their Doors, I wondred what the matter was, but quickly found how fairly I had scaped. The next Lord's Day I dealt plainly with them, and laid open to them the quality of that Action, and told them, Seeing they so requited me as to seek my Blood, I was willing to leave them, and save them from that Guilt. But the poor Sors were so amazed and ashamed, that they took on sorrowfully, and were loth to part with me.

§ 57. About this time the King's Declarations were read in our Market-place, and the Reader (a violent Country Gentleman) seeing me pass the Streets, stopt and said, *There goeth a Traitor*, without ever giving a syllable of Reason for it.

And the Commission of Array was set afoot (for the Parliament meddled not with the Militia of that County, the Lord *Howard* their Lieutenant not appearing). Then the rage of the Rioters grew greater than before ! And in preparation to the War, they had got the word among them [*Down with the Round-heads*] ; Inasmuch that if a Stranger past in many places that had short Hair and a Civil Habit, the Rabble presently cried, [*Down with the Round-heads*] ; and some they knockt down in the open Streets.

In this Fury of the Rabble I was advised to withdraw a while from home ; whereupon I went to *Glocester* : As I past but through a corner of the Suburbs of *Worcester*, they that knew me not, cried, *Down with the Round-heads*, and I was glad

to spur on and be gone. But when I came to *Gloucester*, among Strangers also that had never known me, I found a civil, courteous, and religious People, as different from *Worcester*, as if they had lived under another Government. There I stayed a Month, and whilst I was there, many Pamphlets came out on both sides, preparing for a War. For the Parliaments Cause the principal Writing, which very much prevailed, was, *Observations*, written by Mr. Parker a Lawyer: But I remember some Principles which I think he misapplieth, as also doth Mr. Thomas Hooker, *Eccles. polit. lib. 8. viz.* That the King is *singulis major*, but *universis minor*; that he receiveth his Power from the People, &c. For I doubt not to prove that his Power is so immediately from God, as that there is no Recipient between God and him to convey it to him: Only (as the King by his Charter maketh him a Mayor or Baliff whom the Corporation chuseth so) God by his Law, as an Instrument, conveyeth Power to that Person or Family whom the People consent to; and their Consent is but a *Conditio sine qua non*; and not any Proof that they are the Fountain of Power, or that ever the governing Power was in them; and therefore for my part I am satisfied that all *Politicks* err, which tell us of a *Majestas Realis* in the People, as distinct from the *Majestas Personalis* in the Governors. And though it be true that *quo ad naturalem bonitatem & in genere Cause finalis* the King be *universis minor*, (and therefore no War or Action is good which is against the common Good, which is the end of all Government; yet as to governing Power (which is the thing in question) the King is (as to the People) *Unversis Major*, as well as *Singulis*: For if the Parliament have any Legislative Power, it cannot be as they are the Body or People, as Mr. Tho. Hooker ill supposeth (who *lib. 1. Polit. Eccles.* maketh him a Tyrant that maketh Laws himself without the Body) but it is as the Constitution twisteth them into the Government: For if once Legislation (the chief Act of Government) be denied to be any part of Government at all, and affirmed to belong to the People as such, who are no Governors, all Government will hereby be overthrown. Besides these Observations, no Books more advantaged the Parliament's Cause, than a Treatise of Monarchy (afterwards published,) and Mr. Prin's large Book of the Sovereign Power of Parliaments, wherein he heapeth up Multitudes of Instances of Parliaments that exercised Sovereign Power.

At this time also they were every where beginning the Contention between the Commission of Array and the Parliaments Militia: in *Gloucestershire* the Country came in for the Parliament: In *Worcestershire*, *Herefordshire*, and *Shropshire*, they were wholly for the King, and none, to any purpose, moved for the Parliament.

§ 58. Whilst I was at *Gloucester* I saw the first Contentions between the Ministers and Anabaptists that ever I was acquainted with: For these were the first Anabaptists that ever I had seen in any Country, and I heard but of few more in those parts of *England*. About a dozen young Men, or more, of considerable Parts, had received the Opinion against Infant Baptism, and were re-baptized, and laboured to draw others after them, not far from *Gloucester*: And the Minister of the Place, Mr. *Winnel*, being hot and impatient with them, hardened them the more. He wrote a considerable Book against them at that time: But *England* having then no great Experience of the tendency and consequents of Annabaptistry, the People that were not of their Opinion did but pity them, and think it was a Conceit that had no great harm in it, and blamed Mr. *Winnel* for his Violence and Asperity towards them.

But this was the beginning of the Miseries of *Gloucester*; for the Anabaptists somewhat increasing on one side, before I came away, a good Man, called Mr. *Hart*, came out of *Herefordshire* with Mr. *Vaughan*, a Gentleman, and they drew many to Separation on another side: and after them in the Wars came one Mr. *Bacon*, a Preacher of the Army, and drew them to Antinomianism on another side, which together so distracted the good People, and eat out the Heart of Religion and Charity (the Ministers of the Place being not so able and quick as they should have been in confuting them, and preserving the People) that the City which had before as great Advantages for the prosperity of Religion among them, as any in the Land, in the Civility, Tractableness, and Piety of the People, became as low and Poor as others, and the Pity of more happy Places, while these Tares did dwindle and wither away the solid Piety of the Place.

§ 59. When I had been at *Gloucester* a Month, my Neighbours of *Kidderminster* came for me home, and told me, that if I stayed any longer, the People would interpret it, either that I was afraid upon some Guilt, or that I was against the

King: So I bid my Host (Mr. Darney the Town Clark) and my Friends farewell, and never came to *Gloucester* more.

When I came home I found the beggarly drunken Rowt in a very tumultuating Disposition, and the Superiors that were for the King did animate them, and the People of the Place who were accounted Religious were called *Round-heads*, and openly reviled, and threatened as the King's Enemies (who had never meddled in any Cause against the King :) Every drunken Sot that met any of them in the Streets, would tell them, [*we shall take an order with the Puritans ere long.*] And just as at their *Shews*, and *Wakes*, and *Stage-plays*, when the Drink and the Spirit of Ryot did work together in their Heads, and the Crowd encouraged one another, so was it with them now; they were like tyed Mastiffs newly loosed, and fled in the Face of all that was religious, yea, or Civil, which came in their way. It was the undoing of the King and Bishops that this Party was encouraged by the Leaders in the Countrey against the civil religious Party. Yet, after the Lord's Day when they had heard the Sermon they would a while be calmed, till they came to the Alehouse again, or heard any of their Leaders hiss them on, or heard a Rabble cry, [*Down with the Round-heads.*] And when the Wars began, almost all these Drunkards went into the King's Army, and were quickly killed, so that scarce a Man of them came home again and survived the War.

§ 60. All this time, the King having marched from *Nottingham* to *Shrewsbury*, had there very successfully made up his Army, especially out of *Shropshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Herefordshire* and *Wales*, though many came also out of other Parts: And the Earl of *Essex's* Army was filled up, and was marching down towards *Worcester*.

The Fury of the Rabble was so hot at home, that I was fain to withdraw again, and being with one Mr. Hunt near *Inkborough*, there came a Party of the Earl of *Essex's* Army before the rest, to block up the Lord *Byron* in *Worcester*, till the Earl of *Essex* came to take him there. This Party lay in a Meadow near *Powick*, above a Mile from *Worcester*, Mr. Hunt. with other Countreymen bringing them in Provision; I had a great mind to go see them, having never seen any part of an Army; As soon as I came, a Messenger came out of *Worcester* secretly, to tell them that the Lord *Byron* was mounted and ready to be gone: Hereupon, the Commanders (Col. *Brown* a Scot, Col. *Edwin Sans* of *Kent*, and Col. *Nath. Fienes*, Capt. *Joh. Fienes*, and Capt. *Wingate*) consulted what was to be done; *Brown* and *Sands* were hot for the leaving of their Ground (where they were secure by a River) and presently to pursue the Enemy: The rest said, This Message may be a Deceit, to draw us into a Snare; let us first send Scouts, and see how it is. But the other prevailed, and over the Bridge they went; (being all horse and Dragoons) and by that time they had past a narrow Lane, and half of them entred a Field beyond it, they found the King's Horse under the Command of Prince *Rupert* drawn up ready to charge them (when they knew not whom they fought with, nor knew that Prince *Rupert* was within twenty Miles of them) so he charged them before the rest came in, and Col. *Sands* was wounded and taken Prisoner, and died of his Wounds; and Major *Douglas* slain, and the rest fled; and though the Enemy pursued them no farther than the Bridge, yet fled they in grievous terror to *Parthore*, and the Earl of *Essex's* Life Guard lying there, took the Alarm that the Enemy was following them, and away they went. This Sight quickly told me the Vanity of Armies, and how little Confidence is to be placed in them.

§ 61. Upon this, Prince *Rupert* fetcht off the Lord *Byron* and marcht away; and the next Day the Earl of *Essex* came to *Worcester*, with many Lords and Knights, and a flourishing Army, gallantly cloathed, but never tried in Fight.

There were with his Army, as Chaplains to the several Regiments, abundance of famous, excellent Divines; viz. Mr. *Stephen Marshall* and Dr. *Burges* to the Earl of *Essex's* Regiments, Mr. *Obediah Sedgwick* to Col. *Hollis's* Regiment, Dr. *Calibute Downing* to the Lord *Roberts's* Regiment, Mr. *John Sedgwick* to the Earl of *Stamford's* Regiment, Dr. *Spurtow*, to Mr. *Hampdens*, Mr. *Perkins* to Col. *Goodwin's*, Mr. *Moor* to the Lord *Wharton's*, Mr. *Adoniram Bifield* to Sir *Henry Cholmley's*, Mr. *Nalton* to Col. *Grantham's*, Mr. *Simeon Ajh* to the Lord *Brooks* or the Earl of *Manchester's*, (I remember not whether) Mr. *Morton* of *Newcastle*, with Sir *Arthur Haselrigg's* Troop; with many more. Mr. *Bifield* and Mr. *Moor* quartered with us at *Kidderminster*, where were the Regiments of Col. *Essex*, the Lord *Wharton* Sir *Henry Cholmley*, and the Lord *Brooks* at *Beudeley*: while they quartered there, the King's Army was upon the March from *Shrewsbury* towards *Oxford*: Their way lying through *Wolverhampton*, some of their Scouts appeared on the Top of *Kniver Edge*,

Edge, three miles from *Kidderminster* : The Brigades in *Kidderminster* not knowing but all the King's Army might come that way, marcht off to *Worcester*, and in haste left a Carriage or two with Arms behind : some of the Inhabitants hasted to the King's Soldiers, and told them all, which made them come into the Town and take those Arms.

The Fury of our own Rabble, and of the King's Soldiers was such, that I saw no safety in staying at home : The Civility of the Earl of *Essex's* Army was such, that among them there was no danger (though none of them knew me) : And there was such excellent Preaching among them at *Worcester*, that I stayed there among them a few days, till the marching of the King's Army occasioned their remove.

Upon the Lord's Day following I preached at *Alcester* for my Reverend Friend Mr. *Samuel Clark* : As I was preaching the People heard the Cannon play, and perceived that the Armies were engaged ; when Sermon was done (in the Afternoon) the report was more audible, which made us all long to hear of the success : About Sun-setting (*Octob. 23. 1642.*) many Troops fled through the Town, and told us that all was lost on the Parliament side, and the Carriage taken and Waggon's plundered before they came away ; and none that followed brought any other News. The Towns-men sent a Messenger to *Stratford* upon *Avon* to know the certain truth. About four a clock in the Morning the Messenger returned, and told us, That Prince *Rupert* wholly routed the left Wing of the Earl of *Essex's* Army ; but while his Men were plundering the Waggon's, the main Body and the Right Wing routed the rest of the King's Army, took his Standard (but it was lost again) ; kill'd his General the Earl of *Lindsey*, and his Standard-bearer, took Prisoner the Earl of *Lindsey's* Son the Lord *Willoughby*, and others ; and lost few Persons of Quality, and no Noblemen but the Lord *St. John*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Bullingbrook* : and that the loss of the left Wing was through the Treachery of Sir *Faithful Fortescue*, Major to the Lord *Fielding's* Regiment of Horse, who turned to the King when he should have Charged : and that the Victory was obtained principally by Colonel *Hollis's* Regiment of *London* Red-Coats, and the Earl of *Essex's* own Regiment, and Life-Guard, where Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, and Col. *Urrey* did much.

The next Morning being willing to see the Field where they had fought, I went to *Edgbill*, and found the Earl of *Essex* with the remaining part of his Army keeping the Ground, and the King's Army facing them upon the Hill a mile off ; and about a Thousand dead Bodies in the Field between them, (and I suppose many were buried before) : and neither of the Armies moving toward each other. The King's Army presently drew off towards *Banbury*, and so to *Oxford*. The Earl of *Essex's* Army went back to provide for the wounded, and refresh themselves at *Warwick* Castle, (the Lord *Brook's* House).

For my self I knew not what Course to take : To live at home I was uneasy ; but especially now, when Soldiers on one side or other would be frequently among us, and we must be still at the Mercy of every furious Beast that would make a prey of us : I had neither Money nor Friends : I knew not who would receive me in any place of Safety ; nor had I any thing to satisfy them for my Diet and Entertainment. Hereupon I was persuaded by one that was with me to go to *Coventry*, where one of my old Acquaintance was Minister, (Mr. *Simon King*, sometime School-master at *Bridgenorth*) : So thither I went with a purpose to stay there till one side or other had got the Victory, and the War was ended, and then to return home again : For so wise in Matters of War was I, and all the Country besides, that we commonly supposed that a very few days or weeks by one other Battle, would end the Wars ; and I believe that no small number of the Parliament-men, had no more wit than to think so to. There I stayed at Mr. *King's* a month, but the War was as far from being like to end as before.

Whilst I was thinking what Course to take in this Necessity, the Committee and Governour of the City desired me that I would stay with them, and lodge in the Governour's House, and preach to the Soldiers. The offer suited well with my Necessities, but I resolved that I would not be Chaplain to the Regiment, nor take a Commission ; but if the meer preaching of a Sermon once or twice a week to the Garrison would satisfy them, I would accept of the Offer, till I could go home again. (Mr. *Aspinall*, one of the Ministers of the Town, had a Commission from the Earl of *Essex* to be Chaplain to the Garrison Regiment ; but the Governour and Committee being displeased with him, made no use of him. And when he was displeased, as thinking I would take his place, I assured him I had no such in-

tent ; and about a Twelve-month after he died). Here I lived in the Governours Houſe, and followed my Studies as quietly as in a time of Peace, for about a year, only preaching once a week to the Soldiers, and once on the Lord's Day to the People, not taking of any of them a Penny for either, ſave my Diet only.

Here I had a very Judicious Auditory ; among others many very godly and judicious Gentlemen ; as Sir *Richard Skeffington* (a moſt noble, holy Man) Col. *Godfrey Boſvile*, Mr. *Mackworth*, with many others ; of all which Mr. *George Abbot* was the chief (known by his Paraphraſe on *Job*, and his Book againſt Bread for the Lord's Day). And there were about thirty worthy Miniſters in the City, who fled thither for Safety from Soldiers and Popular Fury, as I had done, though they never meddled in the Wars ; viz. Mr. *Richard Vines*, Mr. *Anthony Burges*, Mr. *Burdall*, Mr. *Brumſkill* (who lived with that Eminent Saint the old Lady *Bromley*, Widow to Judge *Bromley*, whoſe only diſcernable fault to me) was too much Humility and Low thought of her ſelf), Dr. *Bryan*, Dr. *Grew*, Mr. *Stephens*, Mr. *Craddock*, Mr. *Morton* of *Bewdley*, (my ſpecial Friend) Mr. *Diamond*, good old Mr. *Overton*, and many more, whoſe preſence commanded much reſpect from me. I have cauſe of continual thankfulneſs to God for the quietneſs and ſafety, and ſober, wiſe, religious Company, with liberty to preach the Goſpel, which he vouchſafed me in this City, when other Places were in the Terrours and Flames of War.

§ 62. When I had been above a year at *Coventry*, the War was ſo far from being ended, that it had diſperſed it ſelf into almoſt all the Land : only *Middleſex*, *Hartfordſhire*, moſt of *Bedford* and *Northamptonſhire* were only for the Parliament, and had ſome quietneſs : And *Effex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and *Huntingtonſhire* with the Iſle of *Eli*, were called the Affociated Counties, and lived as in Peace, becauſe the King's Armies never came near them : and ſo for the moſt part it was with *Kent*, *Surrey*, and *Suffex*. And on the other ſide, *Herefordſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, and *Shropſhire*, (till this time) and almoſt all *Wales*, (ſave *Pembrokſhire*, which was wholly for the Parliament) were only poſſeſſed for the King, and ſaw not the Forces of the Parliament : But almoſt all the reſt of the Counties had Garrifons and Parties in them on both ſides, which cauſed a War in every County, and I think there where few Pariſhes where at one time or other Blood had not been ſhed.

§ 63. And here I muſt repeat the great Cauſe of the Parliaments ſtrength and the King's ruine ; and that was, That the debauched Rabble through the Land, emboldened by his Gentry, and ſeconded by the Common Soldiers of his Army, took all that were called *Puritans* for their Enemies : And though ſome of the King's Gentry and Superiour Officers were ſo Civil that they would do no ſuch thing, yet that was no Security to the Country, while the multitude did what they liſt. So that if any one was noted for a ſtriſt and famous Preacher, or for a Man of a precise and pious Life, he was either plundered, or abuſed, and in danger of his Life : So that if a Man did but pray in his Family, or were but heard repeat a Sermon, or ſing a *Pſalm*, they preſently cried out, *Rebels*, *Round-heads*, and all their Money and Goods that were portable proved guilty, how innocent ſoever they were themſelves. I ſuppoſe this was kept from the knowledge of the King, and perhaps of many ſober Lords of his Council : (for few could come near them ; and it is the fate of ſuch not to believe evil of thoſe that they think are for them, nor good of thoſe that they think are againſt them). But upon my certain knowledge this was it that filled the Armies and Garrifons of the Parliament with ſober, pious Men. Thouſands had no mind to meddle with the Wars, but greatly deſired to live peaceably at home, when the Rage of Soldiers and Drunkards would not ſuffer them : ſome ſtayed till they had been imprifoned ; ſome till they had been plundered, perhaps twice or thrice over, and nothing left them ; ſome were quite tired out with the abuſe of all Corners that quartered on them ; and ſome by the inſolency of their Neighbours ; but moſt were afraid of their Lives ; and ſo they fought refuge in the Parliaments Garrifons. Thus when I was at *Coventry* the Religious part of my Neighbours at *Kiddermiſter* that would fain have lived quietly at home, were forced (the chiefſt of them) to be gone : And to *Coventry* they came ; and ſome of them that had any Eſtate of their own, lived there on their own charge ; and the reſt were fain to take up Arms, and be Garrifon Soldiers to get them bread.

§ 64. In *Shropſhire*, where my Father dwelt, both he and all his Neighbours that were noted for praying and hearing Sermons, were plundered by the King's Soldiers, ſo that ſome of them had almoſt nothing but Lumber left in their Houſes : though my Father was ſo far from meddling on either ſide, that he knew not what they

they were doing, but followed his own business ; nor had he seen me, or heard of me of a long time.

At this time Col. *Mitton*, and other *Shropshire* Gentlemen, resolved to settle a Garrison at *Wem*, a little Town in their own Country, eight Miles from *Shrewsbury*, and Mr. *Mackworth*, Mr. *Hunt*, &c. were earnest with me to go with them because it was my Native Country. I was desirous to be near my Father if I could any way relieve him, and to be absent a while from *Coventry*, (there being some Difference between the Earl of *Denbigh* and the Committee, which went high): so I consented to go with them only for a few weeks, and to return : Their Design was to get some of my Neighbours thither, who they knew would follow me ; and about thirty or forty of them joyned in Colonel *Mackworth's* Troop and went.

As soon as we came thither, and they began to fortifie *Wem*, the Lord *Capell* brought his Army from *Shrewsbury* against them ; where (Sir *William Brereton* bringing the *Cheeshire* Trained Bands to assist the little handful at *Wem*) the two Armies lay within a Mile of each other two or three Days, and after some little Skirmishing the Lord *Capell* drew off, and marcht into *Cheeshire* to *Nantwich*, being assured thereby to draw off the *Cheeshire* Men, and then resolved the same Night to return and Storm the Town ; and his Plot took according to his Contrivance ; for that Night he plundered all the Villages about *Nantwich*, and at Midnight march'd back another way : The *Cheeshire* Men were quickly on their March, when they heard that the Enemy was plundering their Countrey : and by that time they came to *Nantwich* the Lord *Capell* was got back again to *Wem*. There was nothing about the Town but a Ditch little bigger than such as Husbandmen inclose their Grounds with, and this not finished ; and the Gates, new made, had no Hinges, but were reared up, and there was but very few Men in the Town ; especially under the Command of Col. *Hunt* (a plain hearted, honest, godly Man, entirely beloved, and trusted by the Soldiers for his Honesty) : I went with the *Cheeshire* Men to *Nantwich* ; when they came thither, they understood the Stratagem of the Lord *Capell*, and heard that they were storming *Wem* ; and Sir *William Brereton* would have had his Men march after them presently, to relieve *Wem* ; but the Soldiers were all Commanders, and seeing their own Countrey plundered in their Absence, and being weary, they all resolved that they would not go ; and so *Wem* was given up as lost ; but in the Morning about three or four a Clock, when we thought they had been asleep, their Minds all changed, and to *Wem* they would then go ; but they marcht so slowly, and halted by the way, that the Lord *Capell's* Army had twice stormed *Wem*, and being beaten back, drew off just as the *Cheeshire* Men came upon them, and secured their Retreat by *Lee-bridge* and the Darkness of the Night, and the Ignorance of their Fears and Disorders in the Army that pursued them. When we came to *Wem*, we found that the Lord *Capell* had been twice repulst with much loss ; Col. *Win* slain, and Col. Sir *Tho. Scriven* mortally wounded, and little Hurt done to any in the Town.

§ 65. When I had staid here, and at *Longford* Garrison about two Months or more, and had redeemed my Father out of Prison at *Lilleshul*, I returned to *Coventry*, and my Neighbours would not stay behind : (the recital of Military Passages there and elsewhere, belongeth not to my present purpose, but as it concerneth the History of my own Life, and therefore I leave them to such as write the History of those Wars) : When I came to *Coventry*, I settled in my old Habitation and Employment, and followed my Studies there in quietness for another Year. But whereas whilst I rode up and down, my Body had more Health than of a long time before, when I settled to my Studies in a Sedentary Life (and grieved for the Calamitous Condition of the Land) I fell weaker than ever I was before : And going to *London* was long under the Cure of Sir *Theodore Meyern*, and somewhat recovered, returned again.

§ 66. The Garrison of *Coventry* consisted half of Citizens, and half of Country-men : the Country-men were such as had been forced from their own Dwellings, the most religious Men of the Parts round about, especially from *Bremicham*, *Sutton-Coldfield*, *Tamworth*, *Nuneaton*, *Hinkley*, *Rugby*, &c. These were Men of great Sobriety and Soundness of Understanding as any Garrison heard of in *England* : But one or two that came among us out of *New England* (of Sir *Henry Vane's* Party there) and one Anabaptist Taylor, had almost troubled all the Garrison, by infecting the honest Soldiers with their Opinions : But they found not that Success in *Coventry*, as they had done in *Cromwel's* Army. In publick I was fain to preach over all the Controversies against the Anabaptists first, and then against the Separatists

ratists; and in private, some of my *Worcestershire* Neighbours, and many of the Foot Soldiers were able to baffle both Separatists, Anabaptists, and Antinomians, and so kept all the Garrison sound: Whereupon, the Anabaptists sent to *Bedford* for one Mr. *Benjamin Cox*, an old Anabaptist Minister, and no contemptible Scholar, the Son of a Bishop; and he and I had first a Dispute by Word of Mouth, and after by Writing; and his Surceasing gave me ease: In conclusion a few poor Townsmen only were carried away, about a Dozen Men and Women; but the Souldiers and the rest of the City kept sound from all Infection of Sectaries and Dividers.

§ 67. While I lived here in Peace and Liberty, as Men in a dry House do hear the Storms abroad, so did we daily hear the News of one Fight or other, or one Garrison or other won or lost; the two *Newbery* Fights, *Glocester* Siege, the marvellous Sieges of *Plimouth*, *Lime*, and *Taunton*, Sir *William Waller's* Successes and Losses; the Loss at *Newark*, the Slaughter at *Bolton*, the greatest Fight of all at *Tork*, with abundance more. So that hearing such sad News on one side or other was our daily Work; infomuch that as duly as I awakened in the Morning I expected to hear one come and tell me, *such a Garrison is won or lost*, or *such a Defeat received or given*: And [*do you hear the News*] was commonly the first Word I heard. So miserable were those bloody Days, in which he was the most honourable, that could kill most of his Enemies.

But among all these I was especially pleased with the Surprise of *Shrewsbury*; both because it was done without loss of Blood, and because my Father and many of my dear Friends were thereby redeemed, for when I returned from *Wim* to *Coventry*, it happily fell out that Sir *Fulk Hunkes* was made Governor of *Shrewsbury* by the King, and he protected my Father while he was there: But at last the Gentry of the Countrey and he agreed not, he being too much a Soldier, and too civil for many of them, and they procured him to be removed, and Sir *Rich. Oatley* first, and after Sir *Mich. Earnley* made Governors. Sir *Fulk Hunkes* was confident when he went, that their Drunkenness and Carelessness would shortly lose the Town; and so it did indeed fall out: His old Mother, the Lady *Hunkes*, he left with my Father, where she died between 80, and 100 Years old. But when he was gone my Father was made one of the Collectors of their Taxes for the King, which he justly performed: But he would not forcibly distrain of them that refused to pay, as not knowing but they might hereafter recover it all of him; for which he was laid in Prison by them that swore he should lie and rot there: But he had been there but a few Weeks, before the Keeper in the night came to him, and beg'd his Favour to save him and his House, for the Parliaments Souldiers had surprised the Town: My Father would not believe it, till he heard and saw that which compell'd his Belief; and with what Joy I need not tell.

§ 68. There were abundance of strange Providences in these times that fell out for some particular Persons: The marvellous Preservation of Souldiers by Bibles in their Pockets which have received the Bullets, and such like I will not mention. When Prince *Rupert* put the Inhabitants of *Bolton* in *Lancashire* to the Sword, (Men, Women, and Children) an Infant escaped alive, and was found lying by her Father and Mother, who were slain in the Streets: an Old Woman took up the Child, and carried it home, and put it to her Breast for warmth, (having not had a Child her self of about 30 Years) the Child drew Milk, and so much, that the Woman nursed it up with her Breast Milk a good while: The Committee desired some Women to try her, and they found it true, and that she had a considerable proportion of Milk for the Child: If any one doubt of this, they may yet be relolved by Mrs. *Hunt*, Wife to Mr. *Rowland Hunt* of *Harrow on the Hill*, who living then in *Manchester*, was one of them that by the Committee was desired to trie the Woman, and who hath oft told it me, and is a credible, godly, discreet Gentlewoman, and Wife to a Man of most exemplary Holiness, and of the primitive Sincerity without Self-seeking, Hypocrisie and Guile. The Maid her self thus nursed up, lived afterwards in *London*.

This putteth me in mind of that worthy Servant of Christ, Dr. *Teat*, who being put to fly suddenly with his Wife and Children from the Fury of the *Irish* Rebels, in the Night without Provision; wandred in the Snow out of all ways upon the Mountains till Mrs. *Teat*, having no suck for the Child in her Arms, and he being ready to die with Hunger, she went to the Brow of a Rock to lay him down, and leave him that she might not see him die, and there in the Snow out of all ways where no Footsteps appeared, she found a Suck-bottle full of new, sweet Milk, which preserved the Child's Life.

In *Cornwall*, Sir *Rich. Greenwile* having taken many Souldiers of the Earl of *Essex's* Army, sentenced about a dozen to be hanged : when they had hanged two or three, the Rope broke which should have hanged the next : And they sent for new Ropes so oft to hang him, and all of them still broke, that they durst go no farther, but saved all the rest : Besides universal undeniable Report, I had this oft told me by Mr. *Woodhouse*, an honest godly sober Man, a Sisters Son of Justice *Kettleby* of *Shropshire*, who himself stood by expecting Death, and was one of the Number of them whose Lives were saved by it.

If I would here give an account of all the Military Actions of those times which I had the certain knowledge of ; the manner of taking and losing Towns and Castles, the Progress of the main Armies and of the Parties in the several Counties, in *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, *Yorkshire*, *Derbyshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *Gloucestershire*, and other Counties where particular Wars were carried on, and between *Pembrokeshire* and the rest of *Wales*, and also the manner of the several great Fights, especially that at *Marston-moor* near *York*, it would fill of it self a greater Volume than I intend, and is a matter besides my present purpose, and fit to be done in another manner : And therefore I shall pass that by, and proceed in the Narrative of the passages of my own Life, interposing only Generals, and the passages which occasioned them.

§ 69. When by the great Mercy of God I had lived two years in quietness at *Coventry*, the Earl of *Essex* being weakened by a great loss in *Cornwall*, fell under the great displeasure of some of the Parliament, not as to his Person, but as to the Conduct of Affairs, who prevailed to have him laid by. The Causes were all these in Conjunction: An. 1644

1. Though none could deny but the Earl was a Person of great Honour, Valour, and Sincerity ; yet did some Accuse the Soldiers under him of being too like the King's Soldiers in Profaneness, lewd and vicious Practices, and rudeness in their Carriage towards the Country ; and it was withal urg'd, that the Revolt of Sir *Faithful Fortescue*, Sir *Richard Greenwile*, Col. *Urrey*, and some others, was a satisfying Evidence, that the irreligious sort of Men were not to be much trusted, but might easily by Money be hired to betray them.

2. And it was discovered that the Earl of *Essex's* Judgment (and the wisest Mens about him) was never for the ending the Wars by the Sword, but only to force a Pacificatory Treaty : He thought that if the King should Conquer, the Government of the Kingdom would be changed into Arbitrary, and the Subjects Propriety and Liberty lost : And he thought that if he himself should utterly conquer the King, the Parliament would be tempted to encroach upon the King's Prerogative, and the Priviledges of the Lords, and put too much Power in the Gentries and the Peoples hands, and that they would not know how to settle the State of the Kingdom, or the Church, without injuring others, and running into Extreame, and falling into Divisions among themselves. Therefore he was not for a Conquest of the King. But they saw the Delay gave the King advantage, and wearied out and ruined the Country, and therefore they now began to say, that at *Edgibill*, at *Newbury*, and at other times, he had never prosecuted any Victory, but stood still and seen the King's Army retreat, and never pursued them when it had been easie to have ended all the Wars.

3. But the chief Cause was, that Sir *H. Vane* by this time had increased Sectaries in the House, having drawn some Members to his Opinion ; and *Cromwell*, who was the Earl of *Manchester's* Lieutenant General, had gathered to him as many of the Religious Party, especially of the Sectaries as he could get ; and kept a Correspondency with *Vane's* Party in the House, as if it were only to strengthen the Religious Party : And *Manchester's* Army, especially *Cromwell's* Party, had won a Victory near *Horncastle* in *Lincolnshire*, and had done the main Service of the day at the great fight at *York* ; and every where the Religious Party that were deepliest apprehensive of the Concernment of the War, had far better Success than the other sort of Common Soldiers.

These things set together, caused almost all the Religious sort of Men in Parliament, Armies, Garrisons and Country, to be for the new modelling of the Army, and putting out the looser sort of Men (especially Officers) and putting Religious Men in their steads. But in all this Work, the *Vanists* in the House, and *Cromwell* in the Army, joined together, out-witted and over-reacht the rest, and carried on the Interest of the Sectaries in special, while they drew the Religious Party along as for the Interest of *Godliness* in the general.

The two Designs of *Cromwell* to make himself great, were,

1. To Cry up Liberty of Conscience, and be very tender of Men differing in Judgment, by which he drew all the Separatists and Anabaptists to him, with many soberer Men.

2. To set these self-esteeming Men on work to arrogate the Glory of all Successes to themselves, and cry up their own Actions, and depress the Honour of the Earl of *Manchester*, and all others; though Men of as much Godliness at least as they: so that they did proclaim the Glory of their own Exploits, till they had got the fame of being the most valiant and Victorious Party. The truth is, they did much, and they boasted of more than they did.

And these things made the new modelling of the Army to be resolved on. But all the Question was how to effect it, without stirring up the Forces against them which they intended to disband: And all this was notably dispatcht at once, by One Vote, which was called the *Self-denying Vote*, viz. That because Commands in the Army had much pay, and Parliament Men should keep to the Service of the House, therefore no Parliament Men should be Members of the Army. This pleased the Soldiers, who looked to have the more pay to themselves; and at once it put out the two Generals, the Earl of *Essex* and the Earl of *Manchester*, and also Sir *William Waller* a godly valiant Major General of another Army; and also many Colonels in the Army, and in other parts of the Land, and the Government of *Corventry*, and of many other Garrisons: and to avoid all Suspicion *Cromwell* was put out himself.

When this was done, the next Question was, Who should be Lord General, and what new Officers should be put in, or old ones continued? And here the Policy of *Vane* and *Cromwell* did its best: For General they chose Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Son to the Lord *Ferdinando Fairfax*, who had been in the Wars beyond Sea, and had fought valiantly in *Yorkshire* for the Parliament, though he was over-powered by the Earl of *Newcastle's* Numbers. This Man was chosen because they supposed to find him a Man of no quickness of Parts, of no Elocution, of no suspicious plotting Wit, and therefore One that *Cromwell* could make use of at his pleasure. And he was acceptable to sober Men, because he was Religious, Faithful, Valiant, and of a grave, sober, resolved Disposition; very fit for Execution, and neither too Great nor too Cunning to be Commanded by the Parliament.

And when he was chosen for General, *Cromwell's* men must not be without him: so valiant a Man must not be laid by: The Self-denying Vote must be thus far only dispensed with: *Cromwell* only, and no other Member of either House, must be excepted, and so he is made Lieutenant General of the Army: and as many as they could get of their Mind and Party, are put into Inferiour Places, and the best of the old Officers put into the rest. But all the *Scotch-men* (except only Adjutant *Crey*) are put out of the whole Army, or deserted it.

§ 70. And here I must digress to look back to what I had forgotten, of the *Scots* Army and the Covenant: When the Earl of *Newcastle* had over-powered the Lord *Fairfax* in the North, and the Queen had brought over many Papists Soldiers from beyond Sea, and formed an Army under General *King* a *Scot*, and the King had another great Army with himself under the Command of the Earl of *Forth*, another old *Scottish* General; so that they had three great Field Armies, besides the Lord *Goring's* in the West, and all the County Parties, the Parliament were glad to desire Assistance from the *Scots*; (whose Army was paid off and disbanded before the *English* Wars). The *Scots* consented; but they offered a Covenant to be taken by both Nations, for a resolved Reformation, against Popery, Prelacy, Schism, and Prophaneness, (the Papists, the Prelatists, the Sectaries, and the Prophane, being the four Parties which they were against.)

This Covenant was proposed by the Parliament to the Consideration of the Synod at *Westminster*: The Synod stumbled at some things in it, and especially at the word [*Prelacy*.] Dr. *Burges* the Prolocutor, Mr. *Gataker*, and abundance more declared their Judgments to be for Episcopacy, even for the ancient moderate Episcopacy, in which one stated President with his Presbytery, governed every Church; though not for the *English* Diocesan frame, in which one Bishop, without his Presbytery, did by a Lay-Chancellour's Court, govern all the Presbyters and Churches of a Diocese, being many hundreds; and that in a Secular manner by abundance of upstart Secular Officers, unknown to the Primitive Church. Hereupon grew some Debate in the Assembly; some being against every Degree of Bishops, (especially the *Scottish* Divines,) and others being for a moderate Episcopacy. But these *English* Divines would not Subscribe the Covenant, till there were

an alteration suited to their Judgments: and so a Parenthesis was yielded to, as describing that sort of Prelacy which they opposed, *viz.* [That is, Church Government by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy.] All which conjoynd are mentioned as the Description of that Form of Church Government which they meant by Prelacy, as not extending to the ancient Episcopacy.

When the Covenant was agreed on, the Lords and Commons first took it themselves, and Mr. Thomas Coleman preached to the House of Lords, and gave it them with this publick Explication, *That by Prelacy we mean not all Episcopacy, but only the form which is here described.*

When the Parliament had taken it they sent it to all the Garrisons, and Armies to be taken: and commended it to all the People of the Land. And when the War was ended, they caused all the Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers which had been against them in the Wars, to take it before they would admit them to Composition; and take it they did: And they required that all young Ministers should take it at their Ordination.

The Covenant being taken, the Scots raised an Army to help the Parliament, which came on and began to clear the North, till at York fight, the Scots Army, the Earl of Manchester's Army, and the Lord Fairfax's small Army, joyned Battel against Prince Rupert's Army, and General King's Army, and the Earl of Newcastle's Army, where they routed them, and it was thought about 5000 were slain upon the place, besides all that died after of their wounds.

After this the Scots Army lay still in the North a long time, and did nothing, till thereby they became odious as a burden to the Land: The Scots said, that it was caused by the Policy of the Sectaries, that kept them without pay, and without orders to March. Their Adversaries (the Vanists and the Cromwellians) said it was their own fault, who would not March. At last they were Commanded to besiege Hereford City, where they lay a long time, till the Earl of Montross, having raised an Army in Scotland against them for the King, had made it necessary for them to return into their own Country, and leave Hereford untaken, and the People clamouring against them, as having come for nothing into the Country.

Some Months after they were gone, Col. John Birch and Col. Morgan took Hereford in an hour, without any considerable bloodshed. The Waters about the Walls being hard frozen, the Governour sent Warrants to the Constables of the Country neer adjoining to bring in Labourers to break the Ice; Col. Birch got these Warrants, and causeth one of his Officers in the Habit of a Constable, and many Soldiers with Mattocks, in the habit of Labourers, to come the next morning early to the Gates and being let in, they let in more, and surprized the Town.

This much I thought good to speak altogether here for brevity of the Scots Army and Covenant, and now return to the new modell'd Army.

§ 71. The English Army being thus new modell'd, was really in the hand of Oliver Cromwell, though seemingly under the Command of Sir Thomas Fairfax (who was shortly after Lord Fairfax, his Father dying.) Cromwell's old Regiment which had made it self famous for Religion and Valour, being fourteen Troops was divided; six Troops were made the Lord Fairfax's Regiment; and six Troops were Col. Whalley's Regiment; and the other two were in Col. Rich's and Sir Robert Pye's Regiments. The Confidents of Cromwell were especially Col. Ireton, and Major Desborough (his Brother-in-law) and Major James Berry, and Major Harrison, and Col. Fleetwood, and (as his Kinsman) Col. Whalley, and divers others.

But now begins the Change of the old Cause. A shrewd Book came out not long before, called *Plain English*, preparatory hereto: And when the Lord Fairfax should have marched with his Army, he would not (as common Fame saith) take his Commission, because it ran as all others before, [for Defense of the King's Person]: for it was intimated that this was but Hypocrisie, to profess to defend the King when they marcht to fight against him; and that Bullets could not distinguish between his Person and another Man's; and therefore this Clause must be left out, that they might be no Hypocrites. And so had a Commission without that Clause [for the King]. And this was the day that changed the Cause.

§ 72. The Army being ready to march, was partly the Envy and partly the Scorn of the Nobility, and the Lord Lieutenants and the Officers which had been put out, by the Self-denying Vote: But their Actions quickly vindicated them from Contempt. They first attempted no less than the Siege of Oxford: but in the mean time the King takes the field with a very numerous well-recruited Army,

and marcheth into *Northamptonshire* into the Parliaments Quarters, and thence strait to *Leicester*, a Town poorly fortified, but so advantageously situated for his use, as would have been an exceeding Loss to the Parliament, if he could have kept it. It was taken by Storm, and many slain in it.

General *Fairfax* leaveth *Oxford*, and marcheth through *Northamptonshire* towards the King. The King having the greater number, and the Parliaments Army being of a new contemned Model, he marcheth back to meet them, and in a Field near *Naseby*, a Village in *Northamptonshire*, they met. *Cromwell* had halted a few days before into the associated Counties (which were their Treasury for Men and Money) and brought with him about 500 or 600 Men, and came in to the Army just as they were drawn up, and going on to give Battel. His sudden and seasonable coming, with the great Name he had got by the Applauses of his own Soldiers, made a sudden Joy in the Army, (thinking he had brought them more help than he did) so that all cried, *A Cromwell, A Cromwell*, and so went on; and after a short hot Fight, the King's Army was totally routed and put to flight, and about 5000 Prisoners taken, with all his Ordinance and Carriage, and abundance of his own Letters to the Queen and others in his Cabinet: (which the Parliament printed, as thinking such things were there contained as greatly disadvantaged the Reputation of his Word and Cause). Major General *Skippon* fighting valiantly was here dangerously wounded, but afterwards recovered. The King's Army was utterly lost by the taking of *Leicester*: for by this means it was gone so far from his own Garrisons, that his Flying Horse could have no place of Retreat, but were utterly scattered and brought to nothing. The King himself fled to *Lichfield*, (and it is reported that he would have gone to *Shrewsbury*, his Council having never suffered him to know that it was taken till now); and so he went to *Rayland Castle* in *Monmouthshire*, which was a strong Hold, and the House of the Marquess of *Worcester* a Papist: (where his Dispute with the Marquess was said to be; which Dr. *Baily* published, and then turned Papist; and which Mr. *Christopher Cartright* continued, defending the King). *Fairfax's* Army pursued to *Leicester*, where the wounded Men, and some others, stayed with the Garrison: in a day or two's time the Town was re-taken.

And now I am come up to the Passage which I intended of my own going into the Army.

§ 73. *Naseby* being not far from *Coventry* where I was, and the noise of the Victory being loud in our Ears, and I having two or three that of old had been my intimate Friends in *Cromwell's* Army, whom I had not seen of above two Years, I was desirous to go see whether they were dead or alive; and so to *Naseby* Field I went two days after the fight, and thence by the Armies Quarters before *Leicester* to seek my Acquaintance. When I found them, I stayed with them a Night, and I understood the state of the Army much better than ever I had done before. We that lived quietly in *Coventry* did keep to our old Principles, and thought all others had done so too, except a very few inconsiderable Persons: We were unfeignedly for King and Parliament: We believed that the War was only to save the Parliament and Kingdom from Papists and Delinquents, and to remove the Dividers, that the King might again return to his Parliament; and that no Changes might be made in Religion, but by the Laws which had his free consent: We took the true happiness of King and People, Church and State, to be our end, and so we understood the Covenant, engaging both against Papists and Schismatics: And when the Court News-book told the World of the Swarms of Anabaptists in our Armies, we thought it had been a meer lye, because it was not so with us, nor in any of the Garrison or County-Forces about us. But when I came to the Army among *Cromwell's* Soldiers, I found a new face of things which I never dreamt of: I heard the plotting Heads very hot upon that which intimated their Intention to subvert both Church and State. Independency and Anabaptistry were most prevalent: Antinomianism and Arminianism were equally distributed; and *Thomas Moor's* Followers (a Weaver of *Wisbitch* and *Lyn*, of excellent Parts) had made some shifts to joyn these two Extrems together.

Abundance of the common Troopers, and many of the Officers, I found to be honest, sober, Orthodox Men, and others tractable ready to hear the Truth, and of upright Intentions: But a few proud, self-conceited, hot-headed Sectaries had got into the highest places, and were *Cromwell's* chief Favourites, and by their very heat and activity bore down the rest, or carried them along with them, and were the Soul of the Army, though much fewer in number than the rest (being indeed not one to twenty throughout the Army; their strength being in the Generals

nerals and *Whalleys* and *Rich's* Regiments of Horse, and in the new placed Officers in many of the rest).

I perceived that they took the King for a Tyrant and an Enemy, and really intended absolutely to master him, or to ruine him; and that they thought if they might fight against him, they might kill or conquer him; and if they might conquer, they were never more to trust him further than he was in their power; and that they thought it folly to irritate him either by Wars or Contradictions in Parliament, if so be they must needs take him for their King, and trust him with their Lives when they had thus displeased him. They said, What were the Lords of *England* but *William* the Conquerour's Colonels? or the Barons but his Majors? or the Knights but his Captains? They plainly shewed me, that they thought God's Providence would cast the Trust of Religion and the Kingdom upon them as Conquerours: They made nothing of all the most wise and godly in the Armies and Garrisons, that were not of their way. *Per fas aut nefas*, by Law or without it, they were resolved to take down, not only Bishops, and Liturgy, and Ceremonies, but all that did withstand their way. They were far from thinking of a moderate Episcopacy, or of any healing way between the Episcopal and the Presbyterians: They most honoured the Separatists, Anabaptists, and Antinomians; but *Cromwell* and his Council took on them to joyn themselves to no Party, but to be for the Liberty of all. Two sorts I perceived they did so commonly and bitterly speak against, that it was done in meer design to make them odious to the Soldiers, and to all the Land; and that was

1. The *Sots*, and with them all Presbyterians but especially the Ministers; whom they call *Priests* and *Priestbyters*, and *Drivins*, and the Dissemby-men, and such like.

2. The Committees of the severall Counties, and all the Soldiers that were under them that were not of their Mind and Way.

Some orthodox Captains of the Army did partly acquaint me with all this, and I heard much of it from the Mouths of the leading Sectaries themselves. This struck me to the very Heart, and made me Fear that *England* was lost by those that it had taken for its Chiefest Friends.

§ 74. Upon this I began to blame both other Ministers and my self. I saw that it was the Ministers that had lost all, by forsaking the Army, and betaking themselves to an easier and quieter way of Life. When the Earl of *Essex* went out first, each Regiment had an able Preacher, but at *Edg-hill* Fight almost all of them went home, and as the Sectaries increased, they were the more averse to go into the Army: Its true, that I believe now they had little Invitation, and its true that they must look for little Welcome and great Contempt and Opposition, besides all other Difficulties and Dangers: But it is as true, that their Worth and Labour in a patient self-denying way, had been like to have preserved most of the Army, and to have defeated the Contrivances of the Sectaries, and to have saved the King, the Parliament and the Land. And if it had brought Reproach upon them from the Malitious, (who called them *Military Levites*) the Good which they had done would have wiped off that blot, much better than the contrary course would do.

And I reprehended my self also, who had before rejected an Invitation from *Cromwell*: When he lay at *Cambridge* long before with that famous Troop which he began his Army with, his Officers purposed to make their Troop a gathered Church, and they all subscribed an Invitation to me to be their Pastor, and sent it me to *Coventry*: I sent them a Denial, reproving their Attempt, and told them wherein my Judgment was against the Lawfulness and Convenience of their way, and so I heard no more from them: And afterward meeting *Cromwell* at *Leicester* he expostulated with me for denying them. These very men that then invited me to be their Pastor, were the Men that afterwards headed much of the Army, and some of them were the forwardest in all our Changes; which made me wish that I had gone among them, however it had been interpreted; for then all the Fire was in one Spark.

§ 75. When I had informed my self to my sorrow of the state of the Army, Capt. *Evanston* (one of my Orthodox Informers) desired me yet to come to their Regiment, telling me that it was the most religious, most valiant, most successful of all the Army, but in as much danger as any one whatsoever. I was loth to leave my Studies, and Friends, and Quietness at *Coventry*, to go into an Army so contrary to my Judgment: but I thought the Publick Good commanded me, and so I gave him some Encouragement: whereupon he told his Colonel (*Whalley*) who

also was Orthodox in Religion, but engaged by Kindred and Interest to *Cromwell*: He invited me to be Chaplain to his Regiment; and I told him, I would take but a days time to deliberate, and would send him an Answer, or else come to him.

As soon as I came home to *Coventry*, I call'd together an Assembly of Ministers, *Dr. Bryan*, *Dr. Grew*, and many others, (there being many, as I before noted, fled thither from the Parts thereabouts). I told them the sad News of the Corruption of the Army, and that I thought all we had valued was like to be endangered by them; seeing this Army having first conquered at *York*, (where *Cromwell* was under *Manchester*) and now at *Naseby*, and having left the King no visible Army but *Goring's*, the Fate of the whole Kingdom was like to follow the Disposition and Interest of the Conquerours. We have sworn to be true to the King and his Heirs in the Oath of Allegiance. All our Soldiers here do think that the Parliament is faithful to the King, and have no other purposes themselves. If King and Parliament, Church and State be ruined by those Men, and we look on and do nothing to hinder it, how are we true to our Allegiance and to the Covenant, which bindeth us to defend the King, and to be against Schism, as well as against Popery and Prophaneness? For my part (said I) I know that my Body is so weak, that it is like to hazard my Life to be among them, and I expect their Fury should do little less than rid me out of the way; and I know one Man cannot do much upon them: But yet if your Judgment take it to be my Duty, I will venture my Life among them, and perhaps some other Ministers may be drawn in, and then some more of the Evil may be prevented.

The Ministers finding my own Judgment for it, and being moved with the Cause, did unanimously give their Judgment for my going. Hereupon I went strait to the Committee, and told them that I had an Invitation to the Army, and desired their Consent to go. They consulted a while, and then left it wholly to the Governour, saying, That if he consented they should not hinder me. It fell out that *Col. Barker* the Governour was just then to be turned out, as a Member of Parliament, by the Self-denying Vote. And one of his Captains was to be Colonel and Governour in his place, (*Col. Willoughby*). Hereupon *Col. Barker* was content in his discontent that I should go out with him, that he might be mist the more; and so gave me his consent.

Hereupon I sent word to *Col. Whalley* that to morrow God willing I would come to him. As soon as this was done the elected Governour was much displeased, and the Soldiers were so much offended with the Committee for consenting to my going, that the Committee all met again in the Night, and sent for me, and told me I must not go. I told them that by their Consent I had promised, and therefore must go. They told me that the Soldiers were ready to mutiny against them, and they could not satisfie them, and therefore I must stay: I told them that I had not promised if they had not consented, though being no Soldier or Chaplain to the Garrison, but only preaching to them, I took my self to be a Free-man; and I could not break my word when I had promised by their Consent. They seemed to deny their Consent, and said they did but refer me to the Governour. In a word, they were so angry with me, that I was fain to tell them all the truth of my Motives and Design, what a case I perceived the Army to be in, and that I was resolved to do my best against it. I knew not, till afterward, that *Col. William Purefoy* a Parliament Man, one of the chief of them, was a Confident of *Cromwells*: and as soon as I had spoken what I did of the Army, Magisterially he answereth me, [Let me hear no more of that: If *Nol. Cromwell* should hear any Soldiers speak but such a word, he would cleave his crown: You do them wrong; it is not so.] I told him, what he would not hear, he should not hear from me; but I would perform my word though he seemed to deny his: And so I parted with those that had been my very great Friends, in some displeasure. But the Soldiers threatened to stop the Gates and keep me in; but being honest understanding Men, I quickly satisfied the Leaders of them by a private intimation of my Reasons and Resolutions, and some of them accompanied me on my way.

§ 76. As soon as I came to the Army, *Oliver Cromwell* coldly bid me welcome, and never spake one word to me more while I was there; nor once all that time vouchsafed me an Opportunity to come to the Head Quarters where the Councils and Meetings of the Officers were, so that most of my design was thereby frustrated. And his Secretary gave out that there was a Reformer come to the Army to undeceive them, and to save Church and State, with some such other Jeers; by which I perceived that all that I had said but the Night before to the Committee,

was come to *Cromwell* before me, (I believe by Col. *Purefoy's* means) : But Col. *Whalley* welcomed me, and was the worse thought on for it by the rest of the Caval.

§ 77. Here I set my self from day to day to find out the Corruptions of the Soldiers ; and to discourse and dispute them out of their mistakes, both Religious and Political : My Life among them was a daily contending against Seducers, and gently arguing with the more Tractable, and another kind of Militia I had than theirs.

I found that many honest Men of weak judgments and little acquaintance with such Matters, had been seduced into a disputing vein, and made it too much of their Religion to talk for this Opinion and for that ; sometimes for State Democracy, and sometime for Church Democracy ; sometimes against Forms of Prayer, and sometimes against Infant Baptism, (which yet some of them did maintain) ; sometimes against Set-times of Prayer, and against the tying of our selves to any Duty before the Spirit move us ; and sometimes about Free-grace and Free-will, and all the Points of Antinomianism and Arminianism. So that I was almost always, when I had opportunity, disputing with one or other of them ; sometimes for our Civil Government, and sometimes for Church Order and Government ; sometimes for Infant Baptism, and oft against Antinomianism and the contrary Extream. But their most frequent and vehement Disputes were for Liberty of Conscience, as they called it ; that is, that the Civil Magistrate had nothing to do to determine of any thing in Matters of Religion, by constraint or restraint, but every Man might not only *hold*, but *preach* and *do* in Matters of Religion what he pleased : That the Civil Magistrate hath nothing to do but with Civil Things, to keep the Peace, and protect the Churches Liberties, &c.

I found that one half almost of the Religious Party among them were such as were either Orthodox, or but very lightly touched with their mistakes ; and almost another half were honest men, that stept further into the contending way, than they could well get out of again, but with competent help might be recovered : But a few fiery, self-conceited men among them kindled the rest, and made all the noise and bustle, and carried about the Army as they pleased. For the greatest part of the common Soldiers, especially of the Foot, were ignorant men, of little Religion, abundance of them such as had been taken Prisoners, or turned out of Garrisons under the King, and had been Soldiers in his Army : And these would do any thing to please their Officers, and were ready Instruments for the Seducers, especially in their great Work, which was to cry down the Covenant, to vilifie all Parish Ministers, but especially the Scots and Presbyterians : For the most of the Soldiers that I spoke with never took the Covenant, because it tied them to defend the King's Person, and to extirpate Heresie and Schism.

Because I perceived that it was a few Men that bore the Bell, that did all the hurt among them, I acquainted my self with those Men, and would be oft disputing with them in the hearing of the rest ; and I found that they were men that had been in *London*, hatcht up among the old Separatists, and had made it all the matter of their Study and Religion to rail against Ministers, and Parish Churches, and Presbyterians, and had little other knowledge, nor little discourse of any thing about the *Heart* or *Heaven* : but were fierce with Pride and Self-conceitedness, and had gotten a very great conquest over their Charity, both to the Episcopal and Presbyterians. (Whereas many of those honest Soldiers which were tainted but with some doubts about Liberty of Conscience or Independency, were men that would Discourse of the Points of Sanctification and Christian Experience very favourably.)

But we so far prevailed in opening the folly of these Revilers and Self-conceited men, as that some of them became the laughing-stock of the Soldiers before I left them ; and when they preached (for great Preachers they were) their weakness exposed them to contempt. A great part of the mischief they did among the Soldiers was by Pamphlets, which they abundantly dispersed ; such as *R. Overtons*, *Martin Mar-Priest*, and more of his ; and some of *J. Lilburn's*, who was one of them ; and divers against the King, and against the Ministry, and for Liberty of Conscience, &c. And Soldiers being usually dispersed in their Quarters, they had such Books to read when they had none to contradict them.

But there was yet a more dangerous Party than all these among them, (only in Major *Bethel's* Troop of our Regiment) who took the direct Jesuitical way : They first most vehemently declaimed against the Doctrine of Election, and for the power of Free-will, and all other Points which are controverted between the Jesuits and

Dominicans, the Arminians and Calvinists. Then they as fiercely cried down our present Translation of the Scriptures, and debased their Authority, though they did not deny them to be Divine: And they cried down all our Ministry, Episcopal, Presbyterian and Independent; and all our Churches: And they vilified almost all our ordinary Worship; especially singing of *Psalms*, and constant Family Worship: They allowed of no Argument from Scripture but what was brought in its express words: They were vehement against both the King, and all Government but Popular; and against Magistrates meddling in Matters of Religion: And all their disputing was with as much fierceness, as if they had been ready to draw their Swords upon those against whom they disputed. They trusted more to Policy, Scorn and Power, than to Argument: They would bitterly scorn me among their Hearers, to prejudice them before they entered into dispute. They avoided me as much as possible; but when we did come to it, they drowned all Reason in fierceness, and vehemency, and multitude of words. They greatly strove for Places of Command, and when any Place was due by order to another that was not of their mind, they would be sure to work him out; and be ready to mutiny if they had not their will. I thought they were principled by the Jesuits; and acted all for their Interest, and in their way; but the secret Spring was out of sight. These were the same Men that afterward were called *Levellers*, and rose up against *Cromwell*, and were surprized at *Burford* (having deceived and drawn to them many more): And *Thompson* the General of the *Levellers* that was slain then, was no greater a Man than one of the Corporals of this Troop; the Cornet and others being much worse than he.

And thus I have given you a taste of my Employment in the Army.

§ 78. As soon as I came to the Army they marched speedily down into the West, because the King had no Army left but the Lord *Goring's* there, and they would not suffer the Fugitives of *Naseby*-fight to come thither to strengthen them: They came quickly down to *Somerton* when *Goring* was at *Langport*; which lying upon the River, *Massey* was sent to keep him in on the farther side, while *Fairfax* attended him on this side, with his Army. One day they faced each other, and did nothing: The next day they came to their Ground again. Betwixt the two Armies was a narrow Lane which went between some Meadows in a bottom, and a small Brook crossing the Lane with a narrow Bridge. *Goring* planted two or three small Pieces at the Head of the Lane to keep the Passage, and there placed his best Horse; so that none could come to them, but over that narrow Bridge, and up that steep Lane upon the mouth of those Pieces. After many hours facing each other, *Fairfax's* greater Ordinance affrighting (more than hurting) *Goring's* men, and some Musquetiers being sent to drive theirs from under the Hedges, at last *Cromwell* bid *Whalley* send three of his Troops to Charge the Enemy, and he sent three of the General's Regiment to second them, (all being of *Cromwell's* old Regiment). *Whalley* sent Major *Bethel*, Capt. *Evanston*, and Capt. *Grove* to Charge; Major *Desborough* with another Troop or two came after; they could go but one or two abreast over the Bridge. By that time *Bethel* and *Evanston* with their Troops were got up to the top of the Lane, they met with a select Party of *Goring's* best Horse, and charged them at Sword's point whilst you would count three or four hundred, and then put them to Retreat. In the flight they pursued them too far to the main Body; for the Dust was so extream great (being in the very hottest time of Summer) that they that were in it could scarce see each other, but I that stood over them upon the brow of the Hill saw all: when they saw themselves upon the face of *Goring's* Army, they fled back in haste, and by that time they came to the Lane again, Capt. *Grove's* Troop was ready to stop them, and relieve them, and *Desborough* behind him: whereupon they rallied again, and the five or six Troops together marched towards all *Goring's* Army: But before they came to the Front, I could discern the Rere begin to run, and so beginning in the Rere they all fled before they endured any Charge, nor was there a blow struck that day, but by *Bethels* and *Evanston's* Troop (on that side), and a few Musquetiers in the Hedges. *Goring's* Army fled to *Bridgwater*; and very few of them were either kill'd or taken in the fight or the pursuit. I happened to be next to Major *Harrison* as soon as the flight began, and heard him with a loud Voice break forth into the Praises of God with fluent Expressions, as if he had been in a Rapture.

Upon this *Goring* fled further Westward (to *Exeter*) with his Army: But *Fairfax* stayed to besiege *Bridgwater*: and after two days it was taken by storm, in which Col. *Hammond's* Service was much magnified. Mr. *Peters* being come to the Army from *London* but a day before, went presently back with the News of *Goring's*

Goring's Rout : and an Hundred pounds Reward was voted to himself for bringing the News, and to Major *Bethel* for his Service, but none to Capt. *Evanfon*, because he was no Sectary ; and *Bethel* only had all the Glory and Applause by *Cromwell* and that Party.

From *Bridgwater* they went back towards *Bristol*, where Prince *Rupert* was, taking *Nunbury* Castle and *Bath* in the way : At *Bristol* they continued the Siege about a month. After the first three days I fell sick of a Fever (the Plague being round about my Quarters) : As soon as I felt my Disease, I rode six or seven miles back into the Country, and the next morning (with much ado) to *Bath* : where Dr. *Venner* was my careful Physician ; and when I was near to death (far from all my Acquaintance) it pleased God to restore me, and on the fourteenth day, the Fever ended in a Crisis of Sweat and Urine : But it left me so macerated and weak, that it was long ere I recovered that little strength I had before. I came back to *Bristol* Siege three or four days before the City was taken : The Foot which was to storm the Works, would not go on unless the Horse went with them, (who had no Service to do) : So *Whalley's* Regiment was fain to go on to encourage the Foot, and to stand to be shot at before the Ordinance (but in the Night) while the Foot did storm the Forts : where Major *Bethel* (who in the last Fight had but his Thumb shot) had a shot in his Thigh of which he died, and was much lamented. The Outworks being taken, Prince *Rupert* yielded up the City, upon Terms that he might march away with his Soldiers, leaving their Ordnance and Arms.

Upon this the Army marcht to *Sherborn* Castle (the Earl of *Bristol's* House) : which after a Fortnights Siege, they took by storm, and that on a tide which one would think could never have been that way taken. While they were there, the Country-men, called *Clubmen*, rose near *Shaftsbury*, and got upon the top of a Hill : A Party was sent out against them, who marcht up the Hill upon them, and routed them, though some of the valientest Men were slain in the Front.

When *Sherborn* Castle was taken, part of the Army went back and took in a small Garrison by *Salisbury*, called *Langford-House*, and so marcht to *Winchester* Castle, and took that by Composition after a Weeks siege, or little more. From thence *Cromwell* went with a good Party to Besiege *Basing-House* (the Marquess of *Winchesters*) which had frustrated great Sieges heretofore : Here Col. *Hammond* was taken Prisoner into the House, and afterward the House was taken by storm, and he saved the Marquess and others ; and much Riches were taken by the Soldiers.

In the mean time the rest of the Army marched down again towards the Lord *Goring*, and *Cromwell* came after them.

§ 79. When we followed the Lord *Goring* westward, we found that above all other Armies of the King, his Soldiers were most hated by the People, for their incredible Prophaneness and their unmerciful Plundering (many of them being Forreigners). A sober Gentleman that I quarter'd with at *South-Pederton* in *Somersetshire* averred to me, That with him a Company of them prickt their Fingers, and let the Blood run into the Cup, and drank a Health to the Devil in it : And no place could I come into but their horrid Impiety and Outrages made them odious.

The Army marched down by *Hunnington* to *Exeter* ; where I continued near three Weeks among them at the Siege, and then *Whalley's* Regiment with the General's, *Fleetwood's* and others being sent back, I returned with them and left the Siege ; which continued till the City was taken : And then the Army following *Goring* into *Cornwall*, there forced him to yield to lay down Arms, his Men going away beyond Sea or elsewhere without their Arms : And at last *Pendennis* Castle, and all the Garrisons there were taken.

In the mean time *Whalley* was to Command the Party of Horse back, to keep in the Garrison of *Oxford* till the Army could come to besiege it : And so in the extrem Winter he quartered about six Weeks in *Buckinghamshire* : and then was sent to lay siege to *Banbury* Castle, where Sir *William Compton* was Governour, who had wearied out one long siege before : There I was with them above two Months till the Castle was taken ; and then he was sent to lay siege to *Worcester*, with the help of the *Northampton*, and *Warwick*, and *Newport-Pannel* Soldiers, who had assisted him at *Banbury*. At *Worcester* he lay in siege eleven Weeks : and at the same time the Army being come up from the West, lay in siege at *Oxford*.

By this time Col. *Whalley*, though *Cromwell's* Kinsman and Commander of the *Trusted* Regiment, grew odious among the Sectarian Commanders at the Headquarters for my sake ; and he was called a *Presbyterian*, though neither he nor I

were

were of that Judgment in several Points. And Major *Sallowey* not omitting to use his industry in the matter to that end) when he had brought the City to a necessity of present yielding, two days or three before it yielded, Col. *Rainsborough* was sent from *Oxford* (which was yielded) with some Regiments of Foot, to Command in Chief; partly that he might have the honour of taking the City, and partly that he might be Governour there (and not *Whalley*) when the City was Surrendered: And so when it was yielded, *Rainsborough* was Governour to lead and gratifie the Sectaries, and settle the City and Country in their way: But the Committee of the County were for *Whalley*, and lived in distaste with *Rainsborough*, and the Sectaries prospered there no further than *Worcester* City it self, (a Place which deserved such a Judgment); but all the Country was free from their Infection.

§ 80. All this while, as I had friendly Converse with the sober part, so I was still employed with the rest as before, in Preaching, Conference, and Disputing against their Confounding Errours: And in all Places where we went, the Sectarian Soldiers much infected the Countreys, by their Pamphlets and Converse, and the People admiring the conquering Army, were ready to receive whatsoever they commended to them: And it was the way of the Faction to speak what they spake as the Sense of the Army, and to make the People believe that whatever Opinion they vented, (which one of forty in the Army owned not) it was the Army's Opinion. When we quarter'd at *Agmondesham* in *Buckinghamshire*, some Sectaries of *Chesham* had set up a Publick Meeting as for Conference, to propagate their Opinions through all the Country; and this in the Church, by the encouragement of an ignorant Sectarian Lecturer, one *Bramble*, whom they had got in (while Dr. *Crook* the Pastor, and Mr. *Richardson* his Curate, durst not contradict them). When this publick Talking day came, *Bethel's* Troopers (then Capt. *Pitchford's*) with other Sectarian Soldiers must be there, to confirm the *Chesham* Men, and make Men believe that the Army was for them: And I thought it my Duty to be there also, and took divers sober Officers with me, to let them see that more of the Army were against them than for them. I took the Reading Pew, and *Pitchford's* Cornet and Troopers took the Gallery. And there I found a crowded Congregation of poor well-meaning People, that came in the Simplicity of their Hearts to be deceived. There did the Leader of the *Chesham* Men begin, and afterward *Pitchford's* Soldiers set in, and I alone disputed against them from Morning until almost Night; for I knew their trick, that if I had but gone out first, they would have prated what boasting words they listed when I was gone, and made the People believe that they had baffled me, or got the best; therefore I stayed it out till they first rose and went away: The abundance of Nonsense which they uttered that day, may partly be seen in Mr. *Edward's Gangrana*: for when I had wrote a Letter of it to a Friend in *London*, that and another were put into Mr. *Edward's* Book, without my Name. But some of the sober People of *Agmondesham* gave me abundance of thanks for that Days work, which they said would never be there forgotten: And I heard that the Sectaries were so discouraged that they never met there any more. I am sure I had much thanks from Dr. *Crook* and Mr. *Richardson*, who being obnoxious to their displeasure, for being for the King, durst not open their mouths themselves. And after the Conference I talkt with the Lecturer Mr. *Bramble* (or *Bramley*) and found him little wiser than the rest.

§ 81. The great Inapeditments of the Success of my Endeavours I found were only two: 1. The discountenance of *Cromwell*, and the chief Officers of his Mind, which kept me a stranger from their Meetings and Councils. 2. My incapacity of Speaking to many, because Soldiers Quarters are scattered far from one another, and I could be but in one Place at once. So that one Troop at a time ordinarily, and some few more extraordinarily was all that I could speak too: The most of the Service I did beyond *Whalley's* Regiment, was (by the help of Capt. *Lawrence*) with some of the General's Regiment, and sometimes I had Converse with Major *Harrison* and some others: But I found that if the Army had but had Ministers enough, that would have done but such a little as I did, all their Plot might have been broken, and King, Parliament, and Religion might have been preserved: Therefore I sent abroad to get some more Ministers among them, but I could get none. *Salmarsh* and *Dell* were the two great Preachers at the Head Quarters; only honest and judicious Mr. *Edward Bowles* kept still with the General. At last I got Mr. *Cook* of *Roxhall* to come to assist me; and the soberer part of the Officers and Soldiers of *Whalley's* Regiment were willing to pay him out of their own pay: And a Month or two he stayed and assisted me; but was quickly weary, and left them

them again : He was a very worthy, humble, laborious Man, unwearied in preaching, but weary when he had not opportunity to preach, and weary of the Spirits he had to deal with.

§ 82. All this while, though I came not near *Cromwell*, his Designs were visible, and I saw him continually acting his part. The Lord General suffered him to govern and do all, and to choose almost all the Officers of the Army. He first made *Ireton* Commissary General ; and when any Troop or Company was to be disposed of, or any considerable Officer's place was void, he was sure to put a Sectary in the place ; and when the brunt of the War was over, he looked not so much at their Valour as their Opinions : So that by degrees he had headed the greatest part of the Army with *Anabaptists*, *Antinomians*, *Seekers*, or *Separatists* at best : and all these he tied together by the point of Liberty of Conscience, which was the Common Interest in which they did unite. Yet all the sober Party were carried on by his Profession that he only promoted the Universal Interest of the Godly, without any distinction or partiality at all : But still when a place fell void, it was Twenty to one a Sectary had it, and if a Godly Man of any other Mind or temper had a mind to leave the Army, he would secretly or openly further it. Yet did he not openly profess what Opinion he was of himself : But the most that he said for any was for *Anabaptism* and *Antinomianism*, which he usually seemed to own. And *Harrison* (who was then great with him) was for the same Opinions. He would not Dispute (with me) at all, but he would in good Discourse very fluently pour out himself, in the Extolling of *Freegrace*, which was savoury to those that had right Principles, though he had some misunderstandings of *Freegrace* himself. He was a Man of excellent Natural Parts for Affection and Oratory ; but not well seen in the Principles of his Religion : Of a Sanguine Complexion, naturally of such a vivacity, hilarity and alacrity as another Man hath when he hath drunken a Cup too much ; but naturally also so far from humble Thoughts of himself, that it was his ruine.

§ 83. All these two Years that I was in the Army, even my old bosom Friend, that had lived in my House, and been dearest to me, *James Berry*, (then Captain, and after Colonel and Major General, and Lord of the Upper House) who had formerly invited me to *Cromwell's* old Troop, did never once invite me to the Army at first, nor invite me to his Quarters after, nor never once came to visit me, nor saw me save twice or thrice that we met accidentally : so potent is the Interest of our selves and our Opinions with us, against all other Bonds whatever : He that forsaketh himself in forsaking his own Opinions, may well be expected to forsake his Friend, who adhereth to the way which he forsaketh : and that Change which maketh him think he was himself an ignorant, misguided Man before, must needs make him think his Friend to be still ignorant and misguided, and value him accordingly. He was a Man, I verily think, of great Sincerity before the Wars, and of very good Natural Parts, especially Mathematical and Mechanical ; and affectionate in Religion, and while conversant with humbling Providences, Doctrines and Company, he carried himself as a very great Enemy to Pride : But when *Cromwell* made him his Favourite, and his extraordinary Valour was crowned with extraordinary Success, and when he had been a while most conversant with those that in Religion thought the old Puritan Ministers were dull, self-conceited, Men of a lower form, and that new Light had declared I know not what to be a higher attainment, his Mind, his Aim, his Talk and all was altered accordingly. And as Ministers of the old way were lower, and Sectaries much higher in his esteem than formerly, so he was much higher in his own Esteem when he thought he had attained much higher, than he was before when he sate with his Fellows in the Common Form. Being never well studied in the Body of Divinity or Controversie, but taking his Light among the Sectaries, before the Light which longer and patient Studies of Divinity should have prepossessed him with, he lived after as honestly as could be expected in one that taketh Errour for Truth, and Evil to be Good.

After this he was President of the Agitators, and after that Major General and Lord as aforesaid : And after that a principal Person in the Changes, and the principal Executioner in pulling down *Richard Cromwell* ; and then was one of the Governing Council of State. And all this was promoted by the misunderstanding of Providence, while he verily thought that God by their Victories, had so called them to look after the Government of the Land, and so entrusted them with the welfare of all his People here, that they were responsible for it, and might not in Con-

science stand still while any thing was done which they thought was against that Interest which they judged to be the Interest of the People of God.

And as he was the Chief in pulling down, he was one of the first that fell: For Sir *Arthur Heselrigg* taking *Portsmouth* (of which more hereafter) his Regiment of Horse sent to block it up, went most of them into Sir *Arthur Heselrigg*. And when the Army was melted to nothing, and the King ready to come in, the Council of State imprisoned him, because he would not promise to live peaceably; and afterwards he (being one of the four whom General *Monk* had the worst thoughts of) was closely confin'd in *Scarborough Castle*: but being released he became a Gardiner, and lived in a safer state than in all his Greatness.

§ 84. When *Worcester* Siege was over, (having with Joy seen *Kidderminster* and my Friends there once again), the Country being now cheared, my old Flock expected that I should return to them, and settle in Peace among them.

I went to *Coventry*, and called the Ministers again together who had voted me into the Army: I told them [‘ That the forsaking of the Army by the old Ministers, and the neglect of Supplying their Places by others, had undone us: that I had laboured among them with as much Success as could be expected in the narrow sphere of my Capacity: but that signified little to all the Army! That the Active Sectaries were the smallest part of the Army among the Common Soldiers, but *Cromwell* had lately put so many of them into Superiour Command, and their Industry was so much greater than others, that they were like to have their Will: That whatever obedience they pretended, I doubted not but they would pull down all that stood in their way, in State and Church, both King, Parliament and Ministers, and set up themselves. I told them that for this little that I have done I have ventured my Life, and weakened my Body (weak before): but the Day which I expected is yet to come, and the greatest Service with the greatest Hazard is yet before. The Wars being now ended, I was confident they would shortly shew their purposes, and set up for themselves: And when that day came, for all that are true to King, Parliament, and Religion then to appear, if there be any hope, by contradicting them or drawing off the Soldiers from them, was all the Service that was yet possible to be done: That I was like to do no great matter in such an Attempt; but there being so many in the Army of my mind, I knew not what might be till the Day should discover it: Though I knew it was the greatest hazard of my Life, my Judgment was for staying among them till the Crisis, if their Judgment did concur]. Whereupon they all voted me to go, and leave *Kidderminster* yet longer, which accordingly I did.

§ 85. From *Worcester* I went to *London* to Sir *Theodore Mayern* about my health: He sent me to *Tunbridge Wells*, and after some stay there to my benefit, I went back to *London*, and so to my Quarters in *Worcestershire* where the Regiment was.

My Quarters fell out to be at Sir *Tho. Rous's* at *Rous Lench*, where I had never been before: The Lady *Rous* was a godly, grave, understanding Woman, and entertained me not as a Soldier but a Friend. From thence I went into *Leicestershire*, *Staffordshire*, and at last into *Derbyshire*. One advantage by this moving Life I had, that I had opportunity to preach in many Countreys and Parishes; and whatever came of it afterward, I know not; but at the present they commonly seemed to be much affected.

I came to our Major *Swallow's* Quarters at Sir *John Cook's* House at *Melbourn* in the edge of *Darbyshire*, beyond *Ashby de la Zouch*, in a cold and snowy Season; and the cold, together with other things coincident, set my Nose on bleeding. When I had bled about a quart or two, I opened four Veins, but it did no good. I used divers other Remedies for several days to little purpose; at last I gave my self a Purge, which stopt it. This so much weakened me and altered my Complexion, that my Acquaintance who came to visit me scarce knew me. Coming after so long weakness, and frequent loss of Blood before, it made the Physicians conclude me deplorate after it was stopped; supposing I would never escape a Dropfy.

And thus God unavoidably prevented all the Effect of my purposes in my last and chiefest Opposition of the Army; and took me off the very time when my Attempt should have begun: My purpose was to have done my best first to take off that Regiment which I was with, and then with Capt. *Lawrence* to have tried upon the Generals (in which two was *Cromwell's* chief Confidants) and then have joyned with others of the same mind (for the other Regiments were much less

Corrupted). But the Determination of God against it was most observable : For the very time that I was bleeding the Council of War late at *Nottingham*, where (as I have credibly heard) they first began to open their Purposes and act their Part : and presently after they entered into their Engagement at *Triploe-Heath*. And as I perceived it was the Will of God to permit them to go on, so I afterward found that this great Affliction was a Mercy to my self; for they were so strong and active, that I had been likely to have had small Success in the Attempt, but to have lost my Life among them in their Fury. And thus I was finally separated from the Army.

§ 86. When I had stayed at *Melbourn* in my Chamber three Weeks (being among Strangers, and not knowing how to get home) I went to Mr. *Nowell's* house at *Kirby-Mallory* in *Leicestershire*, where with great Kindness I was entertained three Weeks : By that time the Tidings of my Weakness came to the Lady *Rous* in *Worcestershire*, who sent her Servant to seek me out; and when he returned, and told her I was far off, and he could not find me, she sent him again to find me, and bring me thither if I were able to travel : And in great weakness, thither I made shift to get, where I was entertained with the greatest Care and Tenderness, while I continued the use of means for my Recovery : and when I had been there a quarter of a Year, I returned to *Kidderminster*.

§ 87. When I was gone from the Army, the Parliament was most solicitous how to keep them from Tumults and Disobedience : But Sir *Henry Vane* with his Party secretly confederated with them, to weaken all others, and to strengthen the Sectaries : Whereupon they procured the House to Disband both Major General *Majsey's* Brigade, and all other Field Soldiers, and the honest County Forces and Garrisons of most Places, which among them had sober Men enow to have resisted them. This was the successfulest Act that was done for their Designs : for now they had little fear of Opposition.

The Design of *Vane* and *Cromwell* now was not only to keep up an Army of Sectaries, when the Sober Party were Disbanded, but also to force the Parliament to their mind, and model it so as that they should do their work : (which I had foretold some Parliament Men of long before) : One of the Principal Engines in this Contrivance was, to provoke the Parliament to pass such Votes as the Army would be most displeased with, and then to stir up the Army to the deepest Resentment of it. Accordingly the Parliament voted that part of the Army should go to *Ireland*, and part be disbanded, and part continued. The Leaders in the Army incensed the Soldiers, by persuading them that this was to deprive them of their Pay, and to divide them, and when they had them at home again to ruine them as Sectaries, and this was the Reward of all their Services. Whereupon at *Triploe-Heath* they entered into an Engagement to stick together, &c. and were drawing up a Declaration of their Grievances; (the aggravating of supposed Injuries being the way to raise Mutinies, and make use of Factions for Seditious Ends) Quarter-Master General *Fincher* acquainteth Sir *William Waller* with their Design, (who with others was sent to the Army) and Col. *Edward Harley* (a Member of the Parliament and of the Army) acquainteth the House with it. *Cromwell* being in the House doth with vehemency deny it; and said it was a Slander, raised to discompose the Army by discontenting them, and undertook that they should all lay down their Arms at the Parliaments Feet, and for his own part, protesting his Submission and Obedience to them. And this he did when he was Confederate with them, and knew of the Paper which they were drawing up, and confessed it after when the Copy of it was produced, and presently went among them, and headed them in their Rebellion. In short, he and his Cabal so heightened the Discontents, and carried on the New Confederate Army, that the Parliament was fain to Command all that were faithful to forsake them, and offer them their Pay to encourage them thereto : Commissary General *Fincher*, and Major *Alsop*, and Major *Huntington*, and many more with a considerable number of Soldiers came off: But being not enow to make a Body to resist them, it proved a great Addition to their strength : For now all that were against them being gone, they filled up their Places with Men of their own Mind, and so were ever after the more unanimous.

§ 88. Upon this *Cromwell* and his Obedient Lambs (as he called them) advanced in the Prosecution of their Design, and drew nearer *London*, and drew up an Impeachment against Eleven Members of the Parliament, forsooth accusing them of Treason; viz. Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewis*, Col. *Hollis*, Sir *John Maynard*, Mr. *Glyn*, &c. and among the rest Col. *Edward Harley* (a sober and truly

religious Man, the worthy Son of a most pious Father, Sir *Robert Harley*). And when thereby they had forced the House to seclude them as under Accusation, they let fall their Suit, and never prosecuted them, nor proved them Guilty.

Thus begun that Pride to break forth into Rebellion, which grew up from Successes in impotent Minds, not able to conquer so great a Temptation as their Conquests. When they had cast out these Members, they thought that the House would have done as they would have had them, and been awed into Obedience, but still they continued to cross them, and came not up to the Conformity expected. A while after the City seemed to take Courage, and would defend the Parliament against the Army, and under Major General *Massey* and Major General *Pointz*, they would put themselves into a Military posture: But the Army made haste, and were upon them before they were well resolved what to do, and the hearts of the Citizens failed them, and were divided, and they submitted to the Army, and let them enter the City in triumph. Whereupon *Massey* and *Hollis*, and others of the accused Members fled into *France*, of whom Sir *Philip Stapleton* died of the Plague near *Calice*; and now the Army promised themselves an obedient Parliament; but yet they were not to their mind.

§ 89. Here I must look back to the Course and Affairs of the King; who at the Siege of *Oxford*, having no Army left, and knowing that the *Scots* had more Loyalty and Stability in their Principles than the Sectaries, resolved to cast himself upon them, and so escaped to their Army in the North. The *Scots* were very much troubled at this Honour that was cast upon them: for they knew not what to do with the King. To send him back to the *English* Parliament seemed unfaithfulness, when he had cast himself upon them: To keep him they knew would divide the Kingdoms, and draw a War upon themselves from *England*; whom now they knew themselves unable to resist. They kept him awhile among them with honourable Entertainment, till the Parliament sent for him; and they saw that the Sectaries and the Army were glad of it, as an occasion to make them odious, and to invade their Land. And so the terrour of the Conquering Army made them deliver him to the Parliaments Commissioners upon two Conditions: 1. That they should promise to preserve his Person in Safety and Honour, according to the Duty which they owed him by their Allegiance. 2. That they should presently pay the *Scots* Army one half the Pay which was due to them for their Service, (which had been long unpaid to make them odious to the Country where they quartered).

Hereupon the King being delivered to the Parliament, they appointed Colonel *Richard Greaves*, Major General *Richard Brown*, with others to be his Attendants, and desired him to abide awhile at *Homeby-House* in *Northamptonshire*. While he was here the Army was hatching their Conspiracy: And on the sudden one Cornet *Foyce*, with a party of Soldiers, fetcht away the King, notwithstanding the Parliaments Order for his Security: And this was done as if it had been against *Cromwell's* Will, and without any Order or Consent of theirs: But so far was he from losing his Head for such a Treason, that it proved the means of his Preferment. And so far was *Cromwell* and his Soldiers from returning the King in Safety, that they detained him among them, and kept him with them, till they came to *Hampton Court*, and there they lodged him under the Guard of Col. *Whalley*, the Army quartering all about him. While he was here the mutable Hypocrites first pretended an extraordinary Care of the King's Honour, Liberty, Safety and Conscience. They blamed the Austerity of the Parliament, who had denied him the Attendance of his own Chaplains; and of his Friends in whom he took most pleasure: They gave Liberty for his Friends and Chaplains to come to him: They pretended that they would save him from the Incivilities of the Parliament and Presbyterians. Whether this were while they tried what Terms they could make with him for themselves, or while they acted any other part; it is certain that the King's old Adherents began to extol the Army, and to speak against the Presbyterians more distastfully than before. When the Parliament offered the King Propositions for Concord, (which *Vane's* Faction made as high and unreasonable as they could, that they might come to nothing) the Army forsooth offer him Proposals of their own, which the King liked better: But which of them to treat with he did not know. At last on the sudden the Judgment of the Army changed, and they began to cry for Justice against the King, and with vile Hypocrisy, to publish their Repentance, and cry God Mercy for their Kindness to the King, and confess that they were under a Temptation: But in all this *Cromwell* and *Beton*, and the rest of the Council of War appeared not: The Instruments of all this Work must be

be the Common Soldiers. Two of the most violent sectaries in each Regiment are chosen by the Common Soldiers, by the Name of Agitators, to represent the rest in these great Affairs. All these together made a Council, of which Col. *James Berry* was the President, that they might be used, ruled and dissolved at pleasure. No man that knew them will doubt whether this was done by *Cromwell's* and *Ireton's* Direction. This Council of Agitators take not only the Parliaments Work upon themselves, but much more: They draw up a Paper called *The Agreement of the People*, as the Model or Form of a New Commonwealth. They have their own Printer, and publish abundance of wild Pamphlets, as changeable as the Moon: the thing contrived was an Heretical Democracy. When *Cromwell* had awhile permitted them thus to play themselves, partly to please them, and confirm them to him, and chiefly to use them in his demolishing Work, at last he seemeth to be so much for Order and Government, as to blame them for their Disorder, Presumption and Headiness, as if they had done it without his Consent. This emboldeneth the Parliament (not to Censure them as Rebels, but) to rebuke them and prohibit them, and claim their own Superiority: And while the Parliament and the Agitators are contending, a Letter is secretly sent to Col. *Whalley*, to intimate that the Agitators had a design suddenly to surprize and murder the King. Some think that this was sent from a real Friend; but most think it was contrived by *Cromwell* to affright the King out of the Land, or into some desperate Courie which might give them Advantage against him. Collonel *Whalley* sheweth the Letter to the King, which put him into much fear of such ill governed Hands: so that he secretly got Horses and slipt away towards the Sea with two of his Confidants only; who coming to the Sea near *Southampton*, found that they were disappointed of the Vessel expected to transport them; and so were fain to pass over into the Isle of *Wight*, and there to commit his Majesty to the Trust of Collonel *Robert Hammond* who was Governor of a Castle there: A Day or two all were amazed to think what was become of the King; and then a Letter from the King to the House acquainted them that he was fain to fly thither from the Cruelty of the Agitators, who, as he was informed thought to murder him; and urging them to treat about the ending all these Troubles. But here *Cromwell* had the King in a Pinfold, and was more secure of him than before.

§ 90. The Parliament and the Scots, and all that were loyal and soberminded abhorred these traiterous Proceedings of *Cromwell* and the sectarian Army; but saw it a Matter of great difficulty to resist them: but the Conscience of their Oath of Allegiance and Covenant, told them that they were bound to hazard their Lives in the attempt.

The three Commanders for the Parliament in *Pembrookshire* raised an Army against them, viz. Major General *Langborn*, Collonel *Powel*, and Collonel *Poyer*: The Scots raised a great Army under the Command of the Duke of *Hamilton*: The *Kentish* Men rose under the Command of the Lord *Goring* and others: and the *Essex* Men under Sir *Charles Lucas*: But God's time was not come, and the Spirit of Pride and Schism must be known to the World by its Effects. Duke *Hamilton's* Army was easily routed in *Lancashire*, and he taken, and the scattered Parts pursued till they came to nothing: *Langborn* with the *Pembrookshire* Men was totally routed by Collonel *Horton*, and all the chief Commanders being taken Prisoners, it fell to Collonel *Poyer's* Lot to be shot to Death: The *Kentish* Men were driven out of *Kent* into *Essex*, being foiled at *Maidstone*: And in *Colchester* they endured a long and grievous Siege, and yielding at last, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and another or two were shot to Death, and thus all the Succors of the King were defeated.

§ 91. Never to this time, when *Cromwell* had taught his Agitators to govern, and could not easily unteach it them again, there arose a Party who adhered to the Principles of their [*agreement of the People*] which suited not with his Designs: And to make them odious he denominated them *Levellers*, as if they intended to level Men of all Qualities and Estates; while he discountenanced them, he discontented them; and being discontented, they endeavoured to discontent the Army; and at last appointed a Rendezvous at *Burford* to make Head against him. But *Cromwell* (whose Diligence and Dispatch was a great Cause of his Successes) had presently his Brother *Desborough*, and some other Regiments ready to surprize them there in their Quarters, before they could get their Numbers together: So that about 1500 being scattered and taken, and some slain, the Levellers War was crushed in the Egg, and *Thompson* (one of Captain *Pitchford's* Corporals aforementioned) who became their chief Leader, was pursued near *Wielingborough* in *Northamptonshire*, and there slain while he defended himself.

§ 92. As I have past over many Battles, Sieges, and great Actions of the Wars, as not belonging to my purpose ; so I have passed over *Cromwell's* March into *Scotland* to help the Covenanters when *Montros* was too strong for them, and I shall pass over his Transportation into *Ireland*, and his speedy Conquest of the remaining Forces and Fortresses of that Kingdom, his taking the Isles of *Man*, of *Jersey*, *Garnsey*, and *Scilly*, and such other of his Successes, and speak only in brief of what he did to the change of the Government, and to the exalting of himself and of his Confidants. And I will pass over the *Londoners* Petitions for the King, and their Carriage towards the House, which looked like a force, and exasperated them so, that the Speakers of both Houses, the Earl of *Manchester* and Mr. *Lenthall*, did with the greater part of the present Members, go forth to *Cromwell*, and make some kind of Confederacy with the Army, and took them for their Protectors against the Citizens. Also their votings and unvoting in these Cases, &c.

§ 93. The King being at the Isle of *Wight*, the Parliament sent him some Propositions to be consented to in order to his Restoration : The King granted many of them, and some he granted not : The *Scottish* Commissioners thought the Conditions more dishonourable to the King, than was consistent with their Covenant and Duty, and protested against them ; for which the Parliament blamed them as hinderers of the desired Peace. The chiefest thing which the King stuck at, was, the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, and alienating theirs and the Dean and Chapters Lands. Hereupon, with the Commissioners certain Divines were sent down to satisfy the King, viz. Mr. *Steph. Marshall*, Mr. *Rich. Vines*, Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*, &c. who were met by many of the King's Divines, Archbishop *Usher*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Sheldon*, &c. The Debates here being in Writing were published, and each Party thought they had the better, and the Parliaments Divines came off with great Honour : But for my part, I confess these two things against them, though Persons whom I highly honoured :

1. That they seem not to me to have answered satisfactorily to the main Argument fetched from the Apostles own Government, with which *Saravia* had inclined me to some Episcopacy before ; though Miracles and Infallibility were Apostolical temporary Priviledges ; yet Church Government is an ordinary thing to be continued : And therefore as the Apostles had Successors as they were Preachers, I see not but that they must have Successors as Church Governors : And it seemeth unlikely to me, that Christ should settle a Form of Government in his Church, which was to continue but for one Age, and then to be transformed into another Species. Could I be sure what was the Government in the Days of the Apostles themselves, I should be satisfied what should be the Government now.

2. They seem not to me to have taken the Course which should have settled these distracted Churches : Instead of disputing against all Episcopacy, they should have changed Diocesan Prelacy into such an Episcopacy as the Conscience of the King might have admitted, and as was agreeable to that which the Church had in the two or three first Ages. I confess, Mr. *Vines* wrote to me as their excuse in this and other Matters of the Assembly, that the Parliament tied them up from treating or disputing of any thing at all, but what they appointed or proposed to them : But I think plain dealing with such Leaders had been best, and to have told them *this is our Judgment*, and in the matters of God and his Church we will serve you according to our Judgment, or not at all. (But indeed if they were not of one Mind among themselves, this could not be expected.)

Archbishop *Usher* there took the rightest course, who offered the King his Reduction of Episcopacy to the form of Presbytery : And he told me himself, that before the King had refused it, but at the Isle of *Wight* he accepted it, and as he would not when others would, so others would not when he would : And when our present King *Charles II.* came in, we tendered it for Union to him, and then he would not : And thus the true moderate healing terms are always rejected by them that stand on the higher Ground, though accepted by them that are lower and cannot have what they will : From whence it is easy to perceive, whether Prosperity or Adversity, the Highest, or the Lowest, be ordinarily the greater slanderer of the Churches Unity and Peace. I know that if the Divines and Parliament had agreed for a moderate Episcopacy with the King, some Presbyterians of *Scotland* would have been against it, and many Independants of *England*, and the Army would have made it the matter of odious Accusations and Clamours : But all this had been of no great regard to remove foreseeing judicious Men from those healing Councils which must close our Wounds whenever they are closed.

§ 94. The King sending his final Answers to the Parliament, the Parliament had a long Debate upon them, whether to acquiesce in them as a sufficient Ground for Peace; and many Members spake for resting in them, and among others Mr. *Prin* went over all the King's Concessions in a Speech of divers Hours long, with marvellous Memory, and shewed the Satisfactoriness of them all, (and after printed it :) So that the House voted that the King's Concessions were a sufficient Ground for a Personal Treaty with him; and had suddenly sent a concluding Answer, and sent for him up, but at such a *Crisis* it was time for the Army to bestir them: Without any more ado *Cromwell* and his Confidants sent Collonel *Pride* with a Party of Souldiers to the House, and set a Guard upon the Door; one Part of the House (who were for them) they let in; another part they turned away, and told them that they must not come there; and the third part they imprisoned (the soberest worthy Members of the House); and all to prevent them from being true to their Oaths and Covenants, and loyal to their King: To so much Rebellion, Perfideousness, Perjury and Impudence, can *Error*, *Selfishness* and *Pride* of great Successes, transport Men of the highest Pretences to Religion.

§ 95. For the true understanding of all this, it must be remembred, that though in the beginning of the Parliament there was scarce a noted gross Sectary known, but the Lord *Brook* in the House of Peers, and young Sir *Henry Vane* in the House of Commons; yet by Degrees the Number of them increased in the Lower House; Major *Salloway* and some few more Sir *Henry Vane* had made his own Adherents: Many more were carried part of the way, to Independency, and Liberty of Religions; and many that minded not any side in Religion, did think that it was no Policie ever to trust a conquered King, and therefore were wholly for a Parliamentary Government: Of these some would have Lords and Commons as a mixture of Aristocracie and Democracie, and others would have Commons and Democracie alone; and some thought that they ought to judge the King for all the Blood that had been shed. And thus when the two Parts of the House were ejected and imprisoned, this third part composed of the *Vanists*, the Independants, and other Sects, with the Democratical Party, was left by *Cromwell* to do his Business under the Name of the Parliament of *England*; but by the People in Scorn commonly called, The Rump of the Parliament. The secluded and imprisoned Members published a Writing called, their *Vindication*; and some of them would afterwards have thrust into the House, but the Guard of Soldiers kept them out, and the Rump were called the *Honest Men*. And these are the Men that henceforward we have to do with in the Progress of our History, as called, The Parliament.

§ 96. As the Lords were disaffected to these Proceedings, so were the Rump and Soldiers to the Lords: So that they passed a Vote (supposing that the Army would stand by them) to establish the Government without a King and House of Lords; and so the Lords dissolved, and these Commons sat and did all alone. And being deluded by *Cromwell*, and verily thinking that he would be for Democracie, which they called a Commonwealth, they gratified him in his Designs, and themselves in their disloyal Distrusts and Fears; and they caused a High Court of Justice to be erected, and sent for the King from the Isle of *Wight*: Collonel *Hammond* delivered him, and to *Westminster-Hall* he came, and refusing to own the Court and their Power to try him, *Cook* as Attorney having pleaded against him, *Bradshaw* as President and Judge recited the Charge and condemned him: And before his own Gate at *Whitehall* they erected a Scaffold, and before a full Assembly of People beheaded him: Wherein appeared the Severity of God, the Mutability and Uncertainty of Worldly Things, and the Fruits of a sinful Nation's Provocations, and the infamous Effects of Error, Pride and Selfishness, prepared by Satan to be charged hereafter upon Reformation and Godliness, to the unspeakable Injury of the Christian Name and Protestant Cause, the Rejoicing and Advantage of the Papiests, the Hardning of Thousands against the Means of their own Salvation, and the Confusion of the Actors when their Day is come.

§ 97. The Lord General *Fairfax* all this while stood by, and, with high Resentment, saw his Lieutenant do all this by tumultuous Souldiers, tricked and overpowered by him; neither being sufficiently upon his Guard to defeat the Intreagues of such an Actor; nor having Resolution enough (as yet) to lay down the Glory of all his Conquests and forsake him: But at the King's Death he was in wonderful Perplexities, and when Mr. *Calamy* and some Ministers were sent for to resolve him, and would have farther persuaded him to rescue the King, his Troubles so confounded him, that they durst let no Man speak to him: And *Cromwell* kept him (as it was said) in praying and consulting till the Stroke was given, and

and it was too late to make Resistance. But not long after, when War was determined against *Scotland*, he laid down his Commission, and never had to do with the Army more, and *Cromwell* was General in his stead.

§ 98. If you ask what did the Ministers all this while; I answer, they Preach'd and Pray'd against Disloyalty: They drew up a Writing to the Lord General, declaring their Abhorrence of all Violence against the Person of the King, and urging him and his Army to take heed of such an unlawful Act: They present it to the General when they saw the King in Danger: But Pride prevailed against their Counsels.

An. 1649 § 99. The King being thus taken out of the way, *Cromwell* takes on him to be for a Commonwealth (but all in order to the Security of the good People) till he had removed the other Impediments which were yet to be removed: So that the Rump presently drew up a Form of *Engagement*, to be put upon all Men, viz. [I do promise to be True and Faithful to the Commonwealth as it is now established without a King or House of Lords.] So we must take the Rump for an established Commonwealth, and promise Fidelity to them. This the Sectarian Party swallowed easily, and so did the King's old Cavaliers, so far as I was acquainted with them, or could hear of them (not heartily, no doubt, but they were very few of them sick of the Disease called tenderness of Conscience, or Scrupulosity: But the Presbyterians, and the moderate Episcopal Men refused it, (and I believe so did the Prelatical Divines of the King's Party for the most part; though the Gentlemen had greater Necessities.) Without this *Engagement* no Man must have the Benefit of suing another at Law (which kept Men a little from Contention, and would have marr'd the Lawyers trade); nor must they have any Masterships in the Universities, nor travel above so many Miles from their Houses, and more such Penalties, which I remember not (so short Lived a Commonwealth deserved no long Remembrance): Mr. *Vines* and Dr. *Rainbow*, and many more were hereupon put out of their Headships in the Universities, and Mr. *Sidrach Symphon*, and Mr. *Jo. Sadler*, and such others put in; yea, such a Man as Mr. *Dell*, the Chaplain of the Army, who, I think, neither understood himself, nor was understood by others any farther than to be one, who took Reason, Sound Doctrine, Order and Concord to be the intollerable Maladies of Church and State, because they were the greatest Strangers to his Mind. But poor Dr. *Edward Reynolds* had the hardest Measure; for when he refused to take the *Engagement*, his Place was forfeited; and afterwards they drew him to take it, in hopes to keep his Place, (which was no less than the Deanarie of *Christ's-Church*) and then turned him out of all, and offered his Place to Mr. *Jos. Caryll*; but he refusing it, it was conferred on Dr. *Owen*, to whom it was continued from year to year.

Mr. Eaton wrote a Book to prove that the Oath of Allegiance nor the Covenant bind not.

And because the Presbyterians still urged the Covenant against killing the King, and pulling down the Parliament, and setting up a Commonwealth, and taking the *Engagement*, some of the Independent Brethren maintained, that its Obligation ceased, because it was a *League*, and the Occasion of it ceased: And some of the Rump said it was like an Almanack out of date; and some of the Souldiers said they never took it; and others of them railed at it as a *Scottish Snare*: So that when their Interest would not suffer them to keep so solemn a Vow, their Wills would not suffer their Judgments to confess it to be Obligatory, at least, as to the part which they must violate.

§ 100. For my own part, though I kept the Town and Parish of *Kidderminster* from taking the Covenant (and seeing how it might become a Snare to their Consciences) yea, and most of *Worcestershire* besides, by keeping the Ministers from offering it in any of the Congregations to the People (except in *Worcester City*, where I had no great Interest, and know not what they did); yea I could not judge it seemly for him that believed there is a God, to play fast and loose with a dreadful Oath, as if the Bonds of National and Personal Vows were as easily shak'd off as *Sampson's Cords*.

Therefore I spake and preach'd against the *Engagement*, and dissuaded Men from taking it: The first hour that I heard of it, being in Company with some Gentlemen of *Worcestershire*, I presently wrote down above twenty Queries against it, intending as many more almost against the Obligation, as there were about the Sense and Circumstances: And one that was present got the Copy of them, and shortly after, I met with them *verbatim* in a Book of Mr. *Henry Hall's* as his own: (one that was long imprison'd for writing against *Cromwell*.)

Some Episcopal Divines that were not so scrupulous it seems as we, did write for it (private Manuscripts which I have seen) and plead the irresistibility of the Imposers, and they found starting holes in the Terms, *viz.* That by the *Commonwealth* they will mean the present Commonwealth in *genere*; and by [*Established*] they will mean only *de facto*, and not *de jure*, and by [*without a King, &c.*] they mean not *quatenus* but *Etsi*; and that only *de facto pro tempore*; *q. d.* I will be true to the Government of *England*, though at the present the King and House of Lords are put out of the Exercise of their power]. These were the Expositions of many Episcopal Men, and others that took it: But I endeavoured to evince, that this is meer juggling and jesting with Matters too great to be jested with: And that as they might easily know that the Imposers had another sense, so as easily might they know that the words in their own obvious usual sense among men, must be taken as the Promise or Engagement of a Subject as such to a Form of Government now pretended to be established: And that the Subjects Allegiance or Fidelity to his Rulers can be acknowledged and given in no plainer words: And that by such Interpretations and Stretchings of Conscience, any Treasonable Oath or Promise may be taken, and no Bonds of Society can signifie much with such Interpreters.

§ 101. *England and Ireland* being thus Conquered by *Cromwell*, (by deluding well-meaning Men into his Service, and covering his Ambition with the Lord *Fairfax's* Generalship); the Parliament being imprisoned and cast out, the King cut off, and the Rump established as a new Commonwealth, (those great and solid Men, *Pim, Hampden, &c.* being long before dead and rid out of his way, who else had been like to have prevailed against the Plots of *Vane* in the Parliament) you would think there were nothing now standing in his way, to hinder him from laying hands upon the Crown. But four Impediments yet stood before him: 1. The numerous Cavaliers (or Royalists) ready for new Enterprizes against him. 2. The *Scots*, who resolved to stick to the Covenant and the King. 3. The *Army*, which must be untaught all the Principles which he is now permitting them to learn: (For those Principles which must bring him to the Crown, are the worst in the World for him when once he is there). 4. The Ministers of *England and Scotland*, and all the sober People who regarded them.

The first of these he most easily (though not without struggling) overcame, making his advantage by all their Enterprizes. The second put him harder to it, but he overcame them at last. The third proved yet a greater difficulty, but he seemed absolutely to overcome it, yet leaving still some Life in the root. The fourth strove against him more calmly and prudently, with invincible Weapons, and though they were quiet, were never overcome; but at last revived the spark of Life which was left in the third, and thereby gave a Resurrection to the first and second, and so recovered all at last; not to the state of their own Interest, or to that Condition of Church Affairs which they desired, but to that Civil State of Royal Government to which they were engaged, and from which the Nation seemed to have fallen.

These are the true Contents of the following parts that were acted in these Lands: The Rump I might mention as another of his Impediments, but as they now were doing his work, so I conjoyn the Relicts of them which then disturbed him, with the Army who were the strength by which they did it.

§ 102. The King being dead, his Son was by right immediately King, (and from that time he dateth his Reign.) The *Scots* send Messengers to him to come over to them and take the Crown: But they treat with him first for his taking of the Covenant; and renouncing the Wars, and the Blood that was shed in them by his Fathers Party. By which I perceive that the *Scots* understood the Clause in the Covenant of [*Defending the King's Person and Authority in the Defence of the true Religion and the Liberties of the Kingdom*] otherwise than we did: For as they extended the word [*true Religion*] further than we did (including the Form of Church Government in *Scotland*) so they seem to understand it *Conjunctione inseparabili*; and to prefer the Defence of Religion before the Defence of the King: whereas we understood it *Conjunctione separabili*; and though in meer estimation we preferred Religion before King or Kingdom, yet in regard of the Duty of Defence, we thought the King must be restored and defended, though (legally) he would have brought in worse than Prelacy: Though we did not think that he might do it *illegally*; and therefore that he could not govern Arbitrarily, nor take away the Peoples fore-prized Propriety or Liberty, nor change the Form of the Government of the Commonwealth.

But those that thought otherwise, said, That there is no power but from God, and therefore none against him or above him ; and therefore none against or above his Laws] : which how true soever, seemeth not at all to decide our Case : For though it follow never so much that such Acts against God are not Acts of Authority, yet the same Person that hath not Authority to *do this*, may have Authority in other matters, and may be our rightful Governour, and therefore must be obeyed in all things lawful, (though not in this ;) and his Person defended. And therefore how they could refuse to receive the King, till he consented to take the Covenant, I know not : unless the taking of the Covenant had been a Condition on which he was to receive his Crown by the Laws or Fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom (which none pretendeth). Nor know I by what power they can add any thing to the Coronation Oath or Covenant, which by his Ancestors was to be taken, without his own Consent. But in their Zeal for the Church, the *Scots* did cause the King, when he was come over to them, not only (*mutatis mutandis*) to take the Covenant, but also to publish a Declaration to the World, that he did it voluntarily and heartily, and that he lamented the Sins of his Father's House, acknowledging the Guilt of the Blood of the late Wars, &c.] In all which it seemed to me and many others that they miscarried divers ways : 1. In imposing Laws upon their King, for which they had no Authority. 2. In forcing him to dishonour the Memory of his Father, by such Confessions. 3. In tempting him to speak and publish that which they might easily know was contrary to his heart, and so to take God's Name in vain. 4. And in giving *Cromwell* occasion to charge them all with dissimulation.

§ 103. What Transactions there were between the King and the *Scots* for the Expediting of his Coronation, and what Preparations were made for an Army to defend him, and what Differences among the Parties hereabouts, I shall not describe, there being enow of them that were upon the place who can do it better : But to return to *England*, as soon as they understood what the *Scots* had done, the *Sectaries* in *England* reproached them as *Fools* and *Hypocrites*, that by such a Pageantry mockt themselves, and would make the People believe that the King was turned Presbyterian, and was a Cordial Covenanter, when they had forced him to say and do that which they might well know he did abhor. And they presently resolve to invade the *Scots*, to keep them from invading *England*, and not to stay till they came in upon this Land, as heretofore. So that *Cromwell* is in *Scotland* with his Army before they were well settled in their Affairs. This much increased the alienation of the Peoples hearts from the *Cromwellians* : for though they might suppose that the *Scots* intended to bring the King into *England*, yet few believed that he might begin with them by an Invasion, it being too much to have resisted them at home.

§ 104. When the Soldiers were going against the King and *Scots*, I wrote Letters to some of them to tell them of their Sin, and desired them at last to begin to know themselves : it being those same men that have so much boasted of Love to all the Godly, and pleaded for tender dealing with them, and condemned those that persecuted them or restrained their Liberty, who are now ready to imbrue their Swords in the Blood of such as they acknowledge to be Godly, and all because they dare not be *perjured* or *disloyal* as they are. Some of them were startled at these Letters, and (O blindness!) thought me an uncharitable Censurer that would say that they could kill the Godly, even when they were on their march to do it : For how bad soever they spake of the Cavaliers, (and not without too much desert as to their Morals) they confessed that abundance of the *Scots* were godly Men. And afterward those that I wrote to better understood me.

§ 105. At the same time the Rump (or Commonwealth) who so much abhorred Persecution, and were for Liberty of Conscience, made an Order that all Ministers should keep *their* days of Humiliation, to fast and pray for their Success in *Scotland* : and that we should keep their Days of Thanksgiving for their Victories ; and this upon pain of Sequestration : so that we all expected to be turned out : but they did not execute it upon any save one in our parts.

For my part, instead of praying and preaching for them, when any of the Committees or Soldiers were my hearers, I laboured to help them to understand, what a Crime it was to force men to pray for the Success of those that were violating their Covenant and Loyalty, and going in such a Cause to kill their Brethren : And what it was to force Men to give God thanks for all their Bloodshed, and to make God's Ministers and Ordinances vile, and serviceable to such Crimes, by forcing Men to run to God on such Errands of Blood and Ruine : And what it is to be
such

such Hypocrites as to persecute and cast out those that preach the Gospel, while they pretend the advancement of the Gospel, and the liberty of tender Consciences : And what a means it was to debauch all Consciences, and leave neither tenderness nor honesty in the World, when the Guides of the Flocks, and Preachers of the Gospel shall be noted to swallow down such heinous Sins.

My own Hearers were all satisfied with my Doctrine, but the Committee Men look sowre, but let me alone. And the Soldiers said I was so like to *Love*, that I would not be right till I was shorter by the Head. Yet none of them ever meddled with me farther than by the Tongue, nor was I ever by any of them in those times, forbidden or hindered to preach one Sermon, except only one Assize-Sermon which the High Sheriff had desired me to preach, and afterward sent me word to forbear, as from the Committee, saying, That by Mr. *Moor's* means (the Independent Preacher at the Colledge) the Committee told him that they desired me to forbear, and not to preach before the Judges, because I preached against the State : But afterward they excused it, as done merely in kindness to me, to keep me from running my self into danger and trouble.

§ 106. Not far from this time the *London* Ministers were called Traitors by the Rump and Soldiers for plotting for the King (a strange kind of Treason), because they had some Meetings to contrive how to raise some small Sum of Money for *Masseys's* relief, who was then in *Scotland* : And some false * Brother discovered * Capt. A-dams. them, and eight of them were sent to the *Tower*, Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Watson*, Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, &c. and Mr. *Nalton* and Mr. *Caughton* fled into *Holland*, where one died, but the other returned and lived to suffer more by them he suffered for.

Mr. *Love* was tried at a Court of Justice, where *Edm. Prideaux* a Member and Solicitor for the Commonwealth, did think his Place allowed him to plead against the Life and Blood of the Innocent. Mr. *Love* was condemned and beheaded, dying neither timorously nor proudly in any desperate Bravado, but with as great alacrity and fearless quietness and freedom of Speech, as if he had but gone to Bed, and had been as little concerned as the standers by. An † honest Gentleman was † Mr. Gibbons. beheaded with him for the same Cause. And at the time of their Execution, or very near it on that day, there was the dreadfulest Thunder and Lightning and Tempest, that was heard or seen of a long time before.

This Blow sunk deeper towards the Root of the New Commonwealth, than will easily be believed; and made them grow odious to almost the Religious Party in the Land, except the Sectaries: (Though some malicious Cavaliers said it was good enough for him, and laught at it as good News): for now the People would not believe that they sought the promoting of the Gospel, who killed the Ministers for the Interest of their Faction. And there is, as Sir *Walter Rawleigh* noteth of Learned Men, such as *Demosthenes*, *Cicero*, &c. so much more in Divines of famous Learning and Piety, enough to put an everlasting odium upon those whom they suffer by, though the Cause of the Sufferers were not justifiable. Men count him a vile and detestable Creature, who in his passion, or for his interest, or any such low account, shall deprive the World of such Lights and Ornaments, and cut off so much excellency at a blow, and be the Persecutors of such worthy and renowned Men. Though the rest of the Ministers were released, upon Mr. *Jenkins's* Recantation, and Confession that God had now convinced him, that he ought to submit to the present Government. Yet after this, the most of the Ministers and good People of the Land, did look upon the New Commonwealth as Tyranny, and were more alienated from them than before.

§ 107. The Lord *Fairfax* now laid down his Commission, and would have no more of the Honour of being *Cromwell's* Instrument or Mask, when he saw that he must buy it at so dear a rate. And so *Cromwell* with applause received a Commission, and entered upon his place.

And into *Scotland* he hasteneth, and there he maketh his way near *Edinburgh*, where the *Scots* Army lay : But after long skirmishing and expectations, when he could neither draw the *Scots* out of their Trenches to a fight, nor yet pass forward, his Soldiers contracted Sicknesses, and were impatient of the Poverty of the Country, and so with a weakned ragged Army he drew off to return to *England*, and had the *Scots* but let him go, or cautelously followed him, they had kept their Peace and broken his Honour : But they drew out and followed him, and overtaking him near *Dumbarr*, did force him to a Fight, by engaging his Rere ; in which Fight being not of equal Fortitude they were totally rowted, their Foot taken, and their Horse pursued to *Edinburgh*.

§ 108. Tenthousand Prisoners of the Foot were brought to *Newcastle*, where the greatness of the Number, and the baseness of the Country (with their Poverty) and the cruel Negligence of the Army, caused them to be almost all famished: For being shut up in a Cabbage-Garden, and having no Food, they cast themselves into a Flux and other Diseases with eating the raw Cabbages; so that few of them survived, and those few were little better used. The Colours that were taken were hanged up as Trophies in *Westminster-Hall*, and never taken down till the King's Restoration.

§ 109. *Cromwell* being thus called back to *Edinburgh*, driveth the *Scots* to *Sterling* beyond the River, where they fortifie themselves: He besiegeth the impregnable Castle of *Edinburgh* and winneth it; the Governor, Coll. *William Duglass*, laying the blame on his Souldiers that else would have delivered It and him; but his Superiors condemned him for the Cowardly Surrender.

After this, *Cromwell* passeth some of his Men over the River, and after them most of the rest: The King with the *Scots* Army being unable to give him Battle after such Discouragements, takes the Opportunity to haste away with what Force they had towards *England*, thinking that *Cromwell* being cast now some Days March behind them, by Reason of his passing the River, they might be before him in *England*, and there be abundantly increased, by the coming in both of the Cavaliers and the rest of the People to him. And doubtless all the Land would suddenly have flockt in to him but for these two Causes:

1. The Success of *Cromwell* at *Dumbarre* and afterwards, had put a Fear upon all Men, and the manner of the *Scots* coming away, persuaded all Men that Necessity forced them, and they were look'd upon rather as flying than as marching into *England*; and few Men will put themselves into a flying Army which is pursued by the conquering Enemy.

2. The implacable Cavaliers had made no Preparation of the Peoples Mind, by any Significations of Reconciliation, or of probable future Peace: And the Prelatical Divines, instead of drawing nearer those they differed from for Peace, had gone farther from them by Dr. *Hammond's* new way, than their Predecessors were before them; and the very Cause which they contended for, being not *Concord* and *Neighbourhood*, but *Domination*, they had given the dissenting Clergy and People no hopes of finding favourable Lords, or any Abatement of their former Burdens, so little did their Task-Masters relent: But contrariwise, they saw Reason enough to expect that their little Fingers would be heavier than their Predecessors Loyns. And it is hard to bring Men readily to venture their Lives to bring themselves into a Prison, or Beggary, or Banishment.

These were the true Causes that no more came in to the King: The first kept off the Royalists and the rest, the second kept off the rest alone. Yet the Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Talbott* and many Gentlemen did come in to him; and some that had been Souldiers for the Parliament, (as Capt. *Benbow* from *Shrewsbury*, with Cornet *Kinnerly* and a Party of Horse, and some few more.)

The King's Army of *Scots* was excellently well governed (in comparison of what his Father's was wont to be): Not a Souldier durst wrong any Man of the worth of a Penny; which much drew the Affections of the People towards them.

The Presence of Collonel *Rich. Graves*, and Collonel *Massy* with them, was the great Inducement to the Parliamentarians to come in: But another great Impediment kept them off, which was, *Cromwell's* exceeding speedy Pursuit of them; so that People had not time to resolve themselves considerately; and most were willing to see what *Cromwell's* Assault would do, before they cast themselves into the Danger; Soldiers may most easily be had when there is least need of them.

The King came by the way of *Lancashire*, and summoned *Shrewsbury* in vain as he passed by through *Shropshire*: And when all the Country thought that he was hastening to *London* (where all Men supposed he would have attained his Ends, increased his Strength, and had no Resistance,) he turned to *Worcester*, and there stay'd to refresh his Army, *Cromwell's* Forces being within a few days March of him.

§ 110. The Army passed most by *Kidderminster* (a Fields Breadth off) and the rest through it: Collonel *Graves* sent two or three Messages to me, as from the King, to come to him; and after, when he was at *Worcester*, some others were sent: But I was at that time under so great an Affliction of sore Eyes, that I was not scarce able to see the Light, nor fit to stir out of Doors: And being not much

much doubtful of the Issue which followed, I thought if I had been able, it would have been no Service at all to the King; it being so little on such a sudden, that I could add to his Assistance.

When the King had stayed a few Days at *Worcester*, *Cromwell* came with his Army to the East side of the City, and after that, made a Bridge of Boats over *Severn*, to hinder them from Forage on the other side; but because so great an Army could not long endure to be pent up, the King resolved to charge *Cromwell's* Men; and a while the *Scots* Foot did charge very gallantly, and some chief Persons among the Horse, The Marquis *Hamilton* (late Earl of *Lanerick*) being slain: But at last the hope of Security so near their Backs, encouraged the King's Army to retreat into the City, and *Cromwell's* Souldiers followed them so close at the Heels, that Major *Swallow* of *Whalley's* Regiment first, and others after him entered *Sidbury-Gate* with them; and so the whole Army fled through the City quite away, many being trodden down and slain in the Streets; so that the King was fain to fly with them Northward, the Lord *Willmot*, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and many others of his Lords and Commanders with him: *Kidderminster* being but eleven Miles from *Worcester*, the flying Army past some of them through the Town, and some by it: I was newly gone to Bed when the Noise of the flying Horse acquainted us of the Overthrow: and a piece of one of *Cromwell's* Troops that Guarded *Bewdley-Bridge* having tidings of it, came into our Streets, and stood in the open Market-place before my Door, to surprise those that past by: And so when many hundreds of the flying Army came together, when the 30 Troopers cryed *stand*, and fired at them, they either halted away, or cryed Quarter, not knowing in the Dark what Number it was that charged them: And so as many were taken there, as so few Men could lay hold on: And till Midnight the Bullets flying towards my Door and Windows, and the sorrowful Fugitives halting by for their Lives, did tell me the Calamitousness of War.

The King parted at last from most of his Lords, and went to *Boscobell* by the white Ladies, where he was hid in an Oak, in manner sufficiently declared to the World; and thence to *Mosely*, and so with Mrs. *Lane* away as a Traveller, and escaped all the Searchers Hands, till he came safe beyond Sea, as is published at large by divers.

The City of *Worcester* was much plundered by *Cromwell's* Souldiers, and a Party only sent out after the King's Fugitives (for an Army I will call them no more): the Earl of *Derby* was taken, and Capt. *Benbow* of *Shrewsbury*, and were both put to Death; the Sentence of Coll. *Mackworth* dispatched *Benbow*, because he had been a Souldier under him. The Earl of *Lauderdale*, and the Earl of *Craford* were sent Prisoners to *Windor-Castle*, where they were detained till the Restoration of the King: Coll. *Graves* at last being released by *Cromwell*, lived quietly at his House, which made him ill thought of, and kept from Preferment afterwards when the King came in.

And thus *Cromwell's* next Impediment was over.

§ 111. The *Scots* Army being utterly dispatched in *England* (and many of the Prisoners of Foot sent to the *Barbado's*, &c.) part of *Cromwell's* Army was sent to prosecute the Victory in *Scotland*, where (briefly) all their Garrisons at last were taken, and the Earl of *Glencarne*, and that learned, religious, excellent Person, the Earl of *Balcarras*, who kept up the last Forces there for the King, were fain to fly to the King beyond Sea: And Major General *Monk* was there left with some Forces to keep the Country in Subjection.

§ 112. *Cromwell* having thus far seemed to be a Servant to the Parliament, and work for his Masters the Rump or Commonwealth, doth next begin to shew whom he served, and take that Impediment also out of the way: To which End he first doth by them as he did by the Presbyterians, make them odious by hard Speeches of them throughout his Army; as if they intended to perpetuate themselves, and would not be accountable for the Money of the Commonwealth, &c. and he treateth privately with many of them, to appoint a time when they would dissolve themselves, that another free Parliament might be chosen: But they perceived the Danger, and were rather for the filling up of their Number by New Elections, which he was utterly against.

His greatest Advantage to strengthen himself against them by the Sectaries, was their owning the publick Ministry and their Maintenance; for though *Vane* and his party set themselves to make the Ministers odious by reproachful Titles, and to take them down, yet still the greater part of the House did carry it for a sober Ministry, and competent Maintenance. And when the Quakers and others did openly reproach

reproach the Ministry, and the Souldiers favour them, I drew up a Petition for the Ministry, and got many thousand Hands to it in *Worcestershire*, and Mr. *Tho. Foley*, and Coll. *John Bridgis* presented it; and the House gave a kind and promising Answer to it, which increased the Sectaries Dupleasure against them: And when a certain Quaker wrote a reviling Censure of this Petition, I wrote a Defence of it, and caused one of them to be given each Parliament Man at the Door; and within one day after they were dissolved: For *Cromwell* impatient of any more delay, suddenly took *Harrison* and some Souldiers with him (as if God had impelled him) and as in a Rapture went into the House, and reproveth the Members for their Faults, and pointing to *Vane*, calls him a Juglar, and to *Henry Martin*, and calls him Whoremaster, and having two such to instance in, taketh it for granted that they were all unfit to continue in the Government of the Commonwealth; and out he turneth them: And so ended the Government of the Rump, and no sort of People expressed any great Offence that they were cast out, though all, save the Sectaries and the Army almost, did take him to be a Traitor that did it.

§ 113. The young Commonwealth being already Headless, you might think that nothing was left to stand between *Cromwell* and the Crown: For a Governor there must be, and who should be thought fitter? But yet there was another Pageant to be played, which had a double end: 1. To make the Necessity of his Governing undeniable. And 2. To make his own Souldiers at last out of love with Democracie; or at least to make them hateful that adhered to it. A Parliament must be called, but the ungodly People are not to be trusted with the choice; therefore the Souldiers, as more religious, must be the Choosers: And two out of a County are chosen by the Officers upon the Advice of their Sectarian Friends in the Country. This was called in Contempt, *The Little Parliament*.

This Conventicle made an Act (as I remember) that Magistrates should marry People instead of Ministers, (yet not prohibiting the Ministers to do their part): And then they came to the Business of Tythes and Ministers; and before this, *Harrison*, being authorized thereto, had at once put down all the Parish-Ministers of *Wales*, because that most of them were ignorant and scandalous, and had set up a few itinerant Preachers in their stead, who were for Number incomperent for so great a Charge, there being but one to many of those wide Parishes; so that the People having but a Sermon once in many Weeks, and nothing else in the mean time, were ready to turn Papists or any thing: And this Plight would the Anabaptists, and other Sectaries have brought *England* to: And all was, 1. That the People might not be tempted to think the Parish-Churches to be true Churches: 2. Nor Infant Baptism to be true Baptism, and so themselves to be true Christians; but must be made Christians and Churches in the Anabaptists and Separatists way. Hereupon *Harrison* became the Head of the Sectaries, and *Cromwell* now began to design the heading of a sorer Party, that were for Learning and Ministry; but yet to be the equal Protector of all: Hereupon in the Little Sectarian Parliament, it was put to the Vote, whether all the Parish Ministers of *England* should at once be put down or no? And it was but accidentally carried in the negative by two Voices: And it was taken for granted, that the Tythes and Universities would at the next Opportunity be voted down; and now *Cromwell* must be their Saviour, or they must perish; when he had purposely cast them into the Pit, that they might be beholden to him to pull them out. (But his Game was so grossly play'd, as made him the more loath'd by Men of Understanding and Sincerity) So Sir *C.W.* and some others of them take their time, and put it to the Vote whether the House as incapable of serving the Commonwealth, should go and deliver up their Power to *Cromwell* from whom they had received it; and they carried it in the Affirmative, and away they go, and solemnly resign their Power to him; and now who but *Cromwell* and his Army.

§ 114. The intelligent Sort by this time did fully see that *Cromwell's* design was, by causing and permitting destruction to hang over us, to necessitate the Nation whether they would or not, to take him for their Governour, that he might be their Protector: Being resolved that we should be saved by him, or perish: He made more use of the wild-headed Sectaries than barely to fight for him: They now serve him as much by their Heresies, their Enmity to Learning and Ministry, their pernicious Demands which tended to Confusion, as they had done before by their Valour in the Field. He can now conjure up at pleasure some terrible apparition, of Agitators, Levellers, or such like, who as they affrighted the King from *Hampton-Court*, shall affright the People to fly to him for refuge; that the hand that wounded them may heal them. For now he exclaimeth against the giddiness of these

these unruly Men, and earnestly pleadeth for Order and Government, and will needs become the Patron of the Ministry, yet so as to secure all others of their Liberty.

Some that saw his Design, said, We will rather all perish, and see both Tythes and Universities overthrown, than we will any way submit to such deceitful Usurpations.

Others said, It is the Providence of God, whoever be the Instruments, which hath brought us into this Necessity, which we were unable to prevent; and being in it, we are not bound to choose our own destruction: Therefore Necessity requireth us to accept of any One to rule us that is like to deliver us.

But the generality of the Ministers went the middle way; and our Consciences thus apprehended the state of our present Duty: [We acknowledge that God Almighty hath over-ruled in all these great Mutations, and hath permitted the perfidiousness of Men, and their Success. And the Common Good being the end of all just Government, we may not do any thing against the Common Good, much less to the Destruction of it, under pretence of resisting an Usurper, or of Restoring him who is our rightful Governour. If the Universities be overthrown, the Fabricks demolished, the Lands alienated, the Ministry put down, the Tithes sold, or given to the People, to engage them all to be against any means which tend to a Recovery, whatever we contribute to this, we do against the King and Kingdom, and do but cut his Throat in kindness: For we pull down the House that he may be Master of it, and destroy the Commonwealth that he may be the Head of it: We strengthen his Enemies by our imprudent Passions: But yet we must neither do nor approve of Evil, for any Good End, nor forbear in our Places seasonably to reprehend it: Therefore it is unlawful for us to Consent to any Governour but the King; or take any Engagement or Oath of Allegiance to any: But it is not unlawful for us to submit to them, by living quietly in our Places, and to make use of the Courts of Justice established by Law, yea, and to demand protection from the Usurper. For his stepping into the Ruler's place, and Usurping the Government, obligeth him to do all the parts of a Governour's Office, while he is there; and warranteth us to demand it, and accept it of him; but it doth not at all oblige us to obey him or consent to his Usurpation: Even as we may demand Justice of a General of Rebels, or a Captain of Thieves; or of Pyrates that shall surprize the Ship which we are in: but we are not bound to consent to his Government, or formally obey him; but contrarily to disown his Villany, and to do all that we can against his Tyranny, which tendeth not to the hurt of the Society: So here, it is our Duty to keep the state of things as entire as we can, till God be pleased to restore the King, that he may find it a whole and not a ruin'd irreparable State.]

And thus for my part was my Practice: I did seasonably and moderately by Preaching and Printing condemn the Usurpation, and the Deceit which was the means to bring it to pass. I did in open Conference declare Cromwell and his Adherents to be Guilty of Treason and Rebellion, aggravated with Perfidiousness and Hypocrisie; to be abhorred of all good and sober Men: But yet I did not think it my Duty to rave against him in the Pulpit, nor to do this so unseasonably and imprudently as might irritate him to mischief. And the rather because, as he kept up his approbation of a godly Life in the general, and of all that was good, except that which the Interest of his Sinful Cause engaged him to be against; so I perceived that it was his design to do good in the main, and to promote the Gospel and the Interest of Godliness, more than any had done before him; except in those particulars which his own Interest was against: And it was the principal means that hence-forward he trusted to for his own Establishment, even by doing good: That the People might love him, or at least be willing to have his Government for that Good, who were against it, as it was Usurpation. And I made no question at all, but that when the Rightful Governour was restored, the People that had adhered to him (being so extremely irritated) would cast out multitudes of the Ministers, and undo the Good which the Usurper had done, because he did it; and would bring abundance of Calamity upon the Land. And some Men thought it a very hard Question, Whether they should rather wish the continuance of an Usurper that will do good, or the restitution of a Rightful Governour whose Followers will do hurt. But for my part I thought my Duty was clear, to disown the Usurper's Sin, what Good soever he would do; and to perform all my Engagements to a Rightful Governour, leaving the Issue of all to God: but yet to commend the Good which a Usurper doth, and to do any lawful thing which

*Very like to
Maximus
in the days
of Gratian
and Theodosius.*

which may provoke him to do more; and to approve of *no Evil* which is done by any, either Usurper or a lawful Governour.

And thus stood the Affections of the *Intelligent* sort to *Cromwell*: but the *Simpler* sort believed that he designed nothing of all that came to pass; but that God's Providence brought about all, without his Contrivance or Expectation.

An. 1653 § 115. The little Parliament having resigned their Commission to *Cromwell*, that we might not be ungoverned, a *Juncto* of Officers, and I know not who (nor ever could learn, but that *Lambert* and *Berry* were two Chief Men in it) did draw up a Writing, called, *The Instrument of the Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. This Instrument made *Oliver Cromwell* Lord Protector of the Commonwealth: The Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Judges, and the Officers of the Army, were suddenly drawn together to *Westminster-Hall*, and upon the reading of this Instrument, installed *Cromwell* in the Office of Protector, and swore him accordingly; and thus the Commonwealth seemed once more to have a Head.

§ 116. I shall for brevity over-pass the particular mention of the Parliaments summoned by *Cromwell*; of their displeasing him by ravelling his Instrument, and other means, and of his rough and resolute dissolving them.

One of the chief Works which he did was the purging of the Ministry; of which I shall say somewhat more. And here I suppose the Reader to understand that the Synod of *Westminster* was dissolved with the Parliament; and therefore a Society of Ministers with some others, were chosen by *Cromwell* to sit at *Whitehall*, under the Name of *Triers*, who were mostly Independants, but some sober Presbyterians with them, and had power to try all that came for Institution or Induction, and without their Approbation none were admitted: This Assembly of *Triers* examined themselves all that were able to come up to *London*: but if any were unable, or were of doubtful Qualifications between Worthy and Unworthy, they used to refer them to some Ministers in the County where they lived, and to approve them if they approved them.

And because this Assembly of *Triers* is most heavily accused and reproached by some Men, I shall speak the truth of them, and suppose my word will be the rather taken, because most of them took me for one of their boldest Adversaries, as to their Opinions, and because I was known to disown their Power, insomuch that I refused to try any under them upon their reference, except a very few, whose Importunity and necessity moved me (they being such as for their Episcopal Judgment, or some such Cause, the *Triers* were like to have rejected.) The truth is, that though their Authority was null, and though some few over-busie and over-rigid Independants among them, were too severe against all that were Arminians, and too particular in enquiring after Evidences of Sanctification in those whom they Examined, and somewhat too lax in their Admission of Unlearned and Erroneous Men, that favoured Antinomianism or Anabaptism; yet to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the Church: They saved many a Congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken Teachers: that sort of Men that intended no more in the Ministry, than to say a Sermon, as Readers say their Common Prayers, and so patch up a few good words together to talk the People asleep with on *Sunday*; and all the rest of the Week go with them to the Ale-house, and harden them in their Sin: And that sort of Ministers that either preacht against a holy Life, or preacht as Men that never were acquainted with it; all those that used the Ministry but as a Common Trade to live by, and were never likely to convert a Soul; all these they usually rejected; and in their stead admitted of any that were able serious Preachers, and lived a godly Life, of what tollerable Opinion soever they were. So that though they were many of them somewhat partial for the Independents, Separatists, Fifth-Monarchy-men and Anabaptists, and against the Prelatists and Arminians, yet so great was the benefit above the hurt, which they brought to the Church, that many thousands of Souls blest God for the faithful Ministers whom they let in, and grieved when the Prelatists afterward cast them out again.

§ 117. And because I am fall'n upon this Subject, I will look back to the Alterations that were made upon the Ministry by the Long Parliament before, both by the Country Committees and the Synod at *Westminster*: I know that there are Men in the World that defame both the Actors and the Work, and would make the World believe that almost none but worthy Learned Men were turned out, and that for their Fidelity to the King and Bishops; and that almost none but Unlearned

and Factious Fellows were introduced. But this Age hath taught the World how little the Report of such Men is to be believed of any others, who speak what their *Interest* and *Malice* do command them; and by these are made strangers to the Men they speak of, though they dwell among them: For they converse not with them at all, unless in some wrangling Dispute, when Malice and Passion seek a Whetstone; but they talk only with those that talk against them, and easily believe any false Reports, when once they are so like the Common Enemy that they desire them to be true. But I shall in this Case also speak impartially, neither justifying what they did amiss, nor condemning them without cause.

And because I have past it by before, I shall say something of the *Westminster* Assembly here. This Synod was not a Convocation according to the Diocesan way of Government, nor was it called by the Votes of the Ministers according to the Presbyterian way: But the Parliament not intending to call an Assembly which should pretend a Divine Right to make obliging Laws or Canons to bind their Brethren, but an Ecclesiastical Council to be Advisers to themselves, did think that they best knew who were the fittest to give them Advice, and therefore chose them all themselves. Two were to be chosen out of each County; but some few Counties (I know not upon what reason) had but one: I suppose it was long of the Parliament Men of those Counties. And because they would seem Impartial, and have each Party to have liberty to speak, they over and above the number chose many Episcopal Divines, even the Learnedest of them in the Land, as Archbishop *Usher* Primate of Ireland, Dr. *Holdsworth*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Wincop*, Bishop *Wylford*, Bishop *Prideaux*, and many more. But they would not come, because it was not a Legal Convocation, and because the King declared himself against it: Dr. *Dan. Featley* and very few more of that Party came: (But at last he was charged with sending Intelligence to the King's Quarters at *Oxford*, of what was done in the Synod and Parliament, and was imprisoned; which much reflected on the Parliament, because whatever his Fact were, he was so Learned a Man, as was sufficient to dishonour those he suffered by). The Prolocutor or Moderator was Dr. *William Twisse* (a Man very famous for his Scholastical Wit and Writings in a very smooth triumphant Style): The Divines there Congregate were Men of Eminent Learning and Godliness, and Ministerial Abilities and Fidelity: And being not worthy to be one of them my self, I may the more freely speak that Truth which I know even in the Face of Malice and Envy, that, as far as I am able to judge by the Information of all History of that kind, and by any other Evidences left us, the Christian World, since the days of the Apostles, had never a Synod of more Excellent Divines (taking one thing with another) than this Synod and the Synod of *Dort* were.

This Assembly was confined by the Parliament to debate only such things as they proposed to them: And many Lords and Commons were joyned in Commission with them, to see that they did not go beyond their Commission: Six or seven Independants were joyned with them, that all sides may be heard; of whom five were called the *Dissenting Brethren*, (*Philip Nye*, *Thomas Goodwyn*, *Jeremiah Burroughs*, *Sydrach Symphon*, and *William Bridge*) who joyned with the rest till they had drawn up a Confession of Faith, a larger and a shorter Catechism. But when they came to Church Government, they engaged them in many long Debates, and kept that Business as long as possibly they could undetermined; and after that kept it so long unexecuted in almost all parts of the Land, saving *London* and *Lancashire*, that their Party had time to strengthen themselves in the Army and the Parliament, and hinder the Execution after all, and keep the Government determined of, a Stranger to most of the People of this Land, who knew it but by hearsay, as it was represented by Reporters. For my own part, as highly as I honour the Men, I am not of their Mind, in every Point of the Government which they would have set up; and some words in their Catechism I could wish had been more clear; and above all, I could wish that the Parliament and their more skillful Hand, had done more than was done to heal our Breaches, and had hit upon the right way either to unite with the Episcopal and Independants (which was possible, as distant as they are) or at least had pitched on the Terms that are fit for Universal Concord, and left all to come in upon those Terms that would. But for all this dissent I must testify my Love and Honour to the Persons of such great Sincerity, and Eminent Ministerial Sufficiency, as were *Gataker*, *Vines*, *Burgeß*, *White*, and the greater part of that Assembly.

Among other parts of their Trust, one was to approve of all that should be admitted into any Church Livings. They had no Power to put out any, but only to judge of the fitness of such as were taken in. The Power of Casting out unworthy Men, was partly in a Committee of Parliament Men at *London*, and partly in the Committees of each several County, according to an Ordinance of Parliament expressing the Crimes: Herein it was laudable that Drunkards, Swearers, Cursers, Blasphemers, Hereticks, Fornicators, and such scandalous Persons were to be ejected: but it was not well done to put in those among them that had been against the Parliament in the War: For the Work of God should not give place to the Matters of their Secular Interest and Policy, as long as the Being of the Commonwealth is secured: And all the Learned Ministers in the Land, on one side and the other, are few enow to do the Work of Christ: And I believe that those that were against them, would have done them less hurt in the Pulpits where there were so many Witnesses, than they did in private. But yet I must needs say, that in all the Countreys where I was acquainted, six to one at least (if not many more) that were Sequestred by the Committee, were by the Oaths of Witnesses proved insufficient, or scandalous, or both; especially guilty of Drunkenness or Swearing: and those that being able, godly Preachers, were cast out for the War alone, as for their Opinions sake, were comparatively very few. This I know will displease that Party; but this is true. And though now and then an unworthy Person by sinister means crept into their Places, yet commonly those whom they put in, were such as set themselves laboriously to seek the Saving of Souls: Indeed the one half of them were very young; but that could not be helpt, because there were no other to be had. The Parliament could not make Men Learned nor Godly, but only put in the learnedest and ablest that they could have. And though it had been to be wisht that they might have had leisure to ripen in the Universities, yet many of them did as *Ambrosi*, teach and learn at once so successfully, as that they much increased in Learning themselves, whilst they profited others; and proportionably more than many in the Universities do.

§ 118. To return from this Digression to the Proceedings of *Cromwell*, when he was made *Lord Protector*, he had the Policy not to detect and exasperate the Ministers and others that consented not to his Government, (having seen what a stir the Engagement had before made): but he let Men live quietly, without putting any Oaths of Fidelity upon them; except his Parliaments; for those must not enter the House till they had sworn Fidelity to him. The Sectarian Party in his Army and elsewhere, he chiefly trusted to and pleased, till by the Peoples submission and quietness he thought himself well settled: And then he began to undermine them, and by degrees to work them out: And though he had so often spoken for the Anabaptists, now he findeth them so heady, and so much against any settled Government, and so set upon the promoting of their Way and Party, that he doth not only begin to blame their unruliness, but also designeth to settle himself in the Peoples Favour by suppressing them. In *Ireland* they were grown so high, that the Soldiers were many of them re-baptized as the way to Preferment: and those that opposed them they crushed with much uncharitable Fierceness. To suppress these, he sent thither his Son *Henry Cromwell*, who so discountenanced the Anabaptists, as yet to deal civilly by them, repressing their Insolencies, but not abusing them, or dealing hardly with them; promoting the Work of the Gospel, and setting up good and sober Ministers; and dealing civilly with the Royallists, and obliging all; so that he was generally beloved, and well spoken of. And Major General *Ludlow*, who headed the Anabaptists in *Ireland*, was fain to draw in his head.

In *England* *Cromwell* connived at his old Friend *Harrison*, while he made himself the Head of the Anabaptists and Fanaticks here, till he saw it would be an applauded acceptable thing to the Nation to suppress him, and then he doth it easily in a trice, and maketh him contemptible who but yesterday thought himself not much below him: The same he doth also as easily by *Lambert* and layeth him by.

§ 119. In these times (especially since the Rump reigned) sprang up five Sects at least, whose Doctrines were almost the same, but they fell into several Shapes and Names: 1. The *Vanists*: 2. The *Sakers*: 3. The *Ranters*: 4. The *Quakers*: 5. The *Behmenists*.

1. The *Vanists*, (for I know not by what other Name to make them known) who were Sir *Henry Vane's* Disciples, first sprang up under him in new *England* when he was Governor there: but their Notions were then raw and undigested, and their Party quickly confounded by God's Providence; as you may see in a
little

little Book of Mr. *Tho. Weld's* of the Rise and Fall of Antinomianism, and Familism in New-England; where their Opinions and these Providences are recorded by him that was a reverend Minister there: One Mrs. *Dyer*, a chief Person of the Sect, did first bring forth a Monster, which had the Parts of almost all sorts of living Creatures, some Parts like Man, but most ugly and misplaced, and some like Beasts, Birds and Fishes, having Horns, Fins and Claws; and at the Birth of it the Bed shook, and the Women present fell a Vomiting and were fain to go forth of the Room: Mr. *Cotton* was too favourable to them, till this helpt to recover him: Mrs. *Hutchinson*, the chief Woman among them and their Teacher, (to whose Exercises a Congregation of them used to assemble) brought forth about 30 misshapen Births or Lumps at once; and being banished into another Plantation was killed there by the Indians. Sir *Henry Vane* being Governor, and found to be the secret Fautor and Life of their Cause, was fain to steal away by Night, and take Shipping for England, before his Year of Government was at an end.

But when he came over into England he proved an Instrument of greater Calamity to a People more sinful and more prepared for God's Judgments: Being chosen a Parliament Man, he was very active at first for the bringing of Delinquents to Punishment: He was the Principal Man that drove on the Parliament to go too high, and act too vehemently against the King: Being of very ready Parts, and very great Subtilty, and unwearied Industry, he laboured, and not without Success, to win others in Parliament, City and Country to his Way. When the Earl of *Strafford* was accused, he got a Paper out of his Father's Cabinet (who was Secretary of State) which was the chief Means of his Condemnation: To most of our Changes he was that *within* the House, which *Cromwell* was *without*. His great Zeal to drive all into War, and to the highest, and to cherish the Sectaries, and especially in the Army, made him above all Men to be valued by that Party.

His Unhappiness lay in this, that his Doctrines were so clowdily formed and expressed, that few could understand them, and therefore he had but few true Disciples: The Lord *Brook* was slain before he had brought him to Maturity: Mr. *Sterry* is thought to be of his Mind, as he was his Intimate; but he hath not opened himself in writing*, and was so famous for Obscurity in Preaching (being, said *A posthumous Book of Mr. Sterry's is since published.* Sir *Benj. Rudyard*, too high for this World, and too low for the other) that he thereby proved almost Barren also, and *Vanity* and *Sterility* were never more happily conjoined: Mr. *Sprig* is the chief of his more open Disciples (too well known by a Book of his Sermons.)

This Obscurity by some was imputed to his not understanding himself; but by others to *design*, because he could speak plainly when he listed: the two Courses, in which he had most Success, and spake most plainly were, His earnest Plea for universal Liberty of Conscience, and against the Magistrates intermeddling with Religion, and his teaching his Followers to revile the Ministry, calling them ordinarily Blackcoats, Priests, and other Names which then savoured of Reproach; and those Gentlemen that adhered to the Ministry, they said, were *Priest-ridden*.

When *Cromwell* had served himself by him as his surest Friend, as long as he could; and gone as far with him as their way lay together, (*Vane* being for a Fanatick Democracie, and *Cromwell* for Monarchy) at last there was no Remedy but they must part; and when *Cromwell* cast out the Rump (as disdainfully as Men do Excrements) he called *Vane* a Jugler, and *Martin* a Whoremonger, to excuse his usage of the rest as is afore said.

When *Vane* was thus laid by, he wrote his Book called *The retired Man's Meditations*, wherein the best part of his Opinions are so expressed, as will make but few Men his Disciples: His *Healing Question* is more plainly written.

When *Cromwell* was dead, he got Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* to be his close Adherent on Civil Accounts, and got the Rump set up again, and a Council of State, and got the Power much into his own Hands. When he was in the height of his Power he set upon the forming of a new Commonwealth, and with some of his Adherents drew up the Model, which was for popular Government; but so that Men of his Confidence must be the People.

Of my own displeasing him this is the true Account: It grieved me to see a poor Kingdom thus tost up and down in Unquietness, and the Ministers made odious and ready to be cast out, and a Reformation trodden under Foot, and Parliaments and Piety made a Scorn, and scarce any doubted but he was the principal Spring of all: Therefore, being writing against the Papists, coming to vindicate our Religion against them, when they impute to us the Blood of the King, I fully pro-

ved that the Protestants, and particularly the Presbyterians abhorred it, and suffered greatly for opposing it; and that it was the Act of *Cromwell's* Army and the Sectaries, among which I named the *Vanists* as one Sort, and I shewed that the Fryers and Jesuits were their Deceivers, and under several Vizors were dispersed among them; and Mr. Nye having told me that he was long in *Italy*, I said, it was considerable how much of his Doctrine their Leader brought from *Italy*; whereas it proved that he was only in *France* and *Helvetia* upon the Borders of *Italy*, and whereas it was printed *from Italy*, I had ordered the Printer to correct it [*fromwards Italy*] but though the Copy was corrected, the Impression was not: hereupon Sir *Henry Vane* being exceedingly provoked, threatened me to many, and spake against me in the House, and one *Stubbs* (that had been whipt in the Convocation House at *Oxford*) wrote for him a bitter Book against me, who from a *Vanist* afterwards turned a Conformist, since that he turned Physician, and was drowned in a small Puddle or Brook as he was riding near the *Bath*.

I confess my Writing was a means to lessen his Reputation, and make men take him for what *Cromwell* (that better knew him) called him a *Jugler*: and I wish I had done so much in time: But the whole Land rang of his Anger and my Danger; and all expected my present Ruine by him. But to shew him that I was not about Recanting (as his Agents would have perswaded me) I wrote also against his *Healing Question*, in a Preface before my *Holy Commonwealth*. And the speedy turn of Affairs did tie his Hands from Executing his Wrath upon me.

Upon the King's Coming in, he was questioned, with others, by the Parliament, but seemed to have his Life secured: But being brought to the Barr, he spake so boldly in justifying the Parliaments Cause, and what he had done, that it exasperated the King, and made him resolve upon his Death. When he came to *Tower-hill* to die, and would have spoken to the People, he began so resolutely as caused the Officers to sound the Trumpets and beat the Drums, and hinder him from speaking. No Man could die with greater appearance of gallant Resolution, and Fearlessness than he did, though before supposed a timorous Man: Insomuch that the manner of his Death procured him more Applause than all the Actions of his Life. And when he was dead his intended Speech was printed, and afterwards his Opinions, more plainly expressed by his Friend than by himself.

When he was Condemned some of his Friends desired me to come to him, that I might see how far he was from Popery, and in how excellent a Temper, (thinking I would have asked him Forgiveness for doing him wrong): I told them, that if he had desired it, I would have gone to him: but seeing he did not, I supposed he would take it for an injury; for my Conference was not like to be such as would not be pleasing to a dying man: For though I never called him a Papist, yet I still suppose he hath done the Papists so much Service, and this poor Nation and Religion so much wrong, that we and our Posterity are like to have cause and time enough to Lament it. And so much of Sir *Henry Vane* and his Adherents.

§ 121. The second Sect which then rose up was that called *Seekers*: These taught that our Scripture was uncertain; that present Miracles are necessary to Faith; that our Ministry is null and without authority, and our Worship and Ordinances unnecessary or vain; the true Church, Ministry, Scripture, and Ordinances being lost; for which they are now Seeking.

I quickly found, that the Papists principally hatcht and actuated this Sect, and that a considerable Number that were of this Profession were some Papists, and some Infidels: However they closed with the *Vanists*, and sheltered themselves under them, as if they had been the very same.

§ 122. The third Sect were the *Ranters*: These also made it their Business as the former, to set up the Light of Nature, under the Name of *Christ in Men*, and to dishonour and cry down the Church, the Scripture, the present Ministry, and our Worship and Ordinances; and call'd men to hearken to Christ within them: But withal, they conjoynd a Cursed Doctrine of *Libertinism*, which brought them to all abominable filthiness of Life: They taught as the *Familiists*, that God regardeth not the Actions of the Outward Man, but of the Heart; and that to the Pure all things are Pure, (even things forbidden): And so as allowed by God, they spake most hideous Words of Blasphemy, and many of them committed Whoredoms commonly: Insomuch that a Matron of great Note for Godliness and Sobriety, being perverted by them, turned so shameless a Whore, that she was Carted in the Streets of *London*.

There could never Sect arise in the World, that was a lowder Warning to Professors of Religion to be *humble, fearful, cautelous, and watchful*: Never could the World be told more lowdly, whither the Spiritual Pride of ungrounded Novices in Religion tendeth; and whither Professors of Strictness in Religion may be carried in the Stream of Sects and Factions. I have seen my self Letters written from *Abbington*, where among both Soldiers and People, this Contagion did then prevail, full of horrid Oaths and Curses and Blasphemy, not fit to be repeated by the Tongue or Pen of Man; and this all uttered as the Effect of Knowledge, and a part of their Religion, in a Fanatick Strain, and fathered on the Spirit of God.

*They were
so very few
and of short
continuance
that I never
saw one
of them.*

But the horrid Villanies of this Sect did not only speedily Extinguish it, but also did as much as ever any thing did, to disgrace all *Sectaries*, and to restore the Credit of the Ministry and the sober unanimous Christians: So that the Devil and the Jesuits quickly found that this way served not their turn, and therefore they suddenly took another.

§ 123. And that was the fourth Sect, the *Quakers*; who were but the *Ranters* turned from horrid Prophaneness and Blasphemy, to a Life of extream Austerity on the other side. Their Doctrines were mostly the same with the Ranters: They make the Light which every Man hath within him to be his sufficient Rule, and consequently the Scripture and Ministry are set light by: They speak much for the dwelling and working of the Spirit in us; but little of Justification, and the Pardon of Sin, and our Reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ: They pretend their dependance on the Spirit's Conduct, against Set-times of Prayer, and against Sacraments, and against their due esteem of Scripture and Ministry. They will not have the Scripture called the Word of God: Their principal Zeal lyeth in railing at the Ministers as Hirelings, Deceivers, False Prophets, &c. and in refusing to Swear before a Magistrate, or to put off their Hat to any, or to say [You] instead of [Thou] or [Thee] which are their words to all. At first they did use to fall into Tremblings and sometime Vomitings in their Meetings, and pretended to be violently acted by the Spirit; but now that is ceased, they only meet, and he that pretendeth to be moved by the Spirit speaketh; and sometime they say nothing, but sit an hour or more in silence, and then depart. One while divers of them went Naked through divers chief Towns and Cities of the Land, as a Prophetical act: Some of them have famished and drowned themselves in Melancholy; and others undertaken by the Power of the Spirit to raise them (as *Susan Pierston* did at *Claines* near *Worcester*, where they took a Man out of his Grave that had so made away himself, and commanded him to arise and live; but to their shame). Their chief Leader *James Nayler* acted the part of Christ at *Bristol*, according to much of the History of the Gospel, (and was long laid in *Bridewell* for it, and his Tongue bored as a Blasphemer by the Parliament). Many *Franciscan* Fryers and other Papists, have been proved to be disguised Speakers in their Assemblies, and to be among them; and it's like are the very Soul of all these horrible Delusions. But of late one *William Penn* is become their Leader, and would reform the Sect, and set up a kind of Ministry among them.

§ 124. The fifth Sect are the *Behmenists*, whose Opinions go much toward the way of the former, for the Sufficiency of the Light of Nature, the Salvation of Heathens as well as Christians, and a dependence on Revelations, &c. But they are fewer in Number, and seem to have attained to greater Meekness and conquest of Passions than any of the rest: Their Doctrine is to be seen in *Jacob Behmen's* Books, by him that hath nothing else to do, than to bestow a great deal of time to understand him that was not willing to be easily understood, and to know that his bombasted words do signifie nothing more than before was easily known by common familiar terms.

The chiefest of these in *England* are Dr. *Pordage* and his Family, who live together in Community, and pretend to hold visible and sensible Communion with Angels, whom they sometime see, and sometime smell, &c. Mr. *Fowler* of *Redding* accused him before the Committee for divers things, (as for preaching against Imputed Righteousness, and perswading married Persons from the Carnal Knowledge of each other, &c.) but especially for Familiarity with Devils or Conjunction. The Doctor wrote a Book to vindicate himself, in which he professeth to have sensible Communion with Angels, and to know by sights and smells, &c. good Spirits from bad: But he saith, that indeed one Month his House was molested with Evil Spirits, which was occasioned by one *Everard* whom he taketh to be a Conjuror, who stayed so long with him, as desiring to be of their Communion. In this time

he

he saith, that a fiery Dragon, so big as to fill a very great Room, conflicted visibly with him many hours ; that one appeared to him in his Chamber in the likeness of *Everard*, with Boots, Spurs, &c. that an impression was made on the Brick-wall of his Chimney, of a Coach drawn with Tygers and Lions, which could not be got out till it was hewed out with Pick-Axes : and another on his Glass-window which yet remaineth, &c. Whether these things be true or false I know not ; but the chief Person of the Doctor's Family-Communion (being a Gentleman and Student of *All-Souls* in *Oxford*) was thus made known to me. His Mother being a sober, pious Woman, being dissatisfied with his way, could prevail with him to suffer her to open it to none but me ; (of whole Conversion to them their Charity was much desirous) : Upon discourse with the young man, I found a very good Disposition, aspiring after the highest Spiritual State, and thinking that visible Communion with Angels was it, he much expected it, and prolept in some measure to have attained it ; for some lights and odd sights he had seen ; but upon strict Examination, he knew not whether it were with the Eye of the *Body* or of the *Mind* : nor I knew not whether it were any thing *real* or but *fantastical*. He would not dispute, because he thought he knew things by a higher light than Reason, even by *Intuition*, by the extraordinary Irradiation of the Mind. He was much against Propriety, and against Relations of Magistrates, Subjects, Husbands, Wives, Masters, Servants, &c. But I perceived he was a young, raw Scholar of some Fryar whom he understood not, and when he should but have commended the *Perfection* of a *Monastical Life* (which is the thing that they so highly magnifie) he carried it too far, and made it seem more necessary than he should.

They then professed to wait for such a Coming down of the holy Ghost upon them, as should send them out as his Missionaries to unite, and reconcile, and heal the Churches, and do wonders in the World : But its fifteen years ago, and yet they are latent and their work undone.

§ 125. Among these fall in many other Sect-makers ; as *Dr. Gell* of *London* (known partly by a printed Volume in Folio) and one *Mr. Parker*, who got in to the Earl of *Pembroke* ; and was one that wrote a Book against the Assemblies Confession : In which (as the rest) he taketh up most of the Popish Doctrines, and riseth up against them with Papal Pride and Contempt, but owneth not the Pope himself, but headeth his Body of Doctrine with the *Spirit*, as the Papists do with the Pope : (And if they could bring men to receive the rest, it will be easie to spurn down the Idol of their Fantasie or pretended Spirit, and to set on the proper Head again). To these also must be added *Dr. Gibbon*, who goeth about with his Scheme to Profelyte men, whom I have more cause to know than some of the rest.

All these with subtille Diligence promote most of the Papal Cause, and get in with the Religious sort, either upon pretence of *Austerity*, *Mortification*, *Angelical Communion*, or *Clearer Light* ; but none of them yet owneth the Name of a *Papist*, but what they are indeed, and who sendeth them, and what is their Work, though I strongly conjecture, I will not assert, because I am not fully certain : Let time discover them.

§ 126. The most among *Cromwell's* Soldiers that ever I could suspect for Papists, were but a few that began as Strangers among the Common Soldiers, and by degrees rose up to some Inferiour Offices, and were most conversant with the Common Soldiers ; but none of the Superiour Officers seemed such, though seduced by them. There is one of them (*Capt. Everard*) that was a busie preaching Sectary (in appearance) and disputed for Anabaptistry, and against Original Sin (whom *Mr. Stephens* hath wrote against, who took him then to be a Papist ; and who hath lately published a Book for the Popish Religion, as giving the Reasons of his Conversion to them, as if it were a thing that had been lately done : But they permit but now and then one thus to detect themselves, to win others by the fame of their Conversion : But the rest must still ply their work, as masked : for secret Instruments have much advantages above publick ones. *Capt. Everard* since the burning of *London*, and since many new Fires have been attempted to consume the rest, was Accused to *Sir Richard Brown*, as one that intended to burn the rest of the City ; and upon search there was a dangerous Letter found with him, and four hundred Hand-Granado's with Earthen Shells, and fill'd up ready with Powder, were found covered under his Billets. There being two of that Name that were Sectaries in *Cromwell's* Army, I have not yet learned which of them this was.

§ 127. Also the *Socinians* made some increase by the Ministry of one Mr. *Biddle*, sometimes School-master in *Glocester*; who wrote against the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, and afterwards of Christ; whose Followers inclined much to meer Deism and Infidelity.

§ 128. Having gone on thus far with the general Hints of the History of those times, because I would not obscure them by the Interpositions of my own Affairs, I now return to these, and shall set them also together, that they may be the better understood.

I have related how after my bleeding of a Gallon of Blood by the Nose, I was left weak at Sir *Thomas Rous's* House at *Rous-Lench*, where I was taken up with daily Medicines to prevent a Dropsie: And being conscious that my time had not been improved to the Service of God as I desired it had been, I put up many an earnest Prayer to God, that he would restore me, and use me more successfully in his Work. And blessed be that Mercy which heard my Groans in the Day of my Distress, and granted my Desires, and wrought my Deliverance, when Men and Means failed, and gave me Opportunity to Celebrate his Praise.

Whilst I there continued weak and unable to Preach, the People at *Kidderminster* had again renewed their Articles against their old Vicar and his Curate; and upon Trial of the Cause the Committee sequestred the Place, but put no one into it, but put the Profits into the Hands of divers of the Inhabitants to pay a Preacher till it were disposed of. They sent to me, and desired me to take it, in case I were again enabled to Preach: which I flatly refused; and told them, I would take only the Lecture, which by his own Consent and Bond I held before.

Hereupon they sought to Mr. *Brumskill*, and others, to accept the Place, but could not meet with any one to their minds: Therefore they chose one Mr. *Richard Serjeant* to Officiate, reserving the Vicaridge for some one that were fitter.

When I was able (after about five Months) to go abroad, I went to *Kidderminster*, where I found only Mr. *Sergeant* in Possession; and the People again vehemently urged me to take the Vicaridge: which I denied; and got the Magistrates and Burgesses together into the *Town-hall*, and told them, That (though I was offered many Hundred pounds *per Annum* elsewhere) I was willing to continue with them in my old Lecturers place which I had before the Wars, expecting they should make the Maintenance an Hundred pounds a year, and a House; and if they would promise to submit to that Doctrine of Christ, which as his Minister I should deliver to them, proved by the Holy Scriptures, I would not leave them. And that this Maintenance should neither come out of their own Purfes, nor any more of it out of the Tythes save the 60 *l.* which the Vicar had before bound himself to pay me, I undertook to procure an Augmentation for *Milton* (a Chappel in the Parish) of 40 *l.* *per Annum*, which I did; and so the 60 *l.* and that 40 *l.* was to be part, and the rest I was to have nothing to do with. This Covenant was drawn up between us in Articles, and Subscribed, in which I disclaimed the Vicaridge and Pastoral Charge of the Parish, and only undertook the Lecture.

And thus the Sequestration continued in the hands of the Towns-men, as aforesaid, who gathered the Tythes, and paid me (not an Hundred as they promised) but Eighty pound *per Annum*, or Ninety at most, and House-rent for a few Rooms in the top of another man's house, which is all I had at *Kidderminster*. The rest they gave to Mr. *Sergeant*, and about 40 *l.* *per Annum* to the old Vicar, and 6 *l.* *per Annum* to the King and Lord for Rents, besides other Charges.

But when they had long continued in this way, they feared lest some one else against their wills would get a grant of the Sequestration from the Committee, and therefore they went privately and got an Order from them to settle me in the Title, and never shewed it me, but kept it by them secretly, only to secure the Place from a Surprise, and themselves from repaying what they disbursed.

And thus it lay till the King's Coming out of *Scotland* with his Army to *Worcester*: and then, their Houses being full of Soldiers, they brought me the Order, and intreated me, if not to own it, yet to keep it safe, and to save them harmless by it, if they were called to account.

I recite this, because Mr. *Thomas Pierce*, while he was rageingly fierce to prove me a Thief, and I know not what else, doth charge me with taking this Sequestration, and so with taking another man's Bread out of his mouth, and robbing the Innocent; and so doth Bishop *Morley* after him; and *Durel*, Dr. *Boneman*, and many others, from him: whereas the Place was sequestred while I was far enough

enough off, and I disowned it, and made a contrary Covenant with the People: But I durst not till this for my own vindication, lest the Towns-men should be called to an account for the Sequestration to their undoing; though I knew them to be honest and just in the Distribution of it. And indeed though (which they knew not) the Matter of Fact was false, by which they proved me so vile a Person, yet I was the less careful so to clear my self as I might, because I take it to be a thing as justifiable as to eat Bread, if I had taken the Sequestration; because the man's own Fundamental Right (as it was a thing Consecrated to God) was null, he being so insufficient as not to be owned for a Minister: As I have great reason, by all the trial I made of him, to think that he understood not the Substance of Religion, the common Catechism or Creed, so he was unable to teach the People the very Substantials of Christianity. Once a quarter he scrapt a few words together, which he so said over as to move pity in his Auditors; but woe to the People that have no other Pastor then such as he: And God's Right being the first in Dedicated Things, and the Law also annexing them to the Office for the Work's sake, and for the sake of the Peoples Souls, he that cannot at all do the Work, and so is incapable of the Office, can have no Title to the Place and Maintenance. And I cannot believe that the Peoples Souls must be all untaught and sacrificed to his pretended Legal Right. And another Pastor they were not like to have without the Maintenance, unless they could have got one that had an Estate of his own, and would go on warfare at his own Charges, or could live without Food and Raiment: for the Peoples Poverty disabled them from maintaining him: If it had been but a Physician's or Surgeon's Place in an Hospital, which a meer *Ignoramus* had got for his life, I think to let the People perish, for fear of dispossessing him of his Place and Pay, had been to be righteous over much, and charitable over little: And the fifth part was allowed them for their Wives, though they did nothing for it. And yet this ignorant man was not dispossessed by force, but by the Power then in possession; even by Parliamentary Power, when the Lords (who are the highest Judicature) sat as well as the Commons, by the King's Law. And he was cast out on Articles sworn for Insufficiency and Scandal. And yet this was done by others, before I came near them: And must the place be void of a Teacher, because the Parliament would not give the Maintenance to a man that knew not what the Work of a Pastor was.

§ 129. Besides this ignorant Vicar, there was a Chappel in the Parish, where was an old Curate as ignorant as he, that had long lived upon Ten pound a year and unlawful Marriages, and was a Drunkard, and a Railer, and the Scorn of the Country: I know not how to keep him from reading, (for I judged it a Sin to tolerate him in any Sacred Office). I got an Augmentation for the Place, and got an honest Preacher to instruct them, and let this scandalous Fellow keep his former Stipend of Ten pound, for nothing, and yet could never keep him from forcing himself upon the People to read, nor from unlawful Marriages, till a little before Death did call him to his account. I have Examined him about the familiar Points of Religion, and he could not say half so much to me as I have heard a child say.

And these two in this Parish were not all: In one of the next Parishes, called *The Rock*, there were two Chappels, where the poor ignorant Curate of one got his living with cutting Faggots, and the other with making Ropes: Their Abilities being answerable to their Studies and Employments.

§ 130. In my Labours at *Kidderminster* after my return, I did all under languishing Weakness, being seldom an hour free from pain. Of which I shall give a brief Account together, as an addition to the general one foregoing, that I may not be oft upon it; mentioning only some of those passages in which God's Mercy most affected me.

Many a time have I been brought very low, and received the Stentence of Death in my self, when my poor, honest, praying Neighbours have met, and upon their Fasting and earnest Prayers I have been recovered. Once when I had continued weak three Weeks, and was unable to go abroad, the very day that they prayed for me, being *Good-Friday*, I recovered, and was able to Preach and Administer the Sacrament the next Lord's Day; and was better after it: (It being the first time that ever I administred it): And ever after that whatever Weakness was upon me, when I had (after Preaching) administred that Sacrament to many hundred People, I was much revived and eased of my Infirmities.

Another time I had a Tumour rose on one of the Tonsills in my Throat, white and hard like a Bone; above the hardness of any Schyrrous Tumour: I feared a Cancer; being it was round and like a Pease, as it beginneth: And when I had by the Physician's Advice applied such Remedies as he thought fittest, and it no whit altered, but remained as hard as at the first; at the end of about a quarter of a Year, I was chek'd in Conscience that I had never publicly praised God particularly for any of the Deliverances which he had vouchsafed me: And being speaking of God's Confirming our Belief of his Word by his fulfilling of Promises, and hearing Prayers, (as it is published in the second part of my *Saints Rest*) I annexed some thankful mention of my own Experiences; and suddenly the Tumour vanished, and no sign wherever it had been remained: Nor did I either swallow it down or spit it out, nor knew what went with it to this Day.

Another time, having read in Dr. *Gerhard* the admirable Effects of the swallowing of a Gold Bullet upon his own Father in a Case like mine, I got a Gold Bullet and swallowed it (between 20 s. and 30 s. weight); and having taken it, I knew not how to be delivered of it again: I took Clysters and Purges for about three Weeks, but nothing stirred it; and a Gentleman having done the like, the Bullet never came from it till he died, and it was cut out: But at last my Neighbours set a Day apart to fast and pray for me, and I was freed from my Danger in the beginning of that day.

Another time being in Danger of an Ægilops, and (to be brief) at divers times in divers Weaknesses, Pains and Dangers, I have been delivered upon earnest Prayers; such as have assured me that God heareth such extemporate Prayers as many now deride. And because I am speaking of Prayer, I will add one Instance more or two of the Success of it for my Neighbours, as well as for my self.

§ 131. There liveth yet in *Kidderminster* a grave and honest Widow, Mrs. *Giles*, Widow to Mr. *Giles* of *Astley*, one of the Committee of that County; she had a Son of about 14 or 15 Years of Age, Apprentice in *Worcester* to a Mercer; he fell into a Fever, which being removed, ended in a most violent Epilepsie: The Physicians used all ordinary means for a long time in vain; so that she was fain to take him home to her to *Kidderminster*, where the Physician of the Place and my self did what we could for him, in vain, he had 4 or 5 violent fits in a Day; they were fain to hold a Key between his Teeth to save his Tongue: At last the People of the Town, at her Request, kept a Day of Fasting and Prayer at her House; and the second day (as I remember) he was suddenly cured, and never had a Fit since to this Day (but some little Weakness of his Head sometimes): He is now an Apothecary in *Wolverhampton*.

§ 132. Another Instance; *Rich. Cook* of *Kinver* a Mercer, an ancient sober Godly Man, being desirous to live at *Kidderminster*, took the next House to mine: The House proved so secretly crackt and Ruinous, that he was afraid it would undo him to repair it: This seized him with a Trouble on his Conscience whether he had done well to remove from *Kinver* (where he had been long a comfortable Neighbour to old Mr. *Crosse*): To revive his Spirits he drank much hot Waters, which inflamed his Blood; and so from Melancholy he fell quite Mad. We were forced by the Wars to leave him; but his Wife procured what means she could, but all in vain: When he had continued thus four Years, the excellentest, skilful Men at that Disease undertook him, and did what they could, but all in vain. He had exceeding Quantities of Blood taken from him: Some that had seen the Success would have set upon Fasting and Praying for him in his Presence: But I discouraged them, as thinking it a tempting carnal Men to contemn Prayer, when they saw it unsuccessful, and I thought they had no cause to expect a Miracle: I had no hope of his Cure because it was natural or hereditary to him, his Father having much about his Age fallen Mad before him and never recovered. When he had continued in this sad Case about ten or twelve Years, some of these Men would not be dissuaded, but would Fast and Pray at his House with great importunity; and many Months they continued it (once a Fortnight, or thereabouts) and he was never the better: But at last he sensibly began to amend, and is now as well almost as ever he was before, and so hath continued for a considerable time.

§ 133. I the rather mentioned these Passages of the Force of Prayer, because being not one in any of them my self, nor being present with them, there is no matter of appearing Ostentation, they being a few poor humble Weavers and other Tradesmen only, and no Minister with them, whose Prayers God hath thus frequently heard for others, and for me (though at this present some of the Chief of them lye in Prison, only for praying, and singing Psalms, and repeating Ser-

mons together when they come from the Publick Congregation). And now I return to the Recital of my own Infirmities.

After abundance of Distempers and Languishings, I fell at last into a *Flux Hepaticus*, and after that into manifold other Dangers successively (too long to be recited) from all which upon earnest prayer I was delivered.

Once riding upon a great hot-metled Horse, as I stood on a sidelong Pavement in Worcester, the Horse reared up, and both his hinder Feet slipt from under him ; so that the full Weight of the Body of the Horse fell upon my Leg ; which yet was not broken, but only bruised ; when considering the Place, the Stones, the Manner of the Fall, it was a Wonder that my Leg was not broken all to Pieces.

Another time, as I sat in my Study, the Weight of my greatest Folio Books brake down three or four of the highest Shelves, when I sat close under them, and they fell down on every side me, and not one of them hit me, save one upon the Arm ; whereas the Place, the Weight, and greatness of the Books was such, and my Head just under them, that it was a Wonder they had not beaten out my Brains, one of the Shelves right over my Head having the six Volumes of Dr. Walton's *Oriental Bible*, and all *Austin's Works*, and the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and *Marlorate*, &c.

An other time, I had such a Fall from an high Place without much hurt, which should I describe it, it would seem a Wonder that my Brains were whole. All these I mention as obliged to record the Mercies of my great Preserver to his Praise and Glory.

§ 134. At last my Weakness was grown so great that I was necessitated to use Breast Milk four Months together ; and as much longer, or more, I remained somewhat repaired : But then I fell into a Disease in my Eyes almost incredible ; I had near every Day for one Year, and every second Day for another Year, a fresh *Macula*, commonly called a *Pearl*, in one Eye, besides very many in the other ; the first that I had continued divers Weeks, till by the ordinary Method of Cure I had almost lost my Eye. At last I found that Honey alone, or with other things, six or seven times a Day applied constantly dissolved and cured it in one Day : and the next Night in my Sleep another still came, a spurious Opthalmy going before, and leaving the *Macula* behind it : And I found it came from the extreme thinness of the Blood, with the extreme Laxity of the debilitated Vessels, and the Fatulency pumping up the Matter.

Thus I continued two Years, curing the Spot one Day, and finding it still returned the next Morning ; so that I had about three hundred Pearls in those two Years ; and though for the first Month I could neither read nor endure the Light, yet the rest of the time I went on with my Studies, though not without Pain and much Disturbance. No Purging nor outward Applications, nor other Medicines would Prevent the Return of it ; till at two Years end I wrote to Dr. G. Bates for his Advice. The Humidities of my Stomach at the same time tasting like boiled Vinegar, or Vitriol, he prescribed me the use of Chalk in Substance (a spoonful shaved in a convenient Liquor) which powerfully precipitateth and dulcifieth acid Humours, and also hath a harmless corroborating Astringent (like Magisterial of Corall or Crabs Eyes :) the use of this gave a check to my Distemper, so that my Spots came seldomer than before : At last I had a Conceit of my own that two Plants which I had never made trial of, would prove accomodate to my Infirmary, *Heath* and *Sage*, as being very drying and astringent without any Acrimony : I boiled much of them in my Beer instead of Hops, and drank no other : When I had used it a Month my Eyes were cured, and all my tormenting Tooth-aches, and such other Maladies. Being desirous to know which of the two Hearbs it was which I was most beholden to, I tryed the Heath alone one time, and the Sage alone anotherwhile ; and I found it was the Sage much more than the Heath which did the Cure : whereupon I have used it now this ten Years, and through God's great Mercy, I never had a Spot more for many Years ; nor many since at all : Also these other Effects have followed it ; 1. It easeth my Headach. 2. I have no other Remedy for my terrible Toothach, inward or outward that will serve ; nor did this ever fail me, if it hath had but twelve or twenty hours to work. 3. Whereas before I could endure no strong Drink, but was fain to drink very small Beer, or *Julap Alexandre*, and a Spoonful of Wine would have disturbed me a Fortnight, (with Opthalmies, Toothaches, &c.) since I used Sage I can bear the strongest Beer, (so I disuse not my Medicine the while.) 4. The vitriolate cutting Acidity of my Stomach is more dulcified than I could possibly have believed it would be. In a Word, God hath made this Herb do more for me (not for Cure but for Ease)
than

than all the Medicines that ever I used from all Physitians in my Life: So that though still I am very seldom without pain, yet my Languishings and Pains have been much less these last ten Years than long before. How it doth all this I am not certain; but I suppose principally by its great Astringent, mightily corroborating the relaxed Stomach and Vessels, and Brain, and by Astringent of the relaxed Vein, doth hinder the Motion and Shedding abroad of the corrupted Blood they contain: And also I am sure it mightily precipitateth and taketh off Acidities. The way I use it is, 1. Well boiled in the Wort in all my Beer: 2. Well boiled in my Gruel for every Mornings Breakfast: 3. Upon any special Necessity I take a Spoonful of the Powder (of the Leaves dried and mixed with two or three Parts of Sugar) which is the Strongest way of all: So that I find the Vertue is most in the terrene and saline Parts, and not in any thing superficial and volatile. For the Infusion, and Ale made by Infusion doth me little Good, nor the Conserve of the Flowers. I have tried it on others, and find no such marvelous Effects as on my self; but least on the fat and strong, and most on the lean, old and weak, and that have thin fluid Humours, and laxity of Vessels, and some inordinate Acrimony. This I thought my self obliged to mention to the Praise of my heavenly Physician, in Thankfulness for these ten Years Ease; and to give some hint to others in my Case: Though now, through Age and constant Use, this Herb doth less with me than at the first; yet am I necessitated still to use it, and quickly to return to it when I have omitted it. After sixteen or seventeen Years benefit it now faileth me, and I forsake it.

§ 135. I shall next record, to the Praise of my Redeemer, the comfortable Employment and Successes which he vouchsafed me during my abode at *Kidlington*, under all these Weaknesses. And 1. I will mention my Employment. 2. My Successes. And 3. Those Advantages by which under God it was procured; in order.

1. I preached before the Wars twice each Lord's Day; but after the War but once, and once every *Thursday*, besides occasional Sermons. Every *Thursday* Evening my Neighbours that were most desirous and had Opportunity, met at my House, and there one of them repeated the Sermon, and afterwards they proposed what Doubts any of them had about the Sermon, or any other Case of Conscience, and I resolved their Doubts: And last of all I caused sometimes one, and sometimes another of them to Pray (to exercise them); and sometimes I prayed with them my self: which (beside singing a Psalm) was all they did. And once a Week also some of the younger sort who were not fit to pray in so great an Assembly, met among a few more privately, where they spent three Hours in Prayer together, every *Saturday* Night they met at some of their Houses to repeat the Sermon of the last Lord's Day, and to pray and prepare themselves for the following Day. Once in a few Weeks we had a Day of Humiliation on one Occasion or other; Every Religious Woman that was safely Delivered, instead of the old Feasting and Gossipings, if they were able, did keep a Day of Thanksgiving with some of their Neighbours with them, praising God, and singing Psalms, and soberly Feasting together. Two Days every Week my Assistant and I my self, took 14 Families between us for private Catechising and Conference (he going through the Parish, and the Town coming to me): I first heard them recite the Words of the Catechism, and then examined them about the *Sense*, and lastly urged them with all possible engaging Reason and Vehemency, to answerable Affection and Practice. If any of them were stalled through Ignorance or Bawfulness, I forbore to press them any farther to Answers, but made them Hearers, and either examined others, or turned all into Instruction and Exhortation. But this I have opened more fully in my *Reformed Pastor*. I spent about an Hour with a Family, and admitted no others to be present, lest Bawfulness should make it burthensom, or any should talk of the Weaknesses of others: So that all the Afternoons on *Mondays* and *Tuesdays* I spent in this (after I had begun it; for it was many Years before I did attempt it): And my Assistant spent the Morning of the same Days in the same Employment. Before that, I only catechised them in the Church; and conferred with, now and then, one occasionally.

Besides all this, I was forced five or six years by the Peoples Necessity to practise Physick: A common Pleurisie happening one year, and no Physician being near, I was forced to advise them, to save their Lives; and I could not afterwards avoid the Importunity of the Town and Country round about: And because I never once took a Penny of any one, I was crowded with Patients, so that almost Twenty would be at my Door at once; and though God by more Success than I

expected, so long encouraged me, yet at last I could endure it no longer ; partly because it hindered my other Studies, and partly because the very fear of miscarrying and doing any one harm, did make it an intollerable burden to me : So that after some Years Practice, I procured a godly, diligent Physician to come and live in the Town, and bound my self by Promise to practise no more (unless in Consultation with him in case of any seeming necessity) ; And so with that Answer I turned them all off, and never medled with it more.

But all these my Labours (except my private Conferences with the Families) even preaching and preparing for it, were but my Recreations, and as it were the work of my spare hours : For my Writings were my chieftest daily Labour ; which yet went the more slowly on, that I never one hour had an *Amanuensis* to dictate to, and specially because my Weakness took up so much of my time. For all the Pains that my Infirmities ever brought upon me, were never half so grievous an Affliction to me, as the unavoidable loss of my time, which they occasioned. I could not bear (through the weakness of my Stomach) to rise before Seven a Clock in the Morning, and afterwards not till much later ; and some Infirmities I laboured under, made it above an hour before I could be drest. An hour I must of necessity have to walk before Dinner, and another before Supper ; and after Supper I can seldom Study : All which, besides times of Family Duties, and Prayer, and Eating, &c. leaveth me but little time to study ; which hath been the greatest external Personal Affliction of all my Life.

Besides all these, every first *Wednesday* of the Month was our monthly Meeting for Parish Discipline ; and every first *Thursday* of the month was the Ministers meeting for Discipline and Disputation : And in those Disputations it fell to my lot to be almost constant Moderator ; and for every such day (usually) I prepared a written Determination. All which I mention as my Mercies and Delights, and not as my Burdens. And every *Thursday* besides, I had the Company of divers godly Ministers at my House after the Lecture, with whom I spent that Afternoon in the truest Recreation, till my Neighbours came to meet for their Exercise of Repetition and Prayer.

For ever blessed be the God of Mercies, that brought me from the Grave, and gave me after Wars and Sickness, fourteen years Liberty in such sweet Employment ! And that in times of Usurpation I had all this Mercy and happy Freedom, when under our rightful King and Governour, I and many hundreds more are silenced, and laid by, as broken Vessels, and suspected and vilified as scarce to be tolerated to live privately and quietly in the Land ! That God should make days of Licentiousness and Disorder under an Usurper so great a Mercy to me, and many a thousand more, who under the lawful Governours which they desired, and in the days when Order is said to be restored, do some of us sit in obscurity and unprofitable silence, and some lie in Prisons, and all of us are accounted as the Scum and Sweepings or Off-scourings of the Earth.

§ 136. I have mentioned my sweet and acceptable Employment ; Let me to the praise of my gracious Lord, acquaint you with some of my Success : And I will not suppress it, though I fore-know that the Malignant will impute the mention of it to Pride and Ostentation. For it is the Sacrifice of Thanksgiving which I owe to my most gracious God, which I will not deny him for fear of being censured as proud, lest I prove my self proud indeed, while I cannot undergo the Imputation of Pride in the performance of my Thanks for such undeserved Mercies.

My publick Preaching met with an attentive diligent Auditory ! Having broke over the brunt of the Opposition of the Rabble before the Wars, I found them afterwards tractable and unprejudiced.

Before I ever entred into the Ministry, God blessed my private Conference to the Conversion of some, who remain firm and eminent in holiness to this day : But then, and in the beginning of my Ministry I was wont to number them as Jewels ; but since then I could not keep any number of them.

The Congregation was usually full, so that we were fain to build five Galleries after my coming thither (the Church it self being very capacious, and the most commodious and Convenient, that ever I was in). Our private Meetings also were full. On the Lord's Days there was no disorder to be seen in the Streets, but you might hear an hundred Families singing Psalms and repeating Sermons, as you passed through the Streets. In a word, when I came thither first, there was about one Family in a Street that worshipped God and called on his Name, and when I came away there were some Streets where there was not past one Family in the
side

side of a Street that did not so; and that did not by professing serious Godliness, give us hopes of their sincerity: And those Families which were the worst, being Inns and Alehouses, usually *some persons* in each House did seem to be Religious. Though our Administration of the Lords Supper was so ordered as displeased many, and the far greater part kept away themselves, yet we had 600 that were Communicants, of whom there was not twelve that I had not good hopes of, as to their sincerity: and those few that did consent to our Communion, and yet lived scandalously were Excommunicated afterward: And I hope there were many that had the Fear of God that came not to our Communion in the Sacrament, some of them being kept off by Husbands, by Parents, by Masters, and some dissuaded by Men that differed from us: Those many that kept away, yet took it patiently, and did not revile us, as doing them wrong: And those unruly young men that were Excommunicated, bore it patiently as to their outward behaviour, though their hearts were full of bitterness: (except one, of whom I shall speak anon). When I set upon Personal Conference with each Family, and Catechizing them, there were very few Families in all the Town that refused to come; and those few were Beggars at the Towns-ends, who were so ignorant that they were ashamed it should be manifest. And few Families went from me without some tears, or seemingly serious promises for a Godly Life. Yet many ignorant and ungodly Persons there were still among us: but most of them were in the Parish, and not in the Town; and in those parts of the Parish which were furthest from the Town. And whereas one part of the Parish was improper, and payed Tythes to Lay men, and the other part maintained the Church, (a Brook dividing them) it fell out that almost all that side of the Parish which paid Tythes to the Church, were godly, honest People, and did it willingly without Contention; and most of the bad People of the Parish lived on the other side. Some of the Poor men did competently understand the Body of Divinity, and were able to judge in difficult Controversies: Some of them were so able in Prayer, that very few Ministers did match them, in order and fulness, and apt Expressions, and holy Oratory, with fervency: Abundance of them were able to pray very *laudably* with their Families, or with others. The temper of their Minds, and the innocence of their Lives was much more laudable than their Parts. The Professors of serious Godliness, were generally of very humble Minds and Carriage; of meek and quiet behaviour unto others; and of blamelessness and innocency in their Conversations.

And God was pleased also to give me abundant Encouragement in the Lectures which I preached abroad in other places; as at *Worcester, Clebury, &c.* but especially at *Dudley and Sheffal*; at the former of which (being the first place that ever I preached in) the poor Nailers and other Labourers would not only crowd the Church as full as ever I saw any in *London*, but also hang upon the Windows, and the Leads without.

And in my poor Endeavours with my Brethren in the Ministry, my Labours were not lost; Our Disputations proved not unprofitable; Our Meetings were never contentious, but always comfortable; We took great delight in the Company of each other; so that I knew that the remembrance of those days is pleasant both to them and me: when Discouragements had long kept me from motioning a way of Church-order and Discipline, which all might agree in, that we might neither have Churches ungoverned, nor fall into Divisions among our selves, at the first motioning of it, I found a readier Consent than I could expect, and all went on without any great obstructing difficulties: And when I attempted to bring them all conjunctly to the work of Catechizing and Instructing every Family by it self, I found a ready consent in most, and performance in many. So that I must here to the praise of my dear Redeemer, set up this Pillar of Remembrance, even to his Praise who hath employed me so many years in so comfortable a Work, with such encouraging Success! O what am I, a worthless Worm, not only wanting Academical Honours, but much of that Furniture which is needful to so high a Work, that God should thus abundantly encourage me, when the Reverend Instructors of my Youth, did labour Fifty years together in one place, and could scarcely say they had Converted one or two of their Parishes! And the greater was this Mercy, because I was naturally of a discouraged Spirit; so that if I had preached one Year, and seen no Fruits of it, I should hardly have forborn running away like *Jonah*, but should have thought that God called me not to that Place. Yea, the Mercy was yet greater in that it was of farther publick Benefit: For some Independents and Anabaptists that had before conceited, that Parish Churches were the great Obstruction of all true Church Order and Discipline, and that it

was impossible to bring them to any good Consistency, did quite change their Minds when they saw what was done at *Kidderminster*, and began to think now, that it was much through the faultiness of the Parish Ministers, that Parishes are not in a better Case; and that it is a better Work thus to reform the Parishes, than to gather Churches out of them, without great Necessity.

And the Zeal and Knowledge of this poor People provoked many in other parts of the Land. And though I have been now absent from them about six Years, and they have been assaulted with Pulpit-Calumnies, and Slanders, with Threatnings and Imprisonments, with enticing Words, and seducing Reasonings, they yet stand fast and keep their Integrity; many of them are gone to God, and some are removed, and some now in Prison, and most still at home; but not one, that I hear of, that are fallen off, or forsake their Uprightness.

§ 137. Having related my comfortable Successes in this Place, I shall next tell you by what, and how many Advantages this much was effected (under that Grace which worketh by means, though with a free diversity); which I do for their sakes that would have the means of other Mens Experiments, in managing ignorant and sinful Parishes.

1. One Advantage was, that I came to a People that never had any awakening Ministry before (but a few formal cold Sermons of the Curate): For if they had been hardened under a powerful Ministry, and been Sermon Proof, I should have expected less.

2. Another Advantage was, that at first I was in the Vigour of my Spirits, and had naturally a familiar moving Voice (which is a great matter with the common Hearers); and doing all in bodily Weakness, as a dying Man, my Soul was the more easily brought to Seriousness, and to preach as a dying Man to dying Men; for drowsy Formality and Customariness doth but stupify the Hearers, and rock them asleep: It must be serious Preaching, which must make Men serious in hearing and obeying it.

3. Another Advantage was, that most of the bitter Enemies of Godliness in the Town, that rose in Tumults against me before, in their very Hatred of Puritans, had gone out into the Wars, into the King's Armies, and were quickly kill'd, and few of them ever returned again; and so there were few to make any great Opposition to Godliness.

4. Another, and the greatest Advantage was, the Change that was made in the Publick Affairs by the Success of the Wars; which, however it was done, and though much corrupted by the Usurpers, yet it was such as removed many and great Impediments to Mens Salvation: For before, the riotous Rabble had Boldness enough to make serious Godliness a common Scorn, and call them all Puritans and Precisians that did not care as little for God and Heaven and their Souls as they did; especially if a Man were not fully satisfied with their undisciplined, disordered Churches, or Lay Chancellors Excommunications, &c. then no Name was bad enough for him: And the Bishops Articles enquiring after such, and their Courts and the High Commission grievously afflicting those that did but Fast and Pray together, or go from an ignorant drunken Reader, to hear a godly able Preacher at the next Parish, &c. this kept Religion among the Vulgar under either continual Reproach or Terror, encourageing the Rabble to despise it and revile it, and discouraging those that else would own it. And Experience telleth us, that it is a lamentable Impediment to Mens Conversion, when it is a way every where spoken against, and persecuted by Superiors, which they must embrace; and when at their first Approaches they must go through such Dangers and Obloquy as is fitter for confirmed Christians to be exercised with, than unconverted Sinners or young Beginners: Therefore, though *Cromwell* gave Liberty to all Sects among us, and did not set up any Party alone by Force, yet this much gave abundant Advantage to the Gospel, removing the Prejudices and the Terrors which hindered it; especially considering that Godliness had Countenance and Reputation also, as well as Liberty; whereas before, if it did not appear in all the Fetters and Formalities of the Times, it was the way to common Shame and Ruine: Hearing Sermons abroad when there were none, or worse at home; Fasting and Praying together; the strict Observation of the Lord's Day, and such like, went under the dangerous Name of Puritanism, as well as opposing Bishops and Ceremonies.

I know in these Times you may meet with Men that confidently affirm, that all Religion was then trodden down, and Heresy and Schism were the only Piety; but I give Warning to all Ages by the Experience of this incredible Age, that they

they take heed how they believe any, whoever they be, while they are speaking for the Interest of their Factions and Opinions, against those that were their real or supposed Adversaries.

For my part, I bless God who gave me even under an Usurper whom I opposed, such Liberty and Advantage to preach his Gospel with Success, which I cannot have under a King to whom I have sworn and performed true Subjection and Obedience; yea, which no Age since the Gospel came into this Land, did before possess, as far as I can learn from History. Sure I am, that when it became a matter of Reputation and Honour to be Godly, it abundantly furthered the Successes of the Ministry. Yea, and I shall add this much more for the sake of Posterity, that as much as I have said and written against Licentiousness in Religion, and for the Magistrates Power in it, and though I think that Land most happy, whose Rulers use their Authority for Christ, as well as for the Civil Peace; yet in Comparison of the rest of the World, I shall think that Land happy that hath but bare Liberty to be as good as they are willing to be; and if Countenance and Maintenance be but added to Liberty, and tolerated Errors and Sects be but forced to keep the Peace, and not to oppose the Substantials of Christianity, I shall not hereafter much fear such Toleration, nor despair that Truth will bear down Adversaries.

5. Another Advantage which I found was, that Acceptation of my Person, which Bishop Morley and Dean Warmstry so vehemently dissuaded them from (in vain): Though to win Estimation and Love to our selves only, be an end that none but proud Men and Hypocrites intend, yet it is most certain that the Gratefulness of the Person doth ingratiate the Message, and greatly prepareth the People to receive the Truth: Had they taken me to be Ignorant, Erroneous, Scandalous, Worldly, Self-seeking, or such like, I could have expected small Success among them.

6. Another Advantage which I had was, by the Zeal and Diligence of the Godly People of the Place; who thirsted after the Salvation of their Neighbours, and were in private my Assistants, and being dispersed through the Town, were ready in almost all Companies to repress seducing Words, and to justify Godliness, and convince, reprove, exhort Men according to their needs; as also to teach them how to pray; and to help them to sanctifie the Lord's Day: For those People that had none in their Families who could pray, or repeat the Sermons, went to their next Neighbour's House who could do it, and joined with them; so that some Houses (of the ablest Men) in each Street were filled with them that could do nothing, or little in their own.

7. And the holy, humble, blameless Lives of the Religious sort was a great Advantage to me: The malicious People could not say, your Professors here are as proud and covetous as any: But the blameless Lives of godly People did shame Opposers, and put to Silence the Ignorance of foolish Men, and many were won by their good Conversation.

8. And our Unity and Concord was a great Advantage to us, and our freedom from those Sects and Heresies which many other Places were infected with. We had no private Church, though we had private Meetings; we had not Pastor against Pastor, nor Church against Church, nor Sect against Sect, nor Christian against Christian. There was none that had any odd Opinions of his own, or censured his Teacher as erroneous, nor questioned his Call: At Bewdley there was a Church of Anabaptists; at Worcester the Independents gathered theirs: But we were all of one Mind, and Mouth, and Way: Not a Separatist, Anabaptist, Antinomian, &c. in the Town! One Journeyman Shoemaker turned Anabaptist, but he left the Town upon it, and went among them. When People saw diversity of Sects and Churches in any Place, it greatly hindered their Conversion; and they were at a loss, and knew not what Party to be of, or what Way to go; and therefore would be of no Religion at all; and perhaps derided them all whom they saw thus disagreed: But they had no such Offence or Objection there; they could not ask, which Church or Party shall I be of; for we were all but as one: Nay, so Modest were the ablest of the People, that they never were inclined to a preaching way, nor to make Ostentation of their Parts; but took warning by the Pride of others, and thought they had teaching enough by their Pastors, and that it was better for them to bestow their Labour in digesting that, than in Preaching themselves.

9. And our private Meetings were a marvellous help to the propagating of Godliness among them : for thereby Truths that slipt away were recalled, and the seriousness of the Peoples minds renewed ; and good desires cherished ; and hereby their knowledge was much increased ; and here the younger sort learned to pray, by frequent hearing others : And here I had opportunity to know their Case : for if any were touched and awakened in publick, I should presently see him drop in to our private Meetings : Hereby also idle meetings and loss of time was prevented. And so far were we from being by this in danger of Schism or Divisions, that it was the principal means to prevent them : For here I was usually present with them, answering their Doubts, and silencing Objections, and moderating them in all. And *some Private Meetings* I found they were exceeding much inclined to : and if I had not allowed them such as were lawful and profitable, they would have been ready to run to such as were unlawful and hurtful : And by encouraging them here in the fit exercise of their parts, in Repetition, Prayer, and asking Questions, I kept them from inclining to the disorderly exercise of them, as the Sectaries do. We had no Meetings in opposition to the Publick Meetings ; but all in subordination to them ; and under my over-sight and guidance ; which proved a way profitable to all.

10. Another thing which advantaged us was some publick Disputations which we had with Gainlayers, which very much confirmed the People : The Quakers would fain have got entertainment and set up a Meeting in the Town (and frequently railed at me in the Congregation) : But when I had once given them leave to meet in the Church, for a Dispute, and before the People, had opened their deceits and shame, none would entertain them more, nor did they get one Profelyte among us. Before that, Mr. *John Tombes* being Lecturer of *Bewdley*, two miles off us, (who was reputed the most Learned and able Anabaptist in England) we kept fair Correspondence for a long time, and I studiously avoided all Debates with him about Infant Baptism ; till at last he forced me to it as I shall shew further anon, And after one days Dispute with him of *Bewdley*, my Hearers were more settled, and the course of his Infection stopt. How mean soever my own Abilities were, yet I had still the advantage of a good Cause, and thereby easily opened the vanity of all Pretenders, Deceivers and Dividers that came among us.

11. Another advantage was the great honesty and diligence of my Assistants : When I came first to *Kidderminster* after the Wars, I found Mr. *Richard Sergeant* there received as their Preacher ; whom they took in a Case of Necessity when they could get no other : I found him very honest, but of no extraordinary Learning, and of no taking utterance, so that some that were more for Learning than for serious Piety, would have had me taken in his stead a very grave, ancient Doctor of Divinity, who had a most promising Presence, and tolerable Delivery, and reverend Name, and withal was my Kinsman : But I found at last that he had no relish of serious Godliness, nor solid Learning or Knowledge in Divinity, but stole Sermons out of printed Books, and set them off with a grave Delivery. But Mr. *Sergeant* so increased in Ability, that he became a solid Preacher, and of so great Prudence in Practical Cases, that I know few therein go beyond him ; but none at all do I know that excelleth him in Meekness, Humility, Self-denial and Diligence. No Child ever seemed more humble : No Interest of his own, either of Estate or Reputation, did ever seem to stop him in his Duty : No Labour did he ever refuse which I could put him to : When I put him to travel over the Parish (which is near 20 miles about) from House to House to Catechize and instruct each Family, he never grudged or seemed once unwilling. He preached at a Chappel above two miles off one half the day, and in the Town the other, and never murmured. I never heard of the Man or Woman in all that Town and Parish, that ever said, This Fault he did ; This Word he spake amiss against me ; This Wrong he did me ; nor ever one that once found fault with him (save once one man upon a short mistake, for being out of the way when he should have baptized a Child) : This admirable blamelessness of Life much furthered our work : And when he was removed two miles from us, I got Mr. *Humphrey Waldern* to succeed him, who was very much like him, and carried on his work.

12. Another Advantage was the Presence and Countenance of honest Justices of Peace : Colonel *John Bridges*, a prudent, pious Gentleman, was Patron of the Church, and lived in the Parish, and was a Justice of Peace : And a Bailiff and Justice were Annually chosen in the Corporation, who ordinarily were godly men, and always such as would be thought so, and were ready to use their Authority to suppress

suppress Sin, and promote Goodness. And when once a Sabbath-breaker thought to have overthrown the Officers at Law, Serjeant *Fountain* being then Judge of Assize, did so repress his Malice, as discouraged all others from any more such attempts. But now the World is changed—.

13. Another help to my Success, was that small relief which my low Estate enabled me to afford the Poor: though the Place was reckoned at near 200 *l. per Annum*, there came but 90 *l.* and sometimes 80 *l. per Annum* to me: Besides which, some years I had 60 *l.* or 80 *l.* a year of the Booksellers for my Books: which little dispersed among them, much reconciled them to the Doctrine which I taught: I took the aptest of their Children from the School, and set divers of them to the Universities; where for 8 *l.* a year, or 10 *l.* at most, by the help of my Friends there I maintained them. Mr. *Vines* and Dr. *Hill* did help me to Sizers places for them at *Cambridge*: And the Lady *Rous* allowed me 8 *l.* a year awhile towards their Maintenance, and Mr. *Tho. Fowley* and Col. *Bridges* also assisted me. Some of them are honest able Ministers, now cast out with their Brethren: But two or three, having no other way to live, turned great Conformists, and are Preachers now. And in giving that little I had, I did not enquire whether they were good or bad, if they asked Relief: For the bad had Souls and Bodies that needed Charity most. And I found that Three pence or a Groat to every poor Body that askt me, was no great matter in a year, but a few pounds in that way of giving would go far. And this Truth I will speak to the encouragement of the Charitable, that what little Money I have now by me, I got it almost all (I scarce know how) in that time when I gave most: And since I have had less opportunity of giving, I have had less increase.

14. Another furtherance of my work was the *Writings* which I wrote, and gave among them. Some small Books I gave each Family one of, (which came to about 800); and of the bigger I gave fewer: And every Family that was poor, and had not a Bible, I gave a Bible to. And I had found my self the benefit of reading to be so great, that I could not but think it would be profitable to others.

15. And it was a great Advantage to me, that my Neighbours were of such a Trade as allowed them time enough to read or talk of holy Things: For the Town liveth upon the Weaving of *Kidderminster* Stuffs; and as they stand in their Loom they can set a Book before them, or edifie one another: whereas Plowmen, and many others, are so wearied or continually employed, either in the Labours or the Cares of their Callings, that it is a great Impediment to their Salvation; Freeholders and Trades-men are the Strength of Religion and Civility in the Land: and Gentlemen and Beggars, and Servile Tenants, are the Strength of Iniquity; (Though among these sorts there are some also that are good and just, as among the other there are many bad.) And their constant Converse and Traffick with *London* doth much promote Civility and Piety among Trades-men.

16. And I found that my *single Life* afforded me much advantage: For I could the easilier take my People for my Children, and think all that I had too little for them, in that I had no Children of my own to tempt me to another way of using it. And being discharged from the most of Family Cares (keeping but one Servant) I had the greater vacancy and liberty for the Labours of my Calling.

17. And God made use of my Practice of Physick among them, as a very great advantage to my Ministry; for they that cared not for their Souls did love their Lives, and care for their Bodies: And by this they were made almost as observant, as a Tenant is of his Landlord: Sometimes I could see before me in the Church a very considerable part of the Congregation, whose Lives God had made me a means to save, or to recover their health: And doing it for nothing so obliged them, that they would readily hear me.

18. And it was a great advantage to me, that there were at last few that were bad, but some of their own Relations were Converted: Many Children did God work upon at 14, or 15, or 16 years of Age: And this did marvellously reconcile the Minds of the Parents and Elder sort to Godliness: They that would not hear me, would hear their own Children: They that before could have talkt against Godliness, would not hear it spoken against when it was their Childrens Case: Many that would not be brought to it themselves, were proud that they had understanding Religious Children: And we had some old Persons of near Eighty years of Age, who are, I hope, in Heaven, and the Conversion of their own Children was the chief means to overcome their Prejudice and old Customs and Conceits.

19. And God made great use of *Sickness* to do good to many. For though Sick-bed Promises are usually soon forgotten; yet was it otherwise with many among us: And as soon as they were recovered, they first came to our private Meetings, and so kept in a learning state, till further Fruits of Piety appeared.

20. And I found that our *disowning* of the *Iniquity* of the *Times*, did tend to the good of many: For they despised those that always followed the stronger side, and justified every wickedness that was done by the stronger Party: Though we had judged the Parliaments War to be lawful and necessary, to save themselves and us from the *Irish* and their Adherents, and to punish Delinquents in a Course of Law, while we believed that nothing was intended against the King or Laws; yet as soon as ever we saw the Case changed, and *Cromwell's* Army enter into a Rebellion against King and Parliament, and kill the King, and invade the *Scots*, and fight against the King that should have succeeded, &c. we openly disowned them, and on all just occasions express our abhorrence of their Hypocrisy, Perjury, and Rebellion; (except two or three idle drunken Fellows that thought to live by flattering the Times, this was the Sense of all the Town). And had I owned the Guilt of others, it would have been my shame, and the hinderance of my work, and provoked God to have disowned me.

21. Another of my great Advantages was, the true Worth and Unanimity of the honest Ministers of the Country round about us, who associated in a way of Concord with us: Their Preaching was powerful and sober; their Spirits peaceable and meek, disowning the Treasons and Iniquities of the times as well as we; they were wholly addicted to the winning of Souls; self-denying, and of most blameless Lives; Evil spoken of by no Sober Men; but greatly beloved by their own People, and all that knew them; adhering to no Faction; neither Episcopal, Presbyterian nor Independent, as to Parties; but desiring Union, and loving that which is good in all.

These meeting weekly at our Lecture, and monthly at our Disputation, constrained a Reverence in the People to their Worth and Unity, and consequently furthered my Work, such were Mr. *Andrew Trisham* Minister of *Bridgnorth*, Mr. *Tho. Baldwin* Minister at *Chadsley*, Mr. *Tho. Baldwin* Minister of *Clent*, Mr. *Joseph Baker* Minister in *Worcester*, Mr. *Henry Oasland* Minister of *Bewdley*, Mr. *William Spicer* Minister of *Stone* (an old man since dead), Mr. *Richard Sergeant* late Minister of *Stone*, Mr. *Wilsby* of *Womborne*, Mr. *John Reynolds* of *Wolverhampton*, Mr. *Joseph Roche* of *Rowley*, Mr. *Richard Wolley* of *Sallwarp*, Mr. *Giles Wolley*, Mr. *Humphrey Waldern* of *Broome*, Mr. *Edw. Bowchier* of *Church-hill*, Mr. *Ambrose Sperry* of *Martley*, Mr. *William Kimberley* of *Ridmarley*, Mr. *Benj. Baxter* of *Upton upon Severn*, Mr. *Dowley* of *Stoke*, Mr. *Stephen Baxter*, Mr. *Tho. Bromwick* of *Kemsey*, Mr. *J. Nott* of *Sherriff-hales*, with many others; to whom I may adjoyn Mr. *John Spilsbury*, and Mr. *Juice* one of *Bromsgrove*, and the other of *Worcester*, Independants, and very honest, sober, and moderate men; (who were all of them now silenced and cast out, though not one of them all had any hand in the Wars for the Parliament, or any Military Employment; only Mr. *George Hopkins* of *Evesham* was in the Army, (a worthy faithful Minister also) and no other of our Association that I know of besides my self in all the County.

22. Another Advantage to me was the quality of the Sinners of the place. There were two Drunkards almost at the next Doors to me, who (one by night, and the other by day) did constantly every Week, if not twice or thrice a Week, roar and rave in the Streets like stark-madmen; and when they have been laid in the Stocks or Gaol, they have been as bad as soon as ever they came out: And these were so beastly and ridiculous, that they made that Sin (of which we were in most danger) the more abhorred.

23. Another Advantage to me was the quality of the *Apostates* of the place. If we had been troubled with meer Separatists, Anabaptists, or others that erred plausibly and tollerably, they might perhaps have divided us, and drawn away Disciples after them: But we had only two Professors that fell off in the Wars, and (one or two at most) that made no Profession of Godliness were drawn in to them. They that fell off were such as before, by their want of grounded Understanding, Humility and Mortification, gave us the greatest suspicion of their Stability: And they fell to no less than Familism and Infidelity, making a jest of the Scripture, and the Essentials of Christianity: (Though they so carefully hid it, that we could never possibly have known their Minds, but from the Alehouse, and Companions with whom they were more free). And as they fell from the Faith, so they fell to Drinking, Gaming, furious Passions, horribly abusing their Wives (and

(and thereby saving them from their Errours) and to a vicious Life. So that they stood up as Pillars and Monuments of God's Justice, to warn all others, to take heed of Self-conceitedness and Heresies, and of departing from Truth and Christian Unity: And so they were a principal means to keep out all Sects and Errours from the Town.

24. Another great help to my Success at last, was the fore-described Work of Personal Conference with every Family apart, and Catechising and Instructing them. That which was spoken to them personally, and put them sometime upon Answers, awakened their Attention, and was easilier applied than publick Preaching, and seemed to do much more upon them.

25. And the Exercise of Church-Discipline was no small furtherance of the Peoples Good: For I found plainly that without it I could not have kept the Religious sort from Separations and Divisions. There is something generally in their Dispositions, which inclineth them to dissociate from open ungodly Sinners, as Men of another Nature and Society; and if they had not seen me do something reasonable for a Regular Separation of the notorious obstinate Sinners from the rest, they would irregularly have withdrawn themselves; and it had not been in my power, with bare words, to satisfy them, when they saw we had liberty to do what we would.

It was my greatest Care and Contrivance so to order this Work, that we might neither make a meer Mock-shew of Discipline, nor with Independants, un-church the Parish-Church, and gather a Church out of them anew. Therefore all the Ministers Associate agreed together, to practise so much Discipline, as the Episcopal, Presbyterians and Independants were agreed on, that Presbyters might and must do. And we told the People that we went not about to gather a new Church, but taking the Parish for the Church, unless they were unwilling to own their own Membership, we resolved to exercise that Discipline with all: Only because there are some Papists and Familists or Infidels among us, and because in these times of Liberty we cannot (nor desire to) compel any against their Wills, we desired all that did own their Membership in this Parish Church, and take us for their Pastors, to give in their Names, or any other way signify that they do so: and those that are not willing to be Members, and rather choose to withdraw themselves than live under Discipline, to be silent: And so, for very fear of Discipline, all the Parish kept off except about Six hundred, when there were in all above Sixteen hundred at Age to be Communicants. Yet because it was their own doing, and they knew they might come in when they would, they were quiet in their Separation; for we took them for the Separatists: For those that scrupled our Gesture at the Sacrament, I openly told them that they should have it in their own. Yet did I Baptize all their Children; but made them first (as I would have done by Strangers) give me privately, (or publickly if they had rather) an account of their Faith; and if any Father were a scandalous Sinner, I made him confess his Sin openly with seeming Penitence, before I would Baptize his Child: If he refused it, I forbore till the Mother came to present it, (for I rarely, if ever, found both Father and Mother so destitute of Knowledge and Faith, as in a Church Sense to be incapable hereof.)

Of those that refused to come under Discipline, some were honest Persons, who by their Husbands, Parents or Masters, were forbidden: Many were grossly ignorant; many were prophane and scandalous; and many were kept off by the Example and Perswasions of some leading Persons, who were guided by the higher sort of the Prelatical Divines; who though they could say little or nothing against what we did, yet their Religion being too much made up of Faction and Personal Interest, they disowned our Course as unsuitable to the Interest of their Civil and Ecclesiastical Sidings and Designs.

About six or seven young Men did joyn with us who were addicted to Tipling, and one of them was a weak-headed Fellow, who was a common notorious Drunkard. We could not refuse them, because our business was not to gather a New Church, but only to know who owned their own Membership, and who would disown it and withdraw themselves. But we told him that he was a notorious Drunkard, that we must presently admonish him, and expect his humble, penitent Confession, and promise of Amendment, or else we must declare him unfit for Church-Communion. He lamented his Sin with great aggravation, and promised Amendment; but quickly returned to it again: We admonished him again and again, and laboured to bring him to Contrition and Resolution; and he would still confess it, and still go on: I warned him publickly, and prayed for him several

days in the Church ; but he went on in his Drunkenness still : At last I declared him unfit for the Churches Communion, and required them to avoid him accordingly (for this was all we did, whether you will call it *Excommunication* or not) endeavouring to convince him of his Misery, and of the necessity of true Repentance and Reformation.

If any shall here ask me, Why we took this Course, and did not take all the Parish for Members without putting the Question to them ; and what Benefits we found by such a Course of Discipline ? I answer first to the last Question :

1. We performed a plain Command of Christ : and we took Obedience to be better than Sacrifice, and be our best kind of Worship, and the pleasing of God to be the greatest benefit.

2. As is said before, we kept the Church from irregular Separations, which else could never have been done.

3. We helpt to Cure that dangerous Disease among the People, of imagining that Christianity is but a matter of Opinion and dead Belief, and to convince them how much of it consisteth in Holiness, and how far it is inconsistent with reigning Sin ; and so did vindicate the Honour of Christ and the Christian Faith.

4. We greatly suppressed the practice of Sin, and caused People to walk more watchfully than else they would have done. These and many other great Benefits accrued by it to the Church.

But if you ask what good the Offenders themselves received by it, I shall tell you the truth according to my Experience. All sober, godly, well-minded Persons, if they once fell into any scandalous Action (as scarce two of them ever did) yea the very Civil and Younger sort that were tractable, did humbly confess their Sin, and walk more watchfully. But those that were cast out of our Communion were enraged, and made much more Enemies to Godliness than before, though we exercised as much Patience and Tenderneſs towards them, as Reason could desire. The Drunkard before-mentioned, after his Ejection, when he was drunk would stand at the Market-place, and like a Quaker, Cry out against the Town, and take on him to prophesie God's Judgments against them, and would rage at my Door, and rail and curse. And once he followed me as I went to Church, and laid hands on me in the Church-yard, with a purpose to have killed me ; but it fell out that he had hold only of my Cloak, which I unbuttoned and left with him ; and before his Fury could do any more, (it being the Fair-day) there were some Strangers by in the Church-yard, who drag'd him to the Magistrate and the Stocks. And thus he continued raging against me about a year, and then died of a Fever in horrore of Conscience. Three or four more we were forced to cast out, one for slandering, and all the rest for drunkenness ; and though their wit, and the honesty of their Neighbours and Relations made them live quietly, yet their Enmity was much encreased, and they themselves so much the worse, as convinced the strictest Religious sort, that Excommunication is not to be used but upon great Necessity. And indeed, how can you expect that he who will stand it out to an Excommunication, should be bettered by any ordinary means ? When private Intreaties and vehement Exhortations, and Warnings before others, and at last before the Church, and earnest Prayers for them, and all that we could say or do for many Weeks or Months together, would not make most of them so much as say, We are sorry for our sin ; nor any of them leave their common Drunkenness ; how should Excommunication do them good ?

If you say, Why then did you use it ? I answer, For the sake of the rest more than for them : for all the Reasons before-mentioned, and many more which I have laid down in the Preface to my *Universal Concord*. We knew it to be an Ordinance of Christ, and greatly conducing to the Honour of the Church ; which is not a common prophane Society, nor a Stry of Swine, but must be cleaner than the Societies of Infidels and Heathens : And I bless God that ever I made trial of Discipline ; for my Expectations were not frustrate though the ejected Sinners were hardened : The Churches Good must be first regarded.

As to the other Question, Why we dealt not thus by all the Parish, and took them not all for Members without question ? We knew some Papists and Infidels that were no Members : We knew that the People would have thought themselves wronged more to be thus brought under Discipline without and against their own Consent, than to suffer them to withdraw. And we thought it not a Business fit for the unwilling, especially at such a time as that : But especially, I knew that it was like to be their utter undoing, by hardening them into utter Enmity against the means that should recover them : And I never yet saw any signs of hope in
any

any Excommunicate Person ; (unless as they are yet men, and capable of what God will do upon them) except one that humbled himself, and begged Absolution. Now either Discipline is to be exercised according to Christ's Rule, or not. If not, then the Church is no purer a Society, as to its Orders, than those of Infidels and Pagans, but Christ must be disobeyed, and his House of Prayer made a Den of Thieves : If yea, then either impartially upon all obstinate impenitent Sinners according to Christ's Rule, or but on some : If but on some only, it will be a Judgment of Partiality and Unrighteousness ; whereas, where there is the same Cause, there must (usually) be the same Penalty. If on all, then the multitude of the Scandalous in almost all places is so great, and the Effects of Excommunication so dreadful, that it would tend to damning of multitudes of Souls ; which being contrary to the design of the Gospel, is not to be taken for the Will of Christ : we have our Power to Edification, and not to Destruction. A few in case of necessity may be punished, though to their hurt, for the good of all ; but multitudes must not be so used. Indeed, a Popish Interdict, or mock Excommunication, by the Sentence of a Prelate or Lay-Chancellour, may pass against multitudes, and have no considerable Effect, (but as it is enforced by the Sword) : But the Word of God is quick and powerful, and when it is thus personally applied in the Sentencing of a guilty obstinate Sinner, doth one way or other work more effectually. Therefore in this difficulty there can be but two Remedies devised : One is with the Anabaptists to leave Infants unbaptized, that so they may not be taken into the Church, till they are fit for the Orders of the Church : But this is injurious to Infants, and against the will of God, and hath more inconveniences than benefits. (Though for my part, as much as I have wrote against them, I wish that it were in the Church now, as it was in the days of *Tertullian*, *Nazianzen*, and *Austin*, where no man was compelled to bring his Infants to Baptism, but all left to their own time : For then some (as *Augustine*, &c.) were baptized at full Age, and some in Infancy.) The second therefore is the only just and safe Remedy ; which is, That by the due performance of Confirmation, there may be a *Solemn Transition* out of the state of *Infant Church-Membership*, into the state of *Adult Church-Membership* ; and due qualifications therein required : and that the unfit may, till then, be left *inter Auditores*, without the Privileges proper to *Adult Members* ; of which I have fully written in my Book of *Confirmation*.

26. Another Advantage which I found to my Success was, by ordering my Doctrine to them in a suitableness to the main end, and yet so as might suit their Dispositions and Diseases. The thing which I daily opened to them, and with greatest importunity laboured to imprint upon their minds, was the great Fundamental Principles of Christianity contained in their Baptismal Covenant, even a right knowledge, and belief of, and subjection and love to, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ; and Love to all Men, and Concord with the Church and one another : I did so daily inculcate the Knowledge of God our Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, and Love and Obedience to God, and Unity with the Church Catholick, and Love to Men, and Hope of Life Eternal, that these were the matter of their daily Cogitations and Discourses, and indeed their Religion. And yet I did usually put in something in my Sermon which was above their own discovery, and which they had not known before ; and this I did, that they might be kept humble, and still perceive their ignorance, and be willing to keep in a learning state. (For when Preachers tell their People of no more than they know, and do not shew that they excel them in Knowledge, and easily over-top them in Abilities, the People will be tempted to turn Preachers themselves, and think that they have learnt all that the Ministers can teach them, and are as wise as they ; and they will be apt to condemn their Teachers, and wrangle with all their Doctrines, and set their Wits against them, and hear them as Censurers, and not as Disciples, to their own undoing, and to the disturbance of the Church ; and they will easily draw Disciples after them : The bare Authority of the Clergy will not serve the turn, without over-topping Ministerial Abilities.) And I did this also to increase their Knowledge ; and also to make Religion pleasant to them, by a daily addition to their former Light, and to draw them on with desire and Delight. But these things which they did not *know before*, were not unprofitable Controversies which tended not to Edification, nor Novelties in Doctrine contrary to the Universal Church ; but either such Points as tended to illustrate the great Doctrines before-mentioned, or usually, about the right methodizing of them. The opening of the true and profitable method of the Creed, (or Doctrine of Faith) the Lord's Prayer, (or Matter of our Desires) and the Ten Commandments,

ments, (or Law of Practice) which afford matter to add to the knowledge of most Professors of Religion, a long time: And when that is done, they must be led on still further by degrees, as they are capable; but so as not to leave the weak behind: and so as shall still be truly subservient to the great Points of Faith, Hope, and Love, Holiness and Unity, which must be still inculcated, as the beginning and the end of all.

27. Another help to my Success was, that my People were not *Rich*: There were among them very few *Beggars*, because their common Trade of Stuff-weaving would find work for all, Men, Women and Children, that were able: And there were none of the Trades-men very rich, seeing their Trade was poor, that would but find them Food and Raiment. The Magistrates of the Town were few of them worth 40 *l. per An.* and most not half so much. Three or four of the *Richest* thriving Masters of the Trade, got but about 500 or 600 *l.* in twenty years, and it may be lose 100 *l.* of it at once by an ill Debtor. The generality of the Master Workmen, lived but a little better than their Journey-men, (from hand to mouth) but only that they laboured not altogether so hard.

And it is the Poor that receive the glad Tidings of the Gospel, and that are usually *rich in faith*, and heirs of the heavenly riches which God hath promised to them that love him; *James 2. 5. Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the Judgment Seats?* As Mr. George Herbert saith in his *Church Militant*:

*Gold and the Gospel never did agree:
Religion always sides with Poverty.*

Usually the Rich are Proud and Obstinate, and will not endure the due Conduct of the Ministry: Let them be never so ignorant, they must not be crost in their Conceits and Way; and if they be, they storm, and raise Persecution upon it; or at least draw away a Faction after them. Let them be never so Guilty (unless it be some swinish inexcusable Sin) they will not endure to be told of it. Their Gentility seemeth to allow them, in the three or four Sins of Sodom, *Pride, Fulness of Bread, and Abundance of Idleness*, and not considering the Poor and Needy. And their *fulness* and *idleness* tempt them to further Voluptuousness and Sensuality, to Filthiness, or to Time-wasting needless kinds of Sports: And they must not be crost in any of this. Do but offer to Exercise Christ's Discipline upon any of these, and tell them of their Faults alone, and then before two or three, and when they hear not, tell the Church; and you will make them hate both you and Discipline, and say you affect a Domination, and to trample upon your Superiours, and are as proud as Popes. Christ knew what he said, when he said, *How hardly shall a Rich Man enter into the Kingdom of Heaven! Even as a Camel through the Eye of a Needle.* But if a poor man be bad, and hate both Piety and Reproof, yet his opposition is not so fierce or so significant; he maketh not so much ado, nor engageth so many with him, nor is so much regarded by the rest. One Knight (Sir R. C.) which lived among us, did more to hinder my greater Successes, than a multitude of others could have done: Though he was an old Man, of great Courtship and Civility, and very temperate as to Dyet, Apparel and Sports, and seldom would Swear any lower than [*By his Troth, &c.*] and shewed me much Personal Reverence and Respect (beyond my desert), and we conversed together with Love and Familiarity; yet (having no relish of this Preciseness and Extemporary Praying, and making so much ado for Heaven; nor liking that which went beyond the pace of *Saying the Common Prayer*, and also the Interest of himself and his Civil and Ecclesiastical Parties, leading him to be ruled by Dr. Hammond) his coming but once a day to Church on the Lord's days, and his Abstaining from the Sacrament, &c. as if we kept not sufficiently to the old way, and because we used not the *Common Prayer Book*, when it would have caused us to be Sequestred) did cause a great part of the Parish to follow him, and do as he did; when else our Success and Concord would have been much more happy than it was. And yet Civility and yielding much beyond others of his Party, (sending his Family to be Catechized and personally Instructed) did sway with the worst almost among us to do the like. Indeed we had two other Persons of Quality, that came from other places to live there, and were truly and judiciously Religious, who did much good, (Col. John Bridges, and at last Mrs. Hammer): For when the Rich are indeed Religious, and overcome their Temptations, as they may be supposed better than others, because their Conquest is greater, so they may do more good than others, because their Talents are more. But such (comparatively) are always few.

28. Another thing that helped me was, my not meddling with Tythes or Worldly Business; whereby I had my whole time (except what Sicknes deprived me of) for my Duty, and my Mind more free from Entanglements than else it would have been; and also I escaped the offending of the People, and contending by any Law Suits with them. And I found also that Nature it self being Conscience of the Baseness of its Earthly Disposition, doth think basely of those whom it discerneth to be Earthly; and is forced to Reverence those whose Converse is supposed to be most with God and Heaven. Three or Four of my Neighbours managed all those kind of Businesses, of whom I never took Account; and if any one denied to pay their Tythes, if they were poor I ordered them to forgive it them; After that I was constrained to let the Tythes be gathered, as by my Title, to save the Gatherers from Law-Suits. But if they were able, I ordered them to seek it by the Magistrate, with the Damage, and give both my Part and the Damages to the Poor (for I resolved to have none of it my self that was recovered by Law, and yet I could not tolerate the Sacrilege and Fraud of covetous Men). But when they knew that this was the Rule I went by, none of them would do the Poor so great a Kindness as to deny the Payment of their Tythes, that were able. And in my Family I had the Help of my Father and Mother in Law, and the Benefit of a godly, understanding, faithful Servant (an ancient Woman near Sixty Years old) who eased me of all Care, and laid out all my Money for Houle-keeping, so that I never had one Hour's trouble about it, nor ever took one Day's Account of her for Fourteen Years together, as being certain of her Fidelity, Providence and Skill.

29. And it much furthered my Success, that I stayed still in this one Place, (near Two Years before the Wars, and above Fourteen Years after); for he that removeth oft from Place to Place, may sow good Seed in many Places; but is not like to see much Fruit in any, unless some other skilful Hand shall follow him to water it: It was a great Advantage to me, to have almost all the Religious People of the Place, of my own Instructing and Informing; and that they were not formed into erroneous and factious Principles before; and that I stayed to see them grown up to some Confirmedness and Maturity.

30. Lastly, Our Successes were enlarged beyond our own Congregations, by the Lectures kept up round about: To divers of them I went as oft as I was able; and the Neighbour Ministers oftener than I; especially Mr. Oasland of *Bewdley*, who having a strong Body, a zealous Spirit, and an earnest Utterance, went up and down Preaching from Place to Place, with great Acceptance and Success. But this Business also we contrived to be universally and orderly managed: For besides the Lectures set up on Week-days fixedly in several Places, we studied how to have it extend to every Place in the County that had need. For you must understand that when the Parliament purged the Ministry, they cast out the grosser sort of insufficient and scandalous ones, as gross Drunkards, and such like; and also some few Civil Men that had assisted in the Wars against the Parliament, or set up bowing to Altars, and such Innovations: But they had left in near one half the Ministers, that were not good enough to do much Service, nor bad enough to be cast out as utterly intollerable: These were a company of Poor weak Preachers, that had no great Skill in Divinity, nor Zeal for Godliness; but preached weakly that which is True, and lived in no gross notorious Sin: These Men were not cast out, but yet their People greatly needed help; for their dark sleepy Preaching did but little Good: Therefore we resolved that some of the abler Ministers should often voluntarily help them; but all the Care was how to do it without offending them: And it fell out seasonably, that the *Londoners* of that County at their yearly Feast, did collect about 30 *l.* and send it me (by that worthy Man, Mr. *Thomas Stanley* of *Bread-street*) to set up a Lecture for that Year: Whereupon, we covered all our Designs under the Name of the *Londoners* Lecture, which took off the Offence: And we chose four worthy Men, Mr. *And. Tristram*, Mr. *Hen. Oasland*, Mr. *Tho. Baldwin*, and Mr. *Jos. Treble* (who only now conformeth) who undertook to go each Man his Day, once a Month, which was every Lord's Day between the four, and to preach at those Places which had most need, twice on a Lord's Day; but to avoid all ill Consequents and Offence, they were sometimes to go to abler Mens Congregations, and wherever they came to say somewhat always to draw the People to the Honour and special Regard of their own Pastors; that how weak soever they were, they might see that we came not to draw away the Peoples Hearts from them, but to strengthen their Hands, and help them in their Work. This Lecture did a great deal of Good; and though the *Londoners* gave their Money

ney but that one Year, yet, when it was once set on foot, we continued it voluntarily (till the Ministers were turned out, and all these Works went down together).

So much of the Way and Helps of those Successes, which I mention because many have enquired after them, as willing with their own Flocks to take that Course, which other Men have by Experience found to be effectual.

§ 138. Having before said somewhat of my Troubles with Mr. *Tombes*, I shall here more fully tell the Reader how it was.

Mr. *Tombes* being my Neighbour within two Miles, and denying Infant Baptism, and having written a Book or two against it, he was not a little desirous of the Propagation of his Opinion, and the Success of his Writings; and he thought that I was his chiefest Hinderer, though I never meddled with the point: Whereupon, he came constantly to my Weekly Lecture, waiting for an Opportunity to fall upon that Controversy in his Conference with me: But I studiously avoided it; so that he knew not how to begin: And he had so high a Conceit of his Writings that he thought them unanswerable, and that none could deal with them in that way.

At last, some how, he urged me to give my Judgment of his Writings; and I let him know that they did not satisfy me to be of his Mind, but went no farther with him: Upon this, he forbore coming any more to our Lecture; and he unavoidably contrived me into the Controversy, which I shun'd; for there came unto me five or six of his chief Profelites, as if they were yet unresolved, and desired me to give them in Writing the Arguments which satisfied me for Infant Baptism. I asked them whether they came not by Mr. *Tombes's* Direction: And they confessed that they did. I asked them whether they had read the Books of Mr. *Cobbet*, Mr. *Marshall*, Mr. *Church*, Mr. *Blake* for Infant Baptism: And they told me, No. I desired them to read that which is written already, before they call'd for more; and then come to me, and tell me what they had to say against them. But this they would by no means do; but must have my Writings. I told them, that now they plainly confessed that they came upon a Design to promote their Party by contentious Writings, and not in sincere Desire to be informed, as they pretended: But to be short, they had no more Modesty than to insist on their Demands, and to tell me that if they turned against Infant Baptism, and I denied to give them my Arguments in Writing, they must lay it upon me. I asked them whether they would continue unresolved till Mr. *Tombes* and I had done our Writings; seeing it was some Years since Mr. *Blake* and he began, and have not ended yet. But no Reasoning served the turn with them, but they still call for my written Arguments: When I saw their factious Design and Immodesty, I bid them tell Mr. *Tombes*, that he should neither thus command me to lose a Years time in my Weakness, in quarrelling with him, nor yet should have his End in insulting over me, as if I fled from the Light of Truth: Therefore I offered him, if we must needs contend, that we might do it the shortest and most satisfactory way, and spend one Day in a Dispute at his own Church, where I would attend him, (that his People might not remain unsatisfied, till they saw which of us would have the last Word); and after that we would consider of Writing.

So Mr. *Tombes* and I agreed to meet at his Church on Jan. 1. And in great Weakness thither I came, and from Nine of the Clock in the Morning till Five at Night, in a crowded Congregation, we continued our Dispute; which was all spent in managing one Argument, from Infants right to Church-Membership to their Right to Baptism: of which he after complained, as if I assaulted him in a new way, which he had not considered of before: But this was not the first time that I had dealt with Anabaptists, who had so much to do with them in the Army as I had: In a Word, this Dispute satisfied all my own People and the Country that came in, and Mr. *Tombes's* own Townsmen, except about Twenty whom he had perverted, who gathered into his Church, which never increased to above Twenty two, that I could learn. So much of that Dispute, of the Writing more anon.

§ 139. If any shall demand whether the increase of Godliness was answerable in all Places to what I have mentioned (and none deny that it was with us) I answer, that however Men that measure Godliness by their Gain and Interest and Domination, do go about to persuade the World that Godliness then went down, and was almost extinguished, I must bear this faithful Witness to those times, that as far as I was acquainted, where before there was one godly profitable Preacher, there was then six or ten; and taking one Place with another, I conjecture there is a propor-

proportionable increase of truly godly People, not counting Hereticks or perfidious Rebels or Church-disturbers as such: But this increase of Godliness was not in all places alike: For in some places where the Ministers were formal, or ignorant, or weak and imprudent, contentious or negligent, the Parishes were as bad as heretofore. And in some places, where the Ministers had excellent parts, and holy lives, and thirsted after the good of Souls, and wholly devoted themselves, their time and strength and estates thereunto, and thought no pains or cost too much, there abundance were converted to serious Godliness. And with those of a middle state, usually they had a middle measure of Success. And I must add this to the true Information of Posterity, That God did so wonderfully bless the Labours of his *unanimous faithful Ministers*, that had it not been for the Faction of the Prelatists on one side that drew men off, and the Factions of the giddy and turbulent Sectaries on the other side, (who pull'd down all Government, cried down the Ministers, and broke all into Confusion, and made the People at their wits end, not knowing what Religion to be of); together with some *laziness* and *selfishness* in many of the Ministry, I say, had it not been for these Impediments, *England* had been like in a quarter of an Age to have become a Land of Saints, and a Pattern of Holiness to all the World, and the unmatched Paradise of the Earth. Never were such fair opportunities to sanctifie a Nation, lost and trodden under foot, as have been in this Land of late! Woe be to them that were the Causes of it.

§ 140. In our Association in this County, though we made our Terms large enough for all, Episcopal, Presbyterians and Independants, there was not one Presbyterian joyned with us that I know of, (for I knew but of one in all the County, Mr. *Tho. Hall*) nor one Independant, (though two or three honest ones said nothing against us) nor one of the New Prelatical way (Dr. *Hammond's*) but three or four moderate Conformists that were for the old Episcopacy; and all the rest were meer Catholics; Men of no Faction, nor siding with any Party, but owning that which was good in all, as far as they could discern it; and upon a Concord in so much, laying out themselves for the great Ends of their Ministry, the Peoples Edification.

§ 141. And the increase of Sectaries among us was much through the weakness or the faultiness of Ministers: And it made me remember that Sects have most abounded when the Gospel hath most prospered, and God hath been doing the greatest works in the World: As first in the Apostles and the Primitive Times, and then when Christian Emperours were assisting the Church; and then when Reformation prospered in *Germany*; and lately in *New-England* where Godliness most flourished; and last of all here, when so pleasant a Spring had raised all our hopes: And our *Impatience* of weak Peoples Errours and Dissent, did make the Business worse; whilst every weak Minister that could not or would not do that for his People which belonged to his place, was presently crying out against the Magistrates for suffering these Errours; and thinking the Sword must do that which the Word should do: And it is a wicked thing in Men, to desire with the Papists, that the People were rather *blind* than *purblind*, and that they might rather know nothing, than mistake in some few Points; and to be more troubled that a man *contradicteth us* in the Point of *Infant Baptism* or *Church Government*, than that many of the People are fottishly careless of their own Salvation. He that *never regardeth* the Word of God, is not like to Err much about it: Men will sooner fall out about Gold or Pearls, than *Swine* or *Asses* will.

§ 142. All this while that I abode at *Kidderminster*, (though the Rulers that then were made an Order that no Sequestred Minister should have his fifth part, unless he removed out of the Parish where he had been Minister, yet) did I never remove the old Sequestred Vicar so much as out of his Vicaridge House, no nor once came within the Doors of it; so far was I from Seizing on it as my own, or removing him out of the Town: But he lived in peace and quietness with us, and reformed his Life, and lived without any Scandal or Offensiveness, and I never heard that he spake an ill word of me. And yet as soon as the times were changed, the instigation of others made him as malapart again, as if he had been awakened out of a sleepy Innocence.

§ 143. About this time *Cromwell* set up his Major Generals, and the Decimation of the Estates of the Royalists, called *Delinquents*, to maintain them: And *James Berry* was made Major General of *Worcestershire*, *Shropshire*, *Herefordshire*, and *North-Wales*; the Countreys in which he had formerly lived as a Servant (a Clark of Iron-works). His reign was modest and short; but hated and scorned by the Gen-

try that had known his Inferiority: (so that it had been better for him to have chosen a stranger place): And yet many of them attended him as submissively as if they had honoured him; so significant a thing is power and prosperity with worldly minds.

§ 144. I come now to the End of *Cromwell's* Reign, who died (of a Fever) before he was aware. He escaped the Attempts of many that sought to have dispatched him sooner; but could not escape the stroke of God, when his appointed Time was come. (Though * an Independant, praying for him, said, *Lord, we ask not for his Life, for that we are sure of; but that he may serve thee better than ever he had done*); to the dishonour of that Presumption which some men call a *particular Faith*; that is, A believing that they shall receive whatever they ask, if they can but steadfastly believe that they shall receive it, though it be such as they have no other promise for, but that of *Hearing* [*believing Prayers*] which they misunderstand).

* As it is currently reported without any Contradiction that ever I heard of.

Never man was higher extolled, and never man was baselier reported of, and vilified than this man. No (meer) man was *better* and *worse* spoken of than he; according as mens Interests led their Judgments. The Soldiers and Sectaries most highly magnified him, till he began to seek the Crown and the Establishment of his Family: And then there were so many that would be Half-Kings themselves, that a King did seem intollerable to them. The Royalists abhorred him as a most perfidious Hypocrite; and the Presbyterians thought him little better, in his management of publick matters.

If after so many others I may speak my Opinion of him, I think, that, having been a Prodigal in his Youth, and afterward changed to a zealous Religiousness, he meant honestly in the main, and was pious and conscionable in the main course of his Life, till Prosperity and Success corrupted him: that, at his first entrance into the Wars being but a Captain of Horse, he had a special care to get religious men into his Troop: These men were of greater understanding than common Soldiers, and therefore were more apprehensive of the Importance and Consequence of the War; and making not Money, but that which they took for the Publick Felicity, to be their End, they were the more engaged to be valiant; for he that maketh Money his End, doth esteem his Life above his Pay, and therefore is like enough to save it by flight when danger comes, if possibly he can: But he that maketh the Felicity of Church and State his End, esteemeth it above his Life, and therefore will the sooner lay down his Life for it. And men of Parts and Understanding know how to manage their business, and know that flying is the surest way to death, and that standing to it is the likeliest way to escape; there being many usually that fall in flight, for one that falls in valiant fight. These things it's probable *Cromwell* understood; and that none would be such engaged valiant men as the Religious: But yet I conjecture, that at his first choosing such men into his Troop, it was the very Esteem and Love of Religious men that principally moved him; and the avoiding of those Disorders, Mutinies, Plunderings, and Grievances of the Country, which debase men in Armies are commonly guilty of: By this means he indeed sped better than he expected. *Aires, Desborough, Perry, Ervanston*, and the rest of that Troop, did prove so valiant, that as far as I could learn, they never once ran away before an Enemy. Hereupon he got a Commission to take some care of the Associated Counties, where he brought this Troop into a double Regiment, of fourteen full Troops; and all these as full of religious men as he could get: These having more then ordinary Wit and Resolution, had more than ordinary Success; first in *Lincolnshire*, and afterward in the Earl of *Manchester's* Army at *York* Fight: With their Successes the Hearts both of Captain and Soldiers secretly rise both in Pride and Expectation: And the familiarity of many honest erroneous Men (Anabaptists, Antinomians, &c.) withal began quickly to corrupt their Judgments. Hereupon *Cromwell's* general Religious Zeal, giveth way to the power of that Ambition, which still increaseth as his Successes do increase: Both Piety and Ambition concurred in his countenancing of all that he thought Godly of what Sect soever: Piety pleadeth for them as Godly; and Charity as Men; and Ambition secretly telleth him what use he might make of them. He meaneth well in all this at the beginning, and thinketh he doth all for the Safety of the Godly, and the Publick Good, but not without an Eye to himself.

When Successes had broken down all considerable Opposition, he was then in the face of his strongest Temptations, which conquered him when he had conquered others: He thought that he had hitherto done well, both as to the *End* and *Means*, and God by the wonderful Blessing of his Providence had owned his endeavours, and it was none but God that had made him great: He thought that if the War was lawful, the Victory was lawful; and if it were lawful to fight against the King and conquer him, it was lawful to use him as a conquered Enemy, and a foolish thing to trust him when they had so provoked him, (whereas indeed the Parliament professed neither to fight against him, nor to conquer him). He thought that the Heart of the King was deep, and that he resolved upon Revenge, and that if he were King, he would easily at one time or other accomplish it; and that it was a dishonest thing of the Parliament to set men to fight for them against the King, and then to lay their Necks upon the block, and be at his Mercy; and that if that must be their Case, it was better to flatter or please him, than to fight against him. He saw that the *Scots* and the *Presbyterians* in the Parliament, did by the Covenant and the Oath of Allegiance, find themselves bound to the Person and Family of the King, and that there was no hope of changing their minds in this: Hereupon he joyned with that Party in the Parliament who were for the Cutting off the King, and trusting him no more. And consequently he joyned with them in raising the Independants to make a Faction in the Synod at *Westminster* and in the City; and in strengthening the Sectaries in Army, City and Country, and in rendering the *Scots* and Ministers as odious as he could, to disable them from hindering the Change of Government. In the doing of all this, (which *Distrust* and *Ambition* had perswaded him was well done) he thought it lawful to use his Wits, to choose each Instrument, and suit each means, unto its end; and accordingly he daily imployed himself, and modelled the Army, and disbanded all other Garrisons and Forces and Committees, which were like to have hindered his design. And as he went on, though he yet resolved not what form the New Commonwealth should be molded into, yet he thought it but reasonable, that he should be the Chief Person who had been chief in their Deliverance; (For the Lord *Fairfax* he knew had but the Name). At last, as he thought it lawful to cut off the King, because he thought he was lawfully conquered, so he thought it lawful to fight against the *Scots* that would set him up, and to pull down the *Presbyterian* Majority in the Parliament, which would else by restoring him undo all which had cost them so much Blood and Treasure. And accordingly he conquereth *Scotland*, and pulleth down the Parliament: being the easilier perswaded that all this was lawful, because he had a secret Byas and Eye towards his own Exaltation: For he (and his Officers) thought, that when the King was gone a Government there must be; and that no Man was so fit for it as he himself; as best *deserving* it, and as having by his *Wit* and great *Interest* in the Army, the best sufficiency to manage it: Yea, they thought that God had called them by *Successes* to Govern and take Care of the Commonwealth, and of the Interest of all his People in the Land; and that if they stood by and suffered the Parliament to do that which they thought was dangerous, it would be required at their hands, whom they thought God had made the Guardians of the Land.

Having thus forced his Conscience to justify all his Cause, (the Cutting off the King, the setting up himself and his Adherents, the pulling down the Parliament and the *Scots*,) he thinketh that the End being good and necessary, the necessary means cannot be bad: And accordingly he giveth his Interest and Cause leave to tell him, how far Sects shall be tolerated and commended, and how far not; and how far the Ministry shall be owned and supported, and how far not; yea, and how far Professions, Promises, and Vows shall be kept, or broken; and therefore the Covenant he could not away with; nor the Ministers, further than they yielded to his Ends, or did not openly resist them. He seemed exceeding open hearted, by a familiar Rustick affected Carriage, (especially to his Soldiers in sporting with them): but he thought Secrecy a Vertue, and Dissimulation no Vice, and Simulation, that is, in plain English a Lie, or Perfidiousness to be a tollerable Fault in a Case of Necessity: being of the same Opinion with the Lord *Bacon*, (who was not so Precise as Learned) That [the best Composition and Temperature is,

Mean men in their rising
adhere (to a Faction but)
that have strength in them
were better to maintain
selves indifferent and not
even in beginners to adhere
moderately, as that he be a
of that one Faction which is most
passable with the other, commonly
giveth best way. The lower
and weaker Faction is the
firmer in Conjunction: And it is
often seen that a few that are stiff,
do tire out a great number that
are more moderate: when one of
the Factions is extinguished, the
other remaining subdivideth—
It is commonly seen that Men once
placed take in with the contrary
Faction to that by which they enter—
Lord Verulam Essay 51.
p. 287.

to have openneſs in Fame and Opinion, Secrecy in habit, Diſſimulation in ſeaſonable uſe; and a power to feign if there be no remedy,] Eſſay 6. pag. 31. Therefore he kept fair with all, ſaving his open or unreconcilable Enemies. He carried it with ſuch Diſſimulation, that Anabaptiſts, Independants, and Antinomians did all think that he was one of them: But he never endeavoured to perſwade the Preſbyterians that he was one of them; but only that he would do them Juſtice, and Preſerve them, and that he honoured their Worth and Piety; for he knew that they were not ſo eaſily deceived. In a word, he did as our Prelates have done, begin low and riſe higher in his Reſolutions as his Condition roſe, and the Promiſes which he made in his lower Condition, he uſed as the intereſt of his higher following Condition did require, and kept up as much Honesty and Godlineſs in the main, as his Cauſe and Intereſt would allow, (but there they left him): And his Name ſtandeth as a monitory Monument or Pillar to Poſterity to tell them, [The inſtability of Man in ſtrong Temptations, if God leave him to himſelf: what great Succeſs and Victories can do to lift up a Mind that once ſeemed humble: what Pride can do to make Man ſelfiſh, and corrupt the Heart with ill deſigns: what ſelfiſhneſs and ill deſigns can do, to bribe the Conſcience, and corrupt the Judgment, and make men juſtifie the greateſt Errours and Sins, and ſet againſt the cleareſt Truth and Duty: what Bloodſhed and great Enormities of Life, an Erring deluded Judgment may draw Men to, and patronize; and That when God hath dreadful Judgments to execute, an Erroneous Sectary, or a proud Self-ſeeker, is oftner his Inſtrument, than an humble, Lamb-like, innocent Saint].

§ 145. Cromwell being dead, his Son Richard by his Will and Teſtament, and the Army was quietly ſetled in his place; while all Men look'd that they ſhould preſently have fallen into Confuſion and Diſcord among themſelves; the Counties, Cities, and Corporations of England ſend up their Congratulations, to own him as Protector: (But none of us in Worceſterſhire, ſave the Independants, medled in it.)

He interred his Father with great Pomp and Solemnity: He called a Parliament, and that without any ſuch Reſtraints as his Father had uſed: The Members took the Oath of Fidelity or Allegiance to him at the Door of the Houſe before they entred. And all Men wondred to ſee all ſo quiet, in ſo dangerous a Time. Many ſober Men that called his Father no better than a Trayterous Hypocrite, did begin to think that they owed him Subjection. They knew that the King was by Birth their Rightful Sovereign; and reſolved to do their beſt while there was hopes to introduce him, and defend him: But they were aſtoniſhed at the marvellous Providences of God, which had been againſt that Family all along, and they thought that there was no rational probability of his Reſtoration, having ſeen ſo many Armies and Riſings and Deſigns overthrow, which were raiſed or undertaken for it: They thought that it is not left to our liberty, whether we will have a Government, or not; but that Government is of Divine Appointment; and the Family, Perſon or Species is but of a ſubſervient, leſs neceſſary determination: And that if we cannot have him that we would have, it followeth not that we may be without: That twelve years time (from the Death of the laſt King) was longer than the Land could be without a Governour, without the Deſtruction of the Common Good, which is the End of Government! Therefore that the Subjects, ſeeing they are unable to reſtore the King, muſt conſent to another: That the Houſe of Commons, having ſworn Allegiance to him, have actually ſubjected the Nation to him: And though his Father Trayterouſly made the Change, yet the Succeſſor of a Traytor may by the Peoples conſent, become a Governour, whom each Individual muſt acknowledge by Subjection: That the Biſhops and Churches both of Eaſt and Weſt, as all Hiſtory ſheweth, have profeſſed their Subjection to Uſurpers, in a far ſhorter time, and upon lighter Reaſons: That this Man having never had any hand in the War, (but ſuppoſed to be for the King) nor ever ſeeking for the Government, and now ſeeming to own the Sober Party, was like to be uſed in the healing of the Land. &c.] Such Reaſonings as theſe began to take with the minds of many, to ſubject themſelves quietly to this Man (though they never did it to his Father) as not deſpairing of the Reſtitution of the King: * And I confeſs ſuch Thoughts were ſomewhat prevalent with my ſelf: But God quickly ſhewed us the root of our Errour, which was our limiting the Almighty; as if that were hard to him that was impoſſible to us: So that the Reſtoration of the King, which we thought next impoſſible, was accompliſhed in a trice: And we ſaw that twelve or eighteen years is not long enough to wait on God.

* The advantage of Mens preſent cruel Malice, was only from the Epistle of 2 Books wherein I

never juſtified his Uſurpation: But *Judicis officium eſt: ut res ita tempora rerum, &c.*

The Army set up *Richard Cromwell*, it seemeth upon Tryal; resolving to use him as he behaved himself: And though they swore Fidelity to him, they meant to keep it no longer than he pleased them; And when they saw that he began to favour the sober People of the Land, to honour Parliaments, and to respect the Ministers, whom they called Presbyterians, they presently resolved to make him know his Masters, and that it was *they* and not *he*, that were called by God to be the chief Protectors of the Interest of the Nation. He was not so formidable to them as his Father was, and therefore every one boldly spurned at him. The Fifth Monarchy Men followed Sir *Henry Vane*, and raised a great and violent clamorous Party against him, among the Sectaries in the City: *Rogers* and *Feake*, and such like Firebrands preach them into Fury, and blow the Coales; But Dr. *Owen* and his Assistants did the main Work: He gathereth a Church at (at Lieutenant General *Fleetwood's* Quarters, at *Wallingford House*, consisting of the active Officers of the Army (this Church-gathering hath been the Church scattering Project): In this Assembly it was determined that *Richard's* Parliament must be dissolved, and then he quickly fell himself: (Though he never abated their Liberties or their Greatness; yet did he not sufficiently befriend them); *Dictum factum*; almost as quickly done as determined: Though Col. *Richard Ingolsby* and some others, would have stuck to the Protector, and have ventured to surprize the Leaders of the Faction, and the Parliament would have been true to him; yet *Berry's* Regiment of Horse, and some others, were presently ready to have begun the Fray against him; and as he sought not the Government, he was resolved it should cost no Blood to keep him in it: But if they would venture for their Parts on new Confusions, he would venture his Part by retiring to his Privacy: And so he did (to satisfy these proud distracted Tyrants, who thought they did but pull down Tyranny) resign the Government by a Writing under his Hand, and retired himself, and left them to govern as they pleased.

His Good Brother in Law, *Fleetwood*, and his Uncle *Desborough* were so intoxicated as to be the Leaders of the Conspiracy: And when they had pull'd him down, they set up a few of themselves under the Name of a Council of State; and so mad were they with Pride, as to think the Nation would stand by and reverence them, and obediently wait upon them in their drunken Giddiness; and that their Faction in the Army was made by God an invincible Terror to all that did but hear their Names. The Care of the Business also was, that *Oliver* had once made *Fleetwood* believe that he should be his Successor, and drawn an Instrument to that purpose; but his last Will disappointed him. And then the Sectaries flattered him, saying, that a truly Godly Man that had commanded them in the Wars was to be preferred before such an one as they censured to have no true Godliness.

§ 146. I make no doubt but God permitted all this for Good; and that as it was their Treason to set up *Oliver* and destroy the King, so it was their Duty to have set up the present King instead of *Richard*: And God made them the means, to their own Destruction, contrary to their Intentions, to restore the Monarchy and Family which they had ruined. But all this is no Thanks to them; but that which with a good Intention had been a Duty (to take down or not set up *Richard Cromwell*) yet as done by them was as barbarous Perfideousness as most ever History did declare: That they should so suddenly, so scornfully and proudly pull down him whom they had so lately set up themselves and sworn to: And that for *nothing*; they could scarce tell why themselves; nor ever were able to give the World a fairer Reason for their Villany (by any Fault they could charge upon him) than the *Munster* Fanaticks had to give for their *Bethlehem* Outrages and Rebellion: That they should do this while a Parliament was sitting which had so many wise, religious Members; not only without the Parliaments Advice, but in despite of them, and force him to dissolve them first; as if Perjury and Rebellion were newly put into the Commandments; or God had made these proud Usurpers to be the Governors of Protector and of Parliaments, and exempted them wholly from the Precept [*Honour thy Father*] [*Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers*]: That they should so proudly despise not only the Parliament, but all the Ministers of *London* and of the Land, as to do this, not only without advising with, and against their Judgments; but in a factious Envy against them, lest they should be too much countenanced: Yea, they did it against the Judgments of most of their own Party (the Independants), as they now profess themselves: Yea, Mr. *Nye*, that was then thought to be engaged in the same Design, doth utterly disclaim it, and profess

profess that his Content or Hand was never to it : But *Pride usually goeth before Destruction.*

§ 147. And having said this of the Crimes of these Firebrands of the Army, I must say somewhat of the Sectarian Party in General ; I mean, those who have been most addicted to Church-Divisions, and Separations, and Sidings, and Parties, and have refused all terms of Concord and Unity : I doubt not but many of them were People that feared God, who in their Ignorance of the Doctrine of Church Unity and Communion, have been drawn by Pretences of Purity to follow their Leaders in ways which they understood not : And I doubt not but the Presbyterians have had their Faults in their Treaties with them ; and that politic Statesmen kept open the Divisions for their own Designs, (that they might have a Party to weaken the Scots and Presbyterians that would have restored the King). But yet I must record it to the Shame of their Miscarriages, that the *weaker and younger sort of Professors*, have been prone to be puffed up with high Thoughts of themselves, and to over-value their little Degrees of Knowledge and Parts, which set them not above the Pity of understanding Men : That they have been set upon those Courses which tend to advance them above the Common People in the Observation of the World, and to set them at a farther Distance from others than God alloweth, and all this under the Pretence of the Purity of the Church.

That in Prosecution of their Ends, there are few of the Anabaptists that have not been the Opposers and Troublers of the faithful Ministers of the Land ; and were the Troublers of their People, and the Hinderers of their Success ; they strengthened the Hands of the Prophane : The Sectaries (especially the Anabaptists, the Seekers, and the Quakers) chose out the most able, zealous Ministers, to make the Marks of their Reproach

The Lord Bacon nameth Four Causes of Atheism. 1. Many Divisions in Religion. 2. The Scandal of Priests. 3. A Custom of Prophane Scoffing about Holy Matters. 4. Corrupting prosperity. *Essay* 16. p. 91.

and Obliquy, and all because they stood in the Way of their Designs, and hindered them in the propagating of their Opinions : They set against the same Men that the Drunkards and Swearers set against, and much after the same manner ; reviling them, and raising up false Reports of them, and doing all that they could to make them odious, and at last attempting to pull them all down ; only they did it more prophanely than the Prophane ; in that they said, [*Let the Lord be glorified ; Let the Gospel be propagated*] and abused and profaned Scripture and the Name of God by entitling him to their Faction and Miscarriages. Yea, though they thought themselves the most understanding and conscientious People of the Land, yet did the Gang of them seldom stick at any thing which seemed to promote their Cause ; but whatever their Faction in the Army did, they pleaded for it and approved it : If they pull'd down the Parliament, imprison'd the godly faithful Members, killed the King, if they cast out the Rump, if they chose a Little Parliament of their own, if they set up *Cromwell*, if they set up his Son and pull'd him down again, if they sought to obtrude Agreements on the People, if they one Week set up a Council of State, and if another Week the Rump were restored, if they sought to take down Tythes and Parish-Ministers, to the utter Confusion of the State of Religion in the Land ; in all these the Anabaptists, and many of the Independants in the Three Kingdoms followed them ; and even their Pastors were ready to lead them to consent.

And all this began but in *unwarrantable Separations*, and too much aggravating the Faults of the Churches and Common People, and Common Prayer Book and Ministry ; which indeed were none of them without Faults to be lamented and reformed : But they thought that because it needed *Amendment*, it required their obstinate Separation, and that they were allowed to make odious any thing that was amiss ; and because it was faulty, if any Man had rebuked them for belying it, and making it far more faulty than it was, instead of confessing their Sin, they called their Reprover a Pleader for Antichrist or Baal ; every Error in the Mode of the Common Worship they had no fitter Name for, than Idolatry, Popery, Antichristianism, Superstition, Will-worship, &c. when in the mean time, many of their own Prayers were full of Carnal Passion, Selfishness, Faction, Disorder, vain Repitions, unsound and loathsom Expressions, and their Doctrine full of Errors and Confusion ; and these Beams in their own Eyes were matter of no Offence to them : They would not communicate with that Church where ignorant Persons or Swearers were tolerated (though they themselves never did their Part to have them cast out, but look'd the Ministers should do all without them) ; but without any scruple they would communicate with them that had broke their Vow and Covenant with God and Man, and rebelled against both King, Parliament, and

all kind of Government that was set up (even by themselves) and did all the fore-recited Evils.

I know these same Accusations are laid by some in Ignorance or Malice, against many that are guilty of no such things, and therefore some will be offended at me, and say, I imitate such Reproachers: But shall none be reprov'd because some are slandered? Shall Rebels be justified, because some innocent Men are called Rebels? Shall Hypocrites be free from Conviction and Condemnation, because wicked Men call the Godly *Hypocrites*? Woe to the Man that hath not a faithful Reprover; but a Thousand Woes will be to him that *hateth reproof*: And woe to them that had rather Sin were credited and kept in Honour, than their Party dishonoured: and Woe to the Land where the Reputation of Men doth keep Sin in Reputation. Scripture it self will not spare a *Noah*, a *Lot*, a *David*, a *Hezekiah*, a *Josiah*, a *Peter*; but will open and shame their Sin to all Generations: And yet, alas! the Hearts of many, who I hope are truly Religious in other Points, will rise against him that shall yet tell them of the Misdoings of their Opinion, and call them to Repentance. The poor Church of Christ, the sober, sound religious Part, are like Christ that was crucified between two Malefactors; the prophane and formal Persecutors on one hand, and the Fanatick dividing Sectary on the other hand, have in all Ages been grinding the spiritual Seed, as the Corn is ground between the Millstones: And though their Sins have ruined themselves and us, and silenced so many hundred Ministers, and scattered the Flocks and made us the Hatred and the Scorn of the ungodly World, and a by Word and Desolation in the Earth; yet there are few of them that lament their Sin, but justify themselves and their Misdoings, and the *penitent Malefactor* is yet unknown to us. And seeing Posterity must know what they have done, to the Shame of our Land, and of our sacred Profession, let them know this much more also to their own Shame, that all the Calamities which have befallen us by our Divisions were long foreseen by seeing Men, and they were told and warned of it, year after year: They were told that a House divided against it self could not stand, and told that it would bring them to the Halter and to Shame, and turn a hopeful Reformation into a Scorn, and make the Land of their Nativity a Place of Calamity and Woe; and all this Warning signified nothing to them; but these Ductile Professors blindly followed a few selfconceited Teachers to this Misery; and no warning or means could ever stop them.

Five dissenting Ministers in the Synod begun all this, and carried it far on: Mr. *Philip Nye*, Mr. *Tho. Goodwin*, Mr. *Sydrach Sympson*, and Mr. *William Bridge*, to whom that good Man Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs* joined himself in Name; but as he never practised their Church-gathering way, so at last he was contented to have united on the Terms which were offered them, and wrote his excellent Book of *Heart Divisions*. After this they encreased, and Mr. *Burroughs* being dead, Dr. *John Owen* arose, not of the same Spirit, to fill up his place; by whom and Mr. *Phillip Nye's* Policie the Flames were encreased, our Wounds kept open, and carried on all, as if there had been none but they considerable in the World; and having an Army and City Agents fit to second them, effectually hindred all remedy till they had dash'd all into pieces as a broken Glass. O! what may not *Pride* do? and what Miscarriages will not false Principles and Faction hide? One would think that if their Opinions had been certainly *true*, and their Church-Orders *good*, yet the Interest of Christ, and the Souls of Men, and of greater Truths, should have been so regarded by the Dividers in *England*, as that the Safety of all these should have been preferred, and not all ruined rather than their way should want its carnal Arm and Liberty; and that they should not tear the Garment of Christ all to pieces, rather than it should want their Lace.

§ 148. And it must be acknowledged also impartially, that some of the Presbyterian Ministers frightened the Sectaries into this Fury by the unpeaceableness and impatiency of their Minds: They ran from Libertinism into the other Extream, and were so little sensible of their own Infirmary, that they would not have those tollerated who were not only tollerable, but worthy Instruments and Members in the Churches: The Reconcilers that were ruled by *prudent Charity* always called out to both the Parties, that the Churches must be united upon the Terms of primitive Simplicity, and that we must have *Unity in things necessary, and Liberty in things unnecessary, and Charity in all*: But they could never be heard, but were taken for Adversaries to the Government of the Church, as they are by the Prelates at this Day: Nay, when in *Worcestershire* we did but agree to practice so much as all Parties were agreed in, they said, we did but thereby set up another Party. We told

told them of Archbishop *Usher's* Terms in his Sermon before the King on *Eph. 4. 3.* but they would not hear. The Lord *Bacon* in his *Third Essay*, and his *Considerations*, Mr. *Hales* in his *Treatise of Schism*, and all men of sound Experience and Wisdom, have long told the World, that we must be united in things Necessary, which all Christians agree in, or which the Primitive Churches did unite in, or not at all: But nothing shorter than the Assemblies Confession of Faith and Catechisms, and and Presbytery, would serve turn with some. Their Principles were that no others should be tolerated; which set the Independants on contriving how to grasp the Sword! They were still crying out on the Magistrate, that he was irreligious, for suffering Sects, and because he did not bring Men to Conformity: And now they cannot be tolerated themselves, to preach, nor scarce to dwell in the Land. The Uniting of the Churches upon the Primitive Terms, and the tollerating (not of all, but) of tollerable Differences, is the way to Peace, which almost all Men approve of, except those who are uppermost, and think they have the Reins in their own hands. And because the side which is uppermost are they that have their Wills, therefore the Churches had never a settled Peace this Thousand years at least; the true way of Settlement and Peace, being usually displeasing to them that must give Peace to others: But *this way* hath the mark of being the best; in that it is the only way, which every Sect acknowledge for the second, and next the best; and is it which all, except the predominant Party, liketh. But Wisdom is justified of her Children.

§ 149. To consummate the Confusion, by confirming and increasing the Division, the Independants at last, when they had refused with sufficient perversity to associate with the Presbyterians (and the Reconcilers too) did resolve to shew their proper strength, and to call a General Assembly of all their Churches. The *Savoy* was their Meeting-place. There they drew up a Confession of their Faith, and the Orders of their Church Government. In the former, they thought it not enough expressly to contradict St. *James*, and to say (unlimitedly) *That we are justified by the Righteousness of Christ only, and not by any Works*; but they contradicted St. *Paul* also, who saith, *That Faith is imputed for Righteousness*. And not only so, but they expressly asserted, that [*we have no other righteousness*] but that of Christ. A Doctrine abhorred by all the Reformed and Christian Churches; and which would be an utter shame to the Protestant Name, if what such Men held and did were indeed imputable to the sinner Protestants. I asked some honest Men that joyned with them, Whether they subscribed this Confession; and they said No. I asked them why they did not contradict it; and they said that the meaning of it was no more than that we have no other Righteousness but Christ's *to be justified by*: So that the Independant's Confessions are like such Oaths and Declarations, as speak one thing and mean another. Also in their Propositions of Church Order, they widened the breach, and made things much worse, and more unreconcilable than ever they were before. So much could two Men do with many honest tractable young Men, and had more Zeal for separating Strictness, than Judgment to understand the Word of God, or the Interest of the Churches of the Land, and of themselves.

§ 150. But it hath pleased God by others that were sometime of their way, to do more to heal this Breach, than they did to make it wider. I mean the Synod of *New-England*; who have published such healing Propositions about *stated Synods*, and *Infants Church Membership*, as hath much prepared for a Union between them, and all other moderate Men: (And some * One hath strenuously defended those Propositions against the opposition of Mr. *Davenport*, a dissenting Brother). I take this to be more for healing than the *Savoy* Propositions can be effectual to divide, because the *New-England* men have not blemished their Reputation, nor lost the Authority and Honour of their Judgments, by any such Actions as the leading *Savoyers* have done.

* Mr. *Mitchel*, as its said.

And since this Mr. *El-lot* of *New-Eng-*

land hath sent me a printed Paper of his own, contriving a Healing Form of Synods for constant Communion of particular Churches.

§ 151. When the Army had brought themselves and the Nation into utter Confusion, and had set up and pull'd down *Richard Cromwell*, and then had set up the *Rump* again, and pull'd them down again, and set up a *Council of State* of themselves and their Faction, and made *Lambert* their Head, next under *Fleetwood*, (whom they could use almost as they would) at last the Nation would endure them no longer, nor sit still while the world stood laughing them to scorn, as acting over the *Munster Tragedy*: Sir *George Booth* and Sir *Thomas Middleton* raised Forces in *Cheshire* and *North-Wales*: (but the Cavaliers that should have joyned with them

them failed them almost all over the Land; a few rose in some places, but were quickly ruined and came to nothing). *Lambert* quickly routed those in *Cheshire*: Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* with Col. *Morley* get into *Portsmouth*, which is possessed as for the *Rump*. *Monk* declareth against them in *Scotland*, purgeth his Army of the Anabaptists, and marcheth into *England*. The *Rump* Party with *Haselrigge* divided the Army at home, and so disabled them to oppose *Monk*; who marcheth on, and all are afraid of him; and while he declareth himself against Monarchy for a Commonwealth, he tieth the hands of his Enemies by a lie, and uniteth with the City of *London*, and bringeth on again the old ejected Members of the Parliament, and so bringeth in the King. Sir *William Morrice* (his Kinsman) and Mr. *Clarges* were his great Advisers: The Earl of *Manchester*, Mr. *Calamy*, and other Presbyterians, encouraged and perswaded him to bring in the King. At first he joyned with the *Rump* against the Citizens, and pull'd down the City Gates to master them; but at last Sir *Thomas Allen* then Lord Mayor (by the perswasion of Dr. *Jacomb*, and some other Presbyterian Ministers and Citizens, as he hath oft told me himself) invited *Monk* into the City, and drew him to agree and joyn with them against the *Rump* (as they then called the Relicts of the Parliament). And this in truth was the Act that turned the Scales and brought in the King: whether the same men expected to be used as they have since been themselves, I know not: If they did, their Self-denial was very great, who were content to be silenced and laid in Gaols, so they might but bring in the King. After this the old Excluded Members of the Parliament meet with *Monk*; He calleth them to sit, and that the King might come in both by him and by them. He agreeth with them to sit but a few days, and then dissolve themselves and call another Parliament. They consented, and prepared for the King's Restoration, and appointed a Council of State, and Dissolved themselves. Another Parliament is chosen, which calleth in the King, the Council of State having made further preparations for it. (For when the Question was, Whether they should call in the King upon Treaty and Covenant, (which some thought best for him and the Nation) the Council resolved absolutely to trust him, Mr. *A.* especially perswading them so to do). And when the King came in, Col. *Birch* and Mr. *Prin* were appointed to Disband the Army, the several Regiments receiving their Pay in several places, and none of them daring to disobey: No not *Monk's* own Regiments who brought in the King.

Thus did God do a more wonderful Work in the Dissolving of this Army, than any of their greatest Victories was, which set them up. That an Army that had conquered three such Kingdoms, and brought so many Armies to destruction, cut off the King, pull'd down the Parliament, and set up and pull'd down others at their pleasure, that had conquered so many Cities and Castles; that were so united by Principles and Interest and Guilt, and so deeply engaged, as much as their Estates, and Honour, and Lives came to, to have stood it out to the very utmost; that had professed so much of their Wisdom and Religiousness; and had declared such high Resolutions against Monarchy: I say, that such an Army should have one Commander among themselves, whom they accounted not Religious, that should march against them without Resistance, and that they should all stand still, and let him come on, and restore the Parliament, and bring in the King, and disband themselves, and all this without one bloody Nose! Let any Man that hath the use of his Understanding, judge whether this were not enough to prove that there is a God that governeth the World, and disposeth of the Powers of the World according to his Will! And let all Men behold this Pillar of Salt, and standing Monument of Divine Revenge, and take heed of over-valuing Human Strength, and of ever being puffed up by Victories and Success, or of being infatuated by Spiritual Pride and Faction! And let all Men take warning how they trample upon Government, rebel against it, or vilifie the Ministers and Ordinances of Christ, and proudly despise the Warnings of their Brethren.

§ 152. And at the same time while *Monk* was marching against them into *England*, the sober godly Officers of *Ireland* were impatient of the Anabaptists Tyranny: So that Col. *John Bridges* (the Patron of *Kidderminster*) with his Lieutenant *Thompson*, and some few more Officers, resolved upon a desperate surprisal of *Dublin* Castle, (which the Anabaptists possess, with most of the strong Holds): and so happily succeeded, that without any bloodshed they got the Castle: And that being won, the rest of the Garrisons of all the whole Kingdom yielded without any loss of Blood; and unless one or two, without so much as any appearance of a Siege. Thus did God make his wonders to concur in time and manner; and shewed the World the instability of those States which are built upon an Army. He

that will see more of this Surprize of *Dublin Castle*, may read it as printed by Colonel *Bridges* in a short Narrative. Had it not been for that Action, it is probable that *Ireland* would have been the Refuge and *Randevouz* for the disbanded or fugitive Army, and that there they would not only have maintained the War, but have embodied against *England*, and come over again, with Resolutions heightened by their Warnings. The Reward that Col. *Bridges* had for this Service was the peaceful Testimony of his Conscience, and a narrow escape from being utterly ruined; being sued as one that after *Edgill* Fight had taken the King's Goods, in an Action of Fourscore Thousand pound: But all was proved false, and he being cleared by the Court, did quickly after die of a Fever at *Chester*, and go to a more peaceable and desirable World.

§ 153. For my own Actions and Condition all this time, I have partly shewed them in the Second Part: How I was called up to *London*, and what I did there, and with how little Success I there continued my Pacificatory Endeavours. When I had lived there a few Weeks, I fell into another fit of Bleeding, which though it was nothing so great as formerly, yet after my former depauperation by that means and great debility, did weaken me much. Being restored by the mercy of God, and the help of Dr. *Bates*, (and the moss of a dead man's skull which I had from Dr. *Michlethwait*) I went to Mr. *Thomas Foley's* House, where I lived (in *Austin-Fryars*) about a year; and thence to Dr. *Michlethwait's* House in *Little Brittain*, where I tabled about another year: and thence to *Moorfields*, and thence to *Aden*; from which being at the present driven by the Plague, I wait for the further disposal of my Almighty and most Gracious Lord.

§ 154. And now I shall annex for the Reader's satisfaction, an Account of my Books and Writings, on what occasion they were written, and what I now judge of them on a review, and after so much supposition.

§ 155. The Books which I have written (and those that are written against me) are so numerous, that I confess if they plead not to the Reader for themselves, I cannot easily excuse my putting the World to so much trouble. And I was once almost fain out with my self, when I saw such abundance of Sermon Books printed in *Oliver's* days, because I concurred with them in over-loading the World. But God was pleased to keep me from Repentance by their Success; and since then I am more Impenitent herein than ever, as seeing more of the reason of God's disposal than I saw before. For since so many hundred Ministers are silenced, and an Act is now past in the Parliament to forbid us coming within five miles of any City, Corporation, or Burges's Town; and a former Act forbiddeth us speaking to above four that are not of a Family; and knowing what Persons are Ministers in many of our places, I now bless God that his poor Servants have the private help of Books, which are the best Teachers, under God, that many thousand Persons have.

And whereas there are about Fifty Books (as I remember) that in whole or in part are written against me, or some Passages in mine; I bless the Lord that they have not disturbed or discomposed my mind, nor any more hindered me from my greater duty, by Replies; nor been altogether unprofitable to me: And that none of them, nor all of them, any whit disabled me from the Service of God by diminishing my Estimation with those that I have opportunity to serve, or with the common Readers that may profit by my Labours, but only with the Members of the several Factions.

Some are written against me by *Quakers*, *James Nayler*, and many others: Some by *Clement Writer*, and other *Seekers* and *Infidels*: Some by *Papists*; some by *Anabaptists* (Mr. *Tombes*, *Fisher*, and many others): some by Reverend Brethren that understood not all Points of Doctrine as I did (which-ever of us was in the right) (as Mr. *Rutherford*, Mr. *Blake*, Mr. *Burges*, Dr. *Kendall*, &c.) some by *Antinomians*, and some by *Separatists*; and some by good Men that were but half possess'd with their Opinions, (as Mr. *Eires*, Mr. *Crandon*, Mr. *Warner*, &c.): some by proud impatient Men; and some by the Prelatical Party: some by young Men that wanted Preferment, and thought that this was the way to get it; and some by obscure Men that desired to be taken notice of; and some by Flatterers, that desired to please others on whom they did depend; and some by malicious blood-thirsty Calumniators! some by factious Temporizers, (as *Stubbs*, *Rogers*, *Needham*, &c.); and abundance by erroneous impatient Men, that could not endure to be contradicted in their Mistakes. To many of these I have returned Answers; and that some others remain unanswered, is through the restraint of the Press.

§ 156. The first Book that ever I published is a small one, called, *Aphorisms of Justification and the Covenants*, &c. I had first begun my Book, called *The Saints Rest*; and coming in it to answer the Question, How in *Matth. 25.* the reward is adjudged to men on the account of their good works? The chief Propositions of that Book did suddenly offer themselves to me, in order to that Resolution: But I was prepared with much disputing against Antinomianism in the Army. At Sir Thomas Rouss's House, in my weakness, I wrote most of that Book, and finished it when I came to *Kidderminster*. I directed it to Mr. *Vines* and Mr. *Burgeß*, out of my high esteem of them, though my personal acquaintance with them was but small. Mr. *Vines* wrote to me applaudingly of it. Mr. *Burgeß* thought his Name engaged him to write against it.

Two Faults I now find in the Book: 1. It is defective, and hath some Propositions that need Correction, being not cautiously enough expressed. 2. I meddled too forwardly with Dr. *Owen*, and one or two more that had written some Passages too near to Antinomianism. For I was young, and a stranger to mens tempers, and thought others could have born a Confutation as easily as I could do my self; and I thought that I was bound to do my best publicly, to save the World from the hurt of published Errours; not understanding how it would provoke men more passionately to insist on what they once have said. But I have now learned to contradict Errours, and not to meddle with the Persons that maintain them. But indeed I was then too raw to be a Writer.

This Book was over-much valued by some, and over-much blamed by others, both contrary to my own esteem of it: It cost me more than any other that I have written; not only by mens offence, but especially by putting me upon long and tedious Writings. Some that publicly wrote against it, I publicly answered. And because of the general noise about it, I desired those that would have me of their mind, to send me their *Animadversions*; which proved so many, that took me up too much of my time to answer them. But it was a great help to my Understanding: For the *Animadverters* were of several minds; and what one approved another confuted, being further from each other than any of them from me.

The first that I craved *Animadversions* from was Mr. *Burgeß*, and with much ado extorted only two or three Letters against Justification by Works (as he called it): which with my Answers were afterward published; when he had proceeded to print against me what he would not give me in writing.

The next (and full) *Animadversions* which I received, were from Mr. *John Warren*, an honest, acute, ingenious man; to whom I answered in freer Expressions than to others, because he was my Junior and familiar Friend; (being a School-Boy at *Bridgenorth* when I was Preacher there, and his Father being my Neighbour.)

Next his I had *Animadversions* from Dr. *John Wallis*, very judicious and moderate, to which I began to write a Reply, but broke it off in the middle because he little differed from me.

The next I had was from Mr. *Christopher Cartwright* of *York*, (who defended the King against the *Marquess of Worcester*): he was a man of good reading as to our later Divines, and was very well versed in the Common Road, (very like Mr. *Burgeß*); a very good Hebrician, and a very honest worthy Person. His *Animadversions* were most against my distinction of Righteousness into Legal and Evangelical, according to the two Covenants. His Answer was full of Citations out of *Amesius*, *Whittaker*, *Davenant*, &c. I wrote him a full Reply; and he wrote me a Rejoinder; to which my time not allowing me to write a full Confutation, I took up all the Points of Difference between him and me, and handled them briefly, confirming my Reasons, for the ease of the Reader and my self*.

The next *Animadverter* was Mr. *George Lawson*, the ablest Man of them all, or of almost any I know in *England*; especially by the Advantage of his Age and very hard Studies, and methodical Head, but above all, by his great skill in Politicks, wherein he is most exact, and which contributeth not a little to the understanding of Divinity. Though he was himself near the *Arminians* (differing from them in the Point of *Perseverance* as to the *Confirmed*, and some little matters more) and so went farther than I did from the *Antinomians*, yet being conversant with Men of another Mind, to redeem himself from their Offence, he set himself against some Passages of mine, which others marvelled that he of all Men should oppose; especially about the *Object of Faith*, and *Justification*. And afterwards he published an excellent Summ of Divinity, called, *Theopolitica*; in which he insist-

* This is since published.

eth on those two Points, to make good what he had said in his *M. S.* against me: (though the Reader that knoweth not what past between him and me, will not understand how these Passages there fell in, and some Divines have told me how excellent a Book it had been, if he had not been led aside in those Particulars; not knowing how it came to pass, the ablest Men being sometimes most hardly drawn to desert any thing which they have once affirmed). He hath written also Animadversions on *Hobbes*; and a piece of Ecclesiastical and Civil Policy, according to the Method of Politicks; an excellent Book, were it not that he seemeth to justify the Kings Death, and meddle too boldly with the Political Controversies of the times (though he be a Conformist): Also I have seen some ingenuous Manuscripts of his for the taking of the Engagement (to be true to the Commonwealth as established without a King and House of Lords) his Opinion being much for submitting to the present Possessor, though a Usurper): But I thought those Papers easily answerable. His Animadversions on my Papers were large, in which he frequently took occasion to be copious and distinct in laying down his own Judgment, which pleased me very well: I returned him a full Answer, and received from him a large Reply; instead of a Rejoinder to which, I summ'd up our Differences, and spoke to them briefly and distinctly, and not *verbatim* to the Words of his Book. I must thankfully acknowledge that I learnt more from Mr. *Lawson* than from any Divine that gave me Animadversions, or that ever I conversed with: For two or three Passages in my first Reply to him he convinced me were Mistakes, and I found up and down in him those hints of Truths which had a great deal of Light in them, and were very apt for good Improvement: Especially his instigating me to the Study of *Politicks*, (in which he much lamented the Ignorance of Divines) did prove a singular Benefit to me. I confess it is long of my own Uncapability that I have received no more good from others: But yet I must be so grateful as to confess that my Understanding hath made a better Improvement (for the sudden sensible increase of my Knowledge) of *Grotius de Satisfactione Christi*, and of Mr. *Lawson's* Manuscripts, than of any thing else that ever I read; and they convinced me how unfit we are to write about Christ's Government, and Laws, and Judgment, &c. while we understand not the true Nature of Government, Laws and Judgment in the general; and that he that is ignorant of *Politicks* and of the Law of Nature, will be ignorant and erroneous in Divinity and the sacred Scriptures.

§ 157. 2. The Second Book which I wrote (and the first which I began) was that called, *The Saints everlasting Rest*: Whilst I was in Health I had not the least thought of writing Books; or of serving God in any more publick way than Preaching: But when I was weakened with great bleeding, and left solitary in my Chamber at Sir *John Cook's* in *Derbyshire*, without any Acquaintance, but my Servant, about me, and was sentenced to Death by the Physicians, I began to contemplate more seriously on the Everlasting Rest which I apprehended my self to be just on the Borders of. And that my Thoughts might not too much scatter in my Meditation, I began to write something on that Subject, intending but the Quantity of a Sermon or two (which is the cause that the Beginning is in brevity and Style disproportionable to the rest); but being continued long in Weakness, where I had no Books nor no better Employment, I followed it on till it was enlarged to the bulk in which it is published: The first Three Weeks I spent in it was at Mr. *Nowel's* House at *Kirkby-Mallory* in *Leicestershire*; a quarter of a Year more, at the Seasons which so great Weakness would allow, I bestowed on it at Sir *Tho Rous's* House at *Rous-Lench* in *Worcestershire*; and I finished it shortly after at *Kidderminster*: The first and last Parts were first done, being all that I intended for my own use; and the second and third Parts came afterwards in besides my first Intention.

This Book it pleased God so far to bless to the Profit of many, that it encouraged me to be guilty of all those Scripts which after followed. The Marginal Citations I put in after I came home to my Books; but almost all the Book it self was written when I had no Book but a Bible and a Concordance: And I found that the Transcript of the Heart hath the greatest force on the Hearts of others: For the Good that I have heard that Multitudes have received by that Writing, and the Benefit which I have again received by their Prayers, I here humbly return my Thanks to him that compelled me to write it.

§ 159. 3. The Third Book which I published was that which is entituled, *Plain Scripture Proof for Infants Church-Membership and Baptism*: being the Arguments used in

in the Dispute with Mr. Tombes, and an Answer to a Sermon of his afterward preached, &c.

This Book God blessed with unexpected Success to stop abundance from turning Anabaptists, and reclaiming many both in City and Country, (and some of the Officers of the *Irish and English Forces*) and it gave a considerable Check to their Proceedings.

Concerning it I shall only tell the Reader, 1. That there are towards the latter part of it, many enigmatical Reflections upon the Anabaptists for their horrid Scandals, which the Reader that lived not in those times will hardly understand: But the cutting off the King, and rebelling against him and the Parliament, and the Invading *Scotland*, and the approving of these, (with the Ranters and other Sects that sprang out of them) were the Crimes there intended; which were not then to be more plainly spoken of, when their Strength and Fury was so high.

2. Note, that after the writing of that Book, I wrote a Postscript against that Doctrine of Dr. *Burges* and Mr. *Tho. Bedford*, which I supposed to go on the other Extream; and therein I answered part of a Treatise of Dr. *Sam. Ward's* which Mr. *Bedford* published; and it proved to be Mr. *Thomas Gataker* whom I defended, who is Dr. *Ward's* Cenfor; But I knew it not till Mr. *Gataker* after told me.

But after these Writings I was greatly in doubt [whether it be not certain that all the Infants of true Believers are justified and saved if they dye before actual Sin] My Reason was, because, it is the same justifying saving Covenant of Grace which their Parents and they are in: And as real *Faith* and *Repentance* is that Condition on the Parents part which giveth them their right to actual Remission, and Adoption: So to be the *Children of such*, is all the Condition which is required in Infants in order to the same Benefits: And without asserting this the Advantage of the Anabaptists is greater than every one doth imagine. But I never thought with Dr. *Ward* that all *Baptised Children* had this Benefit, and *Qualitative* Sanctification also; nor with Dr. *Burges* and Mr. *Bedford*, that all converted at Age, had inherent seminal Grace in Baptism certainly given them; nor with Bishop *Davenant* that all justly baptised had *relative* Grace of Justification and Adoption: But only that all the Infants of *true Believers* who have right to the Covenant and Baptism *in foro Cæli* as well as *in foro Ecclesiæ*, have also thereby Right to the Pardon of Original Sin, and to Adoption, and to Heaven; which Right is by Baptism to be sealed and delivered to them. This I wrote of to Mr. *Gataker* who returned me a kind and candid Answer, but such as did not remove my Scruple; and this occasioned him to print Bishop *Davenant's* Disputations with his Answer. My Opinion (which I most incline to) is the same which the Synod of *Dort* exprestheth, and that which I conjecture Dr. *Davenant* meant, or I am sure came next to.

Here note also, that Mr. *Tombes* solicited me yet after all this, to write him down my Proofs of Infants Church-membership out of the circumcised Church, which I did at large, as from the Creation downward, as far as Proof could be expected in Proportion to the other Histories of those Times. Instead of sending me an Answer to my Papers, he printed some of them with an insufficient Answer in his last Book: These Papers with a Reply to him I have since Printed.

§ 159. 4. The Fourth Book which I published is a small one, called, *The right Method for Peace of Conscience and spiritual Comfort, in thirty two Directions*. The Occasion of it was this: Mrs. *Bridgis*, the Wife of Col. *John Bridgis*, being one of my Flock, was often weeping out her Doubts to me, about her long and great Uncertainty of her true Sanctification and Salvation. I told her that a few hasty Words were not *Direction* enough for the satisfactory resolving of so great a Case; and therefore I would write her down a few of those necessary Directions which she should read and study, and get well imprinted on her Mind. As soon as I had begun I found 1. that it would not be well done in the Brevity which I expected. 2. And that when it was done it would be as useful to many others of my Flock as to her; and therefore I bestowed more time on it, and made it larger and fit for common use.

This Book pleased Dr. *Hammond* much, and many Rational Persons, and some of those for whom it was written: But the Women and weaker sort I found could not so well improve clear Reason, as they can a few comfortable, warm and pretty Sentences; it is Style and not Reason which doth most with them: And some of the Divines were angry with it, for a Passage or two about Perseverance; because I had said that many Men are certain of their present Sanctification, which are not certain of their Perseverance and Salvation; meaning all the Godly that

are

are assured of their Sanctification, and yet do not hold the certainty of Perseverance. But a great Storm of Jealousie and Censure was by this and some such Words raised against me, by many good Men, who lay more on their Opinions and Party than they ought. Therefore, whereas some would have had me to retract it, and others to leave it out of the next Impression, I did the latter, but instead of it I published not long after

§ 160. 5. My Book called [*R. B's. Judgment about the Perseverance of Believers*] In which I shewed them the Variety of Opinions about Perseverance, and that *Augustine* and *Prosper* themselves did not hold the certain Perseverance of all that are truly sanctified, though they held the Perseverance of all the Elect; but held that there are more Sanctified than are Elect, and that Perseverance is affixed to the Elect as such, and not to the Sanctified as such. (which *Bishop Usher* averred to *Dr. Kendal* before my Face to be most certainly *Austin's* Judgment, though both he and I did incline to another). From hence, and many other Arguments I inferred, that the sharp Censures of Men against their Brethren, for not holding a Point which *Austin* himself was against, and no one Author can be proved to hold from the Apostles Days till long after *Austin*, doth argue less Judgment and Charity than many of the Censurers seem to have. I never heard of any Censure against these Papers, though the few Lines which occasioned them had so much.

§ 161. 6. Before this I had published two Affize Sermons, entituled, *True Christianity*, one of Christ's Dominion, and the other of his Sovereignty over all Men as Redeemer: The first was preached before Judge *Atkins*, Sir *Tho. Rous* being high Sheriff: The second before Serjeant *Glyn*, who desiring me to print it, I thought meet to print the former with it.

§ 162. 7. Also I published my *Apology* against divers that had printed Books against many things which I had written. It consisteth of five parts: 1. An Answer to Mr. *Blake*. 2. An Answer to Dr. *Kendall*. 3. A Confutation of *Ludomæus Colvinus*. 4. An Answer to Mr. *Crandon*. 5. An Answer to Mr. *Eyres*.

The first, Mr. *Blake*, a reverend worthy Man of my acquaintance, in a Treatise of the Covenants had written much, I thought mistakingly against me; and though I replied without any sharpness, it was very displeasing to him.

Dr. *Kendall* was a little quickspirited Man, of great Ostentation and a Considerable Orator and Scholar: He was driven on farther by others than his own Inclination would have led him: He thought to get an Advantage for his Reputation, by a Triumph over *John Goodwin* and me; for those that set him on work would needs have him conjoin us both together, to intimate that I was an Arminian; while I was replying to his first Assault, he wrote a second; and when I had begun a Reply to that, meeting me at *London*, he was so earnest to take up the Controversy, engaging Mr. *Vines* to persuade me that *Bishop Usher* might determine it, and I was so willing to be eased of such work, and to end any thing which might be made a Temptation against Charity, that I quickly yielded to *Bishop Ushers* Arbitriment, who owned my Judgment about Universal Redemption, Perseverance, &c. but desired us to write against each other no more; and so my Second Reply was suppressed.

As for *Ludomæus Colvinus*, it is *Ludovicus Molinæus* a Doctor of Physick, and Son to *Pet. Molinæus*, and publick Professor of History in *Oxford*: He wrote a small Latin Tractate against his own Brother *Cyrus Molinæus*, to prove that Justification is before Faith: I thought I might be bold to confute him who chose the Truth and his own Brother to oppose. Another small Assault the same Author made against me (instead of a Reply) for approving of *Camero* and *Amiraldus's* way about universal Redemption and Grace: To which I answered in the Preface to ther Book: But these things were so far from alienating the Esteem and Affection of the Doctor, that he is now at this Day one of those Friends who are injurious to the Honour of their own Understandings by overvaluing me, and would fain have spent his time in translating some of my Books into the *French* Tongue.

Mr. *Crandon* was a Man that had run from Arminianism into the Extream of half Antinomianism, and having an excessive Zeal for his Opinions (which seem to be honoured by the extolling of Free-grace) and withal being an utter stranger to me, he got a deep conceit that I was a Papist, and in that persuasion wrote a large Book against my *Aphorisms*, which moved laughter in many, and pity in others, and troubled his Friends, as having disadvantaged their Cause. As soon as the Book came abroad, the news of the Author's death came with it, who died a fortnight after its birth. I had before hand got all save the beginning and

and end, out of the Press, and wrote so much of an Answer as I thought it worthy, before the publication of it.

Mr. *Eyres* was a Preacher in *Salisbury* of Mr. *Crandon's* Opinion ; who having preached there for Justification before Faith, (that is, the Justification of Elect Infidels) was publickly confuted by Mr. *Warren*, and Mr. *Woodbridge* (a very judicious Minister of *Newbury*, who had lived in *New England*) : Mr. *Woodbridge* printed his Sermon, which very perspicuously opened the Doctrine of Justification after the method that I had done. Mr. *Eyres* being offended with me as a Partner, gave me some part of his opposition, to whom I returned an Answer in the end : And a few words to Mr. *Caryl* who licensed and approved Mr. *Crandon's* Book, (for the Antinomians were commonly Independants). No one of all the Parties replied to this Book, save only Mr. *Blake* to some part of that which touched him.

§ 163. 8. Because my *Aphorisms* had so provok'd so many, and the noise was very loud against them, to make the Passages plainer which offended them (about Justification, Sanctification, Merit, Punishment, &c.) I wrote a Book, called *The Confession of my Faith* about those matters : which I gave the World to save any more of them from misunderstanding my *Aphorisms*, and declared my Suspension of my *Aphorisms* till I should reprint them, intending only to correct two or three Passages, and elucidate the rest : But afterward I greatly affected to bring them into a small System of Divinity, which having never yet had time to write, I have omitted the reprinting of them to this day ; (But some have surreptitiously printed them against my will).

In my *Confession* I opened the whole Doctrine of Antinomianism which I opposed, and I brought the Testimonies of abundance of our Divines, who give as much to other Acts besides Faith, in Justification as I. And I opened the weakness of Dr. *Owen's* Reasonings for Justification before Faith, in his former Answer to me. To which he wrote an Answer, annexing it to his Confutation of *Biddle* and the *Cracovian Catechism* (to intimate that I belonged to that Party) that I thought it unfit to make any Reply to it, not only because I had no vacancy from better work, but because the quality of it was such as would unavoidably draw me, if I confuted it, to speak so much and so offensively to the Person, as well as the Doctrine, that it would have been a Temptation to the further weakening of his Charity, and increasing his desire of Revenge : And I thought it my duty (when the Readers good required me not to write) to forbear replying, and to let him have the last word, because I had begun with him. And I perceived that the common distast of Men against him and his Book made my Reply the more unnecessary.

But for all the Writings and Wrath of Men which were provoked against me, I must here record my Thanks to God for the Success of my Controversial Writings against the Antinomians : when I was in the Army it was the predominant Infection : The Books of Dr. *Crisp*, *Paul Hobson*, *Salmarsh*, *Craddock*, and abundance such like were the Writings most applauded ; and he was thought no Spiritual Christian, but a Legalist that savoured not of Antinomianism, which was sugared with the Title of *Free-grace* ; and others were thought to preach the Law, and not to preach Christ. And I confess, the darkness of many Preachers in the Mysteries of the Gospel, and our common neglect of studying and preaching Grace, and Gratitude, and Love, did give occasion to the prevalency of this Sect, which God no doubt permitted for our good, to review our apprehension of those Evangelical Graces and Duties which we barely acknowledged, but in our practice almost over-lookt. But this Sect that then so much prevailed, was so suddenly almost extinct, that now they little appear, and make no noise among us at all, nor have done these many years ! In which effect those ungrateful Controversial Writings of my own have had so much hand, as obligeth me to very much Thankfulness to God.

§ 164. About that time having been at *London*, and preached some Sermons there, one scrap of a Sermon preached in *Westminster-Abbey* to many Members of Parliament, was taken by some one and printed ; which is nothing but the naming of a few Directions which I then gave the Parliament Men for Church Reformation and Peace, according to the state of those Times which it was preached in. (In *Oliver Cromwell's* time.)

§ 165. 10. And when I was returned home I was solicited by Letters to print many of the Sermons which I had preached in *London* ; and in some of them I gratified their desires : One Sermon which I published was against *Mens making*
high

light of Christ, upon *Matth. 22. 5.* This Sermon was preached at *Lawrence Jury*, where Mr. *Vines* was Pastor : where though I sent the day before to secure room for the Lord *Brogbill*, and the Earl of *Suffolk*, with whom I was to go in the Coach, yet when I came, the Crowd had so little respect of Persons, that they were fain to go home again, because they could not come within hearing, and the old Earl of *Warwick* (who stood in the Abbey) brought me home again : And Mr. *Vines* himself was fain to get up into the Pulpit, and sit behind me, and I to stand between his Legs : which I mention that the Reader may understand that Verse in my Poem concerning him which is printed, where I say, That

At once one Pulpit held us both.

§ 166. 11. Another of those Sermons which I published was, *A Sermon of Judgment*, which I enlarged into a small Treatise. This was preached at *Pauls* at the desire of Sir *Christopher Pack*, then Lord Mayor, to the greatest Auditory that I ever saw.

§ 167. 12. Another Sermon which I preached at *Martin's Church*, I printed with enlargement, called, *Catholick Unity* ; shewing the great necessity of *Unity* in real Holiness : It is fitted to the prophane and ignorant People, who are still crying out against Errours and Divisions about lesser matters, while they themselves do practically and damnably err in the Foundation, and divide themselves from God, from Christ, from the Spirit, and from all the living Members of Christ : And it sheweth how greatly Ungodliness tendeth to Divisions, and Godliness to the truest Unity and Peace.

§ 168. 13. About that time I had preached a Sermon at *Worcester*, which (though rude and not polished) I thought meet to print, under the Title of *The true Catholick*, and *The Catholick Church described* : It is for Catholicism against all Sects ; to shew the Sin and Folly and Mischief of all Sects that would appropriate the Church to themselves, and trouble the World with the Question, Which of all these Parties is the Church ? as if they knew not that the Catholick Church is *that whole* which containeth all the Parts, though some more pure, and some less : especially it is suited against the Romish Claim, which damneth all Christians besides themselves ; and it detecteth and confuteth dividing Principles : For I apprehended it a Matter of great Necessity to imprint true Catholicism on the Minds of Christians ; it being a most lamentable thing to observe how few Christians in the World there be, that fall not into one Sect or other, and wrong not the common Interest of Christianity, for the promoting of the Interest of their Sect : And how lamentably Love is thereby destroyed, so that most men think not that they are bound to love those, as the Members of Christ, which are against their Party, and the Leaders of most Sects do not stick to persecute those that differ from them, and think the Blood of those who hinder their Opinions, and Parties, to be an acceptable Sacrifice to God. And if they can but get to be of a Sect which they think the *holiest* (as the Anabaptists and Separatists), or which is the *largest*, (as the Greeks and Papists) they think then that they are sufficiently warranted, to deny others to be God's Church, or at least to deny them Christian Love and Communion.

To this small Book I annexed a Poscript against a ridiculous Pamphlet of one *Malpas*, an old scandalous neighbour Minister, who was permitted to stay in by the Parliament, (so far were they from being over-strict in their Reformation of the Clergy) and now is a considerable Man among them.

§ 169. 14. When we set on foot our Association in *Worcestershire*, I was desired to print our Agreement, with an Explication of the several Articles : which I did in a small Book, called, *Christian Concord* : In which I gave the reasons why the Episcopal, Presbyterians, and Independants might and should unite on such Terms, without any change of any of their Principles : But I confess that the new Episcopal Party, that follow *Grotius* too far, and deny the very being of all the Ministers and Churches that have not Diocesan Bishops, are not capable of Union with the rest upon such Terms : And hereby I gave notice to the Gentry and others of the Royalists in *England*, of the great danger they were in of changing their Ecclesiastical Cause, by following new Leaders that were for *Grotianism*. But this Admonition did greatly offend the Guilty, who now began to get the Reins ; though the old Episcopal Protestants confessed it to be all true. There is nothing bringeth greater hatred and sufferings on a Man, than to foreknow the mischief that Men in power are doing, and intend, and to warn the World of it : For while they are resolutely going on with it, they will proclaim him a Slanderer :
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that revealeth it, and use him accordingly, and never be ashamed when they have done it, and thereby declared all which he foretold to be true.

§ 170. 15. Having in the *Postscript* of my *True Catholick*, given a short touch against a bitter Book of Mr. *Thomas Pierce's*, against the Puritans and me, it pleased him to write another Volume against Mr. *Hickman* and me, just like the Man; full of malignant bitterness against Godly men that were not of his Opinion; and breathing out blood-thirsty malice, in a very Rhetorical fluent style. Abundance of Lies also are in it against the old Puritans, as well as against me; and in particular in charging *Hacket's* Villany upon *Cartwright* as a Confederate: which I instance in, because I have (out of old Mr. *Ash's* Library) a Manuscript of Mr. *Cartwright's* containing his full Vindication against that Calumny, which some would fain have fastened on him in his time.

But Mr. *Pierce's* principal business was to defend *Grotius*: In answer to which I wrote a little Treatise, called, *The Grotian Religion discovered, at the Invitation of Mr. Thomas Pierce*: In which I cited his own words, especially out of his *Discussio Apologetica Rerum etiam*, wherein he openeth his Terms of Reconciliation with Rome, viz. That it be acknowledged the Mistress Church, and the Pope have his Supream Government, but not *Arbitrary*, but only according to the *Canons*; To which end he defendeth the Council of *Trent* it self, Pope *Pius's* Oath, and all the Councils, which is no other than the *French* sort of Popery: I had not then heard of the Book written in *France*, called *Grotius Papizans*, nor of *Sarravius's Epistles*, in which he witnesseth it from his own mouth. But the very words which I cited contain an open Profession of Popery. This Book the Printer abused, printing every Section so distant, to fill up Paper, as if they had been several Chapters.

And in a Preface before it, I vindicated the Synod of *Dort* (where the Divines of *England* were chief Members) from the abusive virulent Accusations of one that called himself *Tilenus junior*. Hereupon *Pierce* wrote a much more railing malicious Volume than the former, (the liveliest Express of Satan's Image, malignity, bloody malice, and falshood, covered in handsome railing Rhetorick, (that ever I have seen from any that called himself a Protestant). And the Preface was answered just in the same manner by one that stiled himself *Philo-Tilenus*. Three such Men as this *Tilenus junior*, *Pierce* and *Gunning*, I have not heard of besides in *England*! Of the Jesuites Opinion in Doctrinals, and of the old *Dominican* Complexion; the ablest Men that their Party hath in all the Land; of great diligence in study and reading; of excellent Oratory (especially *Tilenus junior* and *Pierce*); of temperate Lives; but all their Parts so sharpened with a furious persecuting Zeal, against those that dislike Arminianism, high Prelacy, or full Conformity, that they are like the Briars and Thorns which are not to be handled, but by a fenced hand, and breathe out Terebrations against God's Servants better than themselves; and seem unsatisfied with blood and ruines, and still cry, *Give, Give*; bidding as lowd defiance to *Christian Charity*, as ever *Arrius* or any Heretick did to *Faith*.

This Book of mine of the *Grotian Religion* greatly offended many others: but none of them could speak any Sense against it, the Citations for Matter of Fact being unanswerable. And it was only the Matter of Fact which I undertook, viz. To prove that *Grotius* profest himself a moderate Papist: But for his fault in so doing, I little medled with it.

§ 171. 16. Mr. *Blake* having replied to some things in my *Apology*, especially about Right to Sacraments, or the just Subject of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, I wrote five Disputations on those Points, proving that it is not the reality of a Dogmatical (or Justifying) Faith, nor yet the Profession of bare Assent (called a Dogmatical Faith by many); but only the Profession of a Saving Faith, which is the Condition of Mens title to Church-Communion *Coram Ecclesiâ*: and that Hypocrites are but Analogically or Equivocally called *Christians*, and *Believers*, and *Saints*, &c. with much more to decide the most troublesome Controversie of that Time, which was about the Necessary Qualification and Title of Church-Members and Communicants: Many men have been perplexed about that Point, and that Book. Some think it cometh too near the Independants, and some that it is too far from them; and many think it very hard, that [A Credible Profession] of True Faith and Repentance, should be made the stated Qualification; because they think it incredible that all the Jewish Members were such: But I have sifted this Point more exactly and diligently in my thoughts, than almost any Controversie whatsoever: And fain I would have found some other Qualification to take up with, (1. Either the Profession of some lower Faith than that which hath the Promise of Salvation; 2. Or at least such a Profession of Saving Faith, as needeth not to

be credible at all, &c.) But the Evidence of Truth hath forced me from all other ways, and suffered me to rest no where but here. That *Profession* should be made necessary without any respect at all to *Credibility*, and consequently to the *verity* of the *Faith* professed, is *incredible*, and a Contradiction, and the very word *Profession* signifieth more. And I was forced to observe, that those that in *Charity* would believe *another Profession* to be the title to Church-Communion, do greatly cross their own design of *Charity*: And while they would not be bound to *believe* men to be what they *profess*, for fear of excluding many whom they cannot *believe*, they do leave themselves and all others as not obliged to love any Church-Member as such, with the love which is due to a True Christian, but only with such a Love as they owe to the Members of the Devil; and so deny them the Kernel of *Charity*, by giving the Shell to a few more than else they would do. Whereas upon my deepest search, I am satisfied that a *Credible Profession of true Christianity*, is it that denominateth (the Adult) *visible Christians*: And that this must contain Assent and Consent, even all that is in the Baptismal Covenant, and no more; and therefore Baptism is called our Christning: But withal, that the Independants bring in Tyranny and Confusion, whilst they will take no *Profession* as *Credible*, which hath not more to make it credible than God and *Charity* require: And that indeed every man's word is to be taken as the *Credible Profession* of his own mind, unless he forfeit the *Credit* of his word, by *gross ignorance of the Matter professed*, or by a *Contrary Profession*, or by an *inconsistent Life*: And therefore a *Profession* is credible *as such*, of it self, till he that questioneth it doth disprove it. Else the Rules of *Humane* Converse will be overthrown: for who knoweth the Heart of another so well as he himself: And God who will *save or damn* men, not for other *mens* Actions but their own, will have *mens* own *choosing* or *refusing* to be their *inlet* or *exclusion*, both as to Saving Mercy, and to a Church state: And if they be Hypocrites in a false *Profession*, the sin and loss will be their own. But I confess *mens Credibility* herein hath very various degrees: But though my fears are never so great, that a man dissembleth and is not sincere, yet if I be not able to bring in that Evidence to invalidate his *Profession*, which *in foro Ecclesie* shall prove it to be *incredible*, I ought to receive him as a credible Professor, though but by a *Humane*, and perhaps most *debile* Belief.

§ 172. 17. After that I published four Disputations of Justification, clearing up further those Points in which some Reverend Brethren blamed my Judgment; and answering Reverend Mr. Burges (who would needs write somewhat against me in his Treatise of *Imputed Righteousness*); and also answering a Treatise of Mr. Warner's of the Office and Object of *Justifying Faith*: The Fallacies that abuse many about those Points are there fully opened.

If the Reader would have the Sum of my Judgment about Justification, in brief, he may find it very plainly in a Sermon on that Subject, among the *Morning Exercises* at St. Giles's in the Fields, preached by my worthy Friend Mr. Gibbons of Black-Fryars, (in whose Church I ended my Publick Ministry); a Learned Judicious Man, now with God. And it is as fully opened in a Latin Disputation of Monsieur le Blanc's of Sedan; and *Placcus in Thef. Salmur. Vol. 1. de Justif.* hath much to the same purpose.

§ 173. 18. Near the same time I published a Treatise of Conversion, being some plain Sermons on that Subject, which Mr. Baldwin (an honest young Minister that had lived in my House, and learnt my proper Characters, or Short-hand, in which I wrote my Sermon Notes) had transcribed out of my Notes. And though I had no leisure, for this or other Writings, to take much care of the stile, nor to add any Ornaments, or Citations of Authors, I thought it might better pass as it was, than not at all; and that if the Author mist of the Applause of the Learned, yet the Book might be profitable to the Ignorant, as it proved through the great Mercy of God.

§ 174. 19. Also I published a shorter Treatise on the same Subject, entituled, *A Call to the Unconverted*, &c. The Occasion of this was my Converse with Bishop Usher while I was at London, who much approving my *Method* or *Directions* for *Peace of Conscience*, was importunate with me to write *Directions* suited to the various States of *Christians*, and also against particular Sins: I revered the Man, but disregarded these Persuasions, supposing I could do nothing but what is done as well or better already: But when he was dead his Words went deeper to my Mind, and I purposed to obey his Counsel; yet so as that to the *first sort* of Men (the Ungodly) I thought vehement Persuasions meetier than Directions only: And so for this I published this little Book; which God hath blessed with unexpected Success

cells beyond all the rest that I have written (except *The Saints Rest*): In a little more than a Year there were about twenty thousand of them printed by my own Consent, and about ten thousand since, besides many thousands by stolen Impressions, which poor Men stole for Lucre sake: Through God's Mercy I have had Information of almost whole Households converted by this small Book, which I set so light by: And as if all this in *England, Scotland and Ireland* were not Mercy enough to me, God (since I was silenced) hath sent it over on his Message to many beyond the Seas; for when Mr. *Elliot* had printed all the Bible in the *Indians* Language, he next translated this my *Call to the Unconverted*, as he wrote to us here: And though it was here thought prudent to begin with the Practice of Piety, because of the envy and distaste of the times against me, he had finished it before that Advice came to him. And yet God would make some farther use of it; for Mr. *Stoop* the Pastor of the *French Church* in *London*, being driven hence by the displeasure of Superiors, was pleased to translate it into elegant *French*, and print it in a very curious Letter, and I hope it will not be unprofitable there; nor in *Germany*, where it is printed in *Dutch*.

§ 175. 20. After this I thought, according to Bishop *Usher's* Method, the next sort that I should write for, is those that are under the work of Conversion, because by *Half-Conversions* Multitudes prove deceived Hypocrites: Therefore I published a small Book entituled, *Directions and Persuasions to a sound Conversion*; which though I thought more apt to move than the former, yet through the Fault of the covetous Booksellers, and because it was held at too high a Price (which hindred many other of my Writings), there were not past two or three Impressions of them sold.

§ 176. 21. About that time being apprehensive how great a part of our Work lay in catechising the Aged who were Ignorant, as well as Children, and especially in serious Conference with them about the Matters of their Salvation, I thought it best to draw in all the Ministers of the Country with me, that the Benefit might extend the farther, and that each one might have the less Opposition. Which having procured, at their desire I wrote a Catechism, and the Articles of our Agreement, and before them an earnest Exhortation to our Ignorant People to submit to this way (for we were afraid lest they would not have submitted to it): And this was then published. The Catechism was also a brief Confession of Faith, being the Enlargement of a Confession which I had before printed in an open Sheet, when we set up Church Discipline.

§ 177. 22. When we set upon this great Work, it was thought best to begin with a Day of Fasting and Prayer by all the Ministers at *Worcester*, where they desired me to preach: But Weakness and other things hindred me from that Day; but to compensate that, I enlarged and published the Sermon which I had prepared for them, and entituled the Treatise, *Gildas Salvianus* (because I imitated *Gildas* and *Salvianus* in my Liberty of Speech to the Pastors of the Churches) or *The reformed Pastor*: I have very great Cause to be thankful to God for the Success of that Book, as hoping many thousand Souls are the better for it, in that it prevailed with many Ministers to set upon that Work which I there exhort them to: Even from beyond the Seas, I have had Letters of Request, to direct them how they might bring on that Work according as that Book had convinced them that it was their Duty. If God would but reform the Ministry, and set them on their Duties zealously and faithfully, the People would certainly be reformed: All Churches either rise or fall as the Ministry doth rise or fall, (not in Riches and worldly Grandure) but in Knowledge, Zeal and Ability for their Work. But since Bishops were restored this Book is useless, and that Work not medled with.

§ 178. 23. When the part of the Parliament called the Rump or Commonwealth was sitting, the Anabaptists, Seekers &c. flew so high against Tythes and Ministry, that it was much feared lest they would have prevailed at last: Wherefore I drew up a Petition for the Ministry, which is printed under the Name of the *Worcestershire* Petition, which being presented by Coll. *John Bridges* and Mr. *Thomas Foley*, was accepted with Thanks; and seemed to have a considerable tendency to some good Resolutions.

§ 179. But the Sectaries greatly raged against that Petition, and one wrote a vehement Invective against it; which I answered in a Paper called, *The Defence of the Worcestershire Petition* (which by an Over-sight is maimed by the want of the Answer to one of the Accusers Queries). I knew not what kind of Person he was that I wrote against, but it proved to be a Quaker, they being just now rising, and

this being the first of their Books, (as far as I can remember) that I had ever seen.

§ 180. 24. Presently upon this the Quakers began to make a great Stir among us, and acted the Parts of Men in Raptures, and spake in the manner of Men inspired, and every where railed against Tythes and Ministers. They sent many Papers of Queries to divers Ministers about us: And to one of the chief of them I wrote an Answer, and gave them as many more Questions to answer, entitling it, *The Quakers Catechism*: These Pamphlets being but one or two Days Work, were no great Interruption to my better Labours, and as they were of small Worth, so also of small Cost. The same Ministers of our Country that are now silenced, are they that the Quakers most vehemently opposed, meddling little with the rest. The marvellous concurrence of Instruments telleth us, that one principal Agent doth act them all. I have oft asked the Quakers lately, why they chose the same Ministers to revile, whom all the Drunkards and Swearers rail against? And why they cryed out in our Assemblies, *Come down thou Deceiver, thou Hireling, thou Dog*; and now never meddle with the Pastors or Congregations? And they answer, 1. That these Men sin in the open Light, and need none to discover them. 2. That the Spirit hath his times both of Severity, and of Lenity. But the Truth is, they knew then they might be bold without any Fear of Suffering by it: And now it is time for them to save their Skins; they suffer enough for their own Assemblies.

181. 25. The great Advancement of the Popish Interest by their secret agency among the Sectaries, Seekers, Quakers, Behmenists, &c. did make me think it necessary to do something directly against Popery; and so I published three Disputations against them, one to prove our Religion safe, and another to prove their Religion unsafe; and a third to shew that they overthrew the Faith by the ill Resolution of their Faith. This Book I entituled, *The safe Religion*.

§ 182. 26. About the same time I fell into troublesome Acquaintance with one *Clement Writer of Worcester*, an ancient Man that (had long seemed a forward Professor of Religion, and of a good Conversation, but was now perverted to I know not what: A Seeker he profest to be, but I easily perceived that he was either a juggling Papist or an Infidel; but I more suspected the latter: He had written a scornful Book against the Ministry, called *Jus Divinum Presbyterii*, and after two more against the Scripture and against me, one called *Fides Divina*, the other's Title I remember not: His Assertion to me was, that no Man is bound to believe in Christ that doth not see confirming Miracles himself with his own Eyes.

By the Provocations of this Apostate, I wrote a Book, called, *The unreasonableness of Infidelity*, consisting of four Parts: The first, of the extrinick Witness of the Spirit by Miracles, &c. to which I annexed a Disputation against *Clement Writer*, to prove that the Miracles wrought by Christ and his Apostles, oblige us to believe that did not see them. The Second part was of the intrinick Witness of the Spirit, to Christ and Scripture. The Third was of the Sin or Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. And the Fourth was to repress the Arrogancy of reasoning against Divine Revelations. All this was intended but as a Supplement to the Second Part of *The Saints Rest*, where I had pleaded for the Truth of Scripture: But this Subject I have since more fully handled in my *Reasons of the Christian Religion*.

At that time Mr. Gilbert, a learned Minister in *Shropshire* wrote a small concise Tractate in Latin (as against a Book of Dr. Owen's, though his intimate Friend) to prove that Christ's Death was not necessary absolutely, but of Divine Free Choice; and in answer to that Book, I wrote a brief Premonition to my Treatise against Infidelity to decide that Controversy.

§ 183. 27. Mr. *Tho. Foley* being High Sheriff, desired me to preach before the Judges; which I did on *Gal. 6. 16.* and enlarged it to a Treatise, entituled, *The Crucifying of the World by the Cross of Christ*; for Mortification; and put an Epistle somewhat large before it to provoke rich Men to good Works.

§ 184. 28. Some Men about this time persuaded me, that if I would write a few single Sheets on several Subjects, though the Style were not very moving, yet it would do more good than larger Volumes, because most People will buy and read them, who will neither buy nor read the larger. Whereupon I wrote first, *One Sheet against the Quakers*, containing those Reasons which should satisfy all sober Men against their way.

§ 185. 29. The second Sheet I called *A Winding Sheet for Popery*, containing a Summary of Moderate and Effectual Reasons against Popery: (which single sheet no Papist hitherto hath answered.)

§ 186. 30. The third Sheet was called [*One Sheet for the Ministry, against the Malignants of all sorts*]; containing those Reasons for the present Ministry which shew the greatness of the Sin of those that set against them. It was intended then against the Quakers and other Sectarian Enemies to the Ministry: but is as useful for these Times, and against those that on other pretences hate, and silence, and suppress them; and might tell their Consciences what they do.

§ 187. 31. The fourth Sheet I called [*A Second Sheet for the Ministry*]; being a Defence of their Office as continued, against the *Seekers*, who pretend that the Ministry is ceased and lost: And it may serve against the Papists that question our Call for want of a Succession; and all their Spawn of Sectaries that are still setting themselves against the Ministry, (and against the Sacred Scriptures).

§ 188. 32. Mr. William Montford being chosen Bayliff of *Kidderminster*, desired me to write him down a few brief Instructions for the due Execution of his Office of Magistracy, that he might so pass it as to have Comfort and not Trouble in the Review; which having done, considering how many Mayors, and Bayliffs, and Countrey Justices needed it as well as he, I printed it in an open Sheet to stick upon a Wall, Entituled, *Directions for Justices of Peace, especially in Corporations; for the Discharge of their Duties to God*; (suited to those Times.)

§ 189. 33. Mr. John Dury having spent thirty Years in Endeavours to reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinists, was now going over Sea again upon that Work, and desired the Judgment of our Association how it should be successfully expedited; which at their desire I drew up more largely in Latin, and more briefly in English: The English Letter he printed, as my Letter to Mr. Dury for Pacification.

§ 190. 34. About that time Mr. Jonathan Hammer of *Devonshire* wrote a Treatise for Confirmation, as the most expedient means to reform our Churches, and reconcile all that disagree about the Qualification of Church Members: I liked the Design so well (having before written for it in my Treatise of Baptism) that being requested, I put a large Epistle before it; and after that, when some Brethren desired me to produce more Scripture Proof for it than he had done, I wrote a small Treatise called, [*Confirmation and Restauration the necessary means to Reformation and Reconciliation.*] But the times changed before it could be much practised.

§ 191. 35. Sergeant Shephard, an honest Lawyer, wrote a little Book of *Sincerity and Hypocrisy*; and in the end of it Mr. Tho. Barlow (afterward Bishop of *Lincoln*) wrote (without his Name) an Appendix in Confutation of a supposed Opinion of mine, that Saving Grace differeth not *Specie* but *Gradu* from Common Grace: To which I replied in a short Discourse called [*Of Saving Faith, &c.*] I had most highly valued the Author whom I wrote against, long before, for his Six Exercitations in the end of *Schibler's Metaphysics*: But in his Attempt against me, he came quite below himself, as I made manifest; and he resolved to make no Answer to it. In this Tractate the Printer plaid his part so shamefully, that the Book is scarcely to be understood.

§ 192. 36. Being greatly apprehensive of the Commonness and Danger of the Sin of *Selfishness*, as the Summ and Root of all positive Evil, I preached many Sermons against it; and at the Request of some Friends I published them, entituled, *A Treatise of Self-denial*; which found better acceptance than most of my other, but yet prevented not the ruine of Church and State, and Millions of Souls by that Sin.

§ 193. 37. After that I published, *Five Disputations about Church-Government*, in order to the Reconciliation of the differing Parties: In the first I proved that the English Diocesane Prelacy is intollerable (which none hath answered): In the second I have proved the Validity of the Ordination then exercised without Diocesanes in *England* (which no Man hath answered, though many have urged Men to be re-ordained). In the third I proved that there are divers sorts of Episcopacy lawful and desirable. In the fourth and fifth I shew the lawfulness of some Ceremonies and of a Liturgy, and what is unlawful here.

This Book being published when Bishops, Liturgy and Ceremonies were most decried and opposed, was of good use to declare my Judgment when the King came in; for if I had said as much then, I had been judged but a Temporizer: But as it was effectual to settle many in a Moderation, so it made abundance of Conformists afterwards (or was pretended at least to give them Satisfaction): Though it never meddled with the greatest Parts of Conformity (Renouncing Vows, Assent and Consent to all things in three Books, &c.); and though it unanswerably confuted our Prelacy and Re-ordination, and consequently the Renunciation of the Vow against Prelacy; and opposed the Cross in Baptism. But *Sic*
vitant

vitant Stulti Vitia (as my Aphorisms made some Arminians). If you discover an Error to an injudicious Man, he reeleth into the contrary Error, and it is hard to stop him in the middle Verity.

§ 194. 38. At the same time I published another Book against Popery, fit for the defensive Part, and instructing Protestants how to answer any Papist. It is entitled, *A Key for Catholicks, to open the juggling of the Jesuits, and satisfie all that are but truly willing to understand whether the Cause of the Roman or Reformed Churches be of God.*

In this Treatise, proving that the Blood of the King is not by Papists to be charged upon Protestants, I plainly hazarded my Life against the Powers that then were; and grievously incensed Sir *H. Vane* (as is before declared): And yet Mr. *J. N.* was so tender of the Papists Interest, that having before been offended with me for a Petition against Popery, and (a Justice of all times) spake against it on the Bench, and his Displeasure encreased by this Book; he took occasion since the King came in, to write against me for those very Passages which condemned the King-killers: Because comparing the Case with the Doctrine and Practice of the Papists, I shewed that the Sectarians and Cromwelians had of the two a more plausible Pretence, (which I there recited) he confuteth those Pretences of theirs as if they had been my own; thereby to make the World believe that I wrote for the King's Death, in the very Pages where to the hazard of my Life I wrote against it; when he himself took the Engagement against the King and the House of Lords, and was a Justice under *Oliver*, and more than so, signed Orders for the sequestering of others of the King's Party. But the great Indignation against this Book and the former, is, that they were by Epistles directed to *Ri. Cromwell* as Lord Protector, which I did only to provoke him that had Power, to use it well, when the Parliament had sworn Fidelity to him; and that without any Word of Approbation to his Title.

Yet those that were not prejudiced by partiality against this Book (my *Key for Catholicks*) have let me know that it hath not been without Success: It being indeed a sufficient Armory, for to furnish a Protestant to defend his Religion against all the Assaults of the Papists whatsoever, and teacheth him how to answer all their Books. The second part doth briefly deal with the French and Grotian Party, that are for the Supremacy of a Council, at least as to the Legislative Power, and sheweth that we never had a general Council, nor can it be at all expected.

§ 195. 39. But the Book which hath furnished my Enemies with matter of Reviling (which none must dare to answer) is my *Holy Commonwealth*: The Occasion of it was this; when our Pretorian Sectarian Bands had cut all Bonds and pulled down all Government, and after the Death of the King had twelve Years kept out his Son, few Men saw any probability of his Restitution; and every self-conceited Fellow was ready to offer his Model for a new Form of Government: Mr. *Hobbs* his *Leviathan* had pleased many: Mr. *Tho. White* the great Papist, had written his Politicks in English for the Interest of the Protector, to prove that Subjects ought to submit and subject themselves to such a Change: And now Mr. *James Harrington* (they say by the help of Mr. *H. Nevill*) had written a Book in Folio for a Democracy, called *Oceana*, seriously describing a Form near to the *Venetian*, and setting the People upon the Desires of a Change: And after this Sir *H. Vane* and his Party were about their Sectarian Democratical Model, which *Stubbs* defended; and *Rogers* and *Needham* (and Mr. *Bagshaw* had written against Monarchy before). In the end of an Epistle before my Book of [*Crucifying the World*] I had spoken a few Words against this Innovation and Opposition to Monarchy; and having especially touched upon *Oceana* and *Leviathan*, Mr. *Harrington* seemed in a *Bethlehem* Rage; for by way of Scorn he printed half a Sheet of foolish Jeers, in such Words as Ideots or Drunkards use, railing at Ministers as a Pack of *Fools* and *Knaves*, and by his gibberish Derision persuading Men that we deserved no other Answer than such Scorn and Nonsense as becometh Fools: And with most insolent Pride he carried it, as if neither I nor any Ministers understood at all what Policy was; but prated against we knew not what, and had presumed to speak against other Mens Art, which he was Master of, and his Knowledge to such Ideots as we incomprehensible. This made me think it fit, having given that General hint against his *Oceana*, to give a more particular Charge, and withal to give the World and him an Account of my Political Principles, and to shew what I held as well as what I denied; which I did in that Book called, *Political Aphorisms*, or *A Holy Commonwealth*, as contrary to his *Heathenish Commonwealth*: In which I plead the Cause of Monarchy as better than Democracy and Aristocracy; but as
under

under God the Universal Monarch. Here Bishop Morley hath his Matter of Charge against me; of which one part is that I spake against *Unlimited Monarchy*, because God himself hath limited all Monarchs. If I had said that *Laws* limit Monarchs, I might among some men be thought a Traytor, and unexcusable: but to say that God limiteth Monarchs, I thought had never before been chargeable with Treason, or opposed by any that believed that there is a God. If they are indeed unlimited in respect of God, we have many Gods or no God. But now it is dangerous to meddle with these matters: Most men say now, *Let God defend himself*.

In the end of this Book is an *Appendix* concerning the Cause of the Parliaments first War, which was thus occasioned: Sir Francis Nethercole a Religious Knight, who was against the lawfulness of the War on both sides, sent his man to me, with Letters to advise me to tell Cromwell of his Usurpation, and to counsel him to call in the King; of which when I had given him satisfaction, he sent him again with more Letters and Books, to convince me of the unlawfulness of the Parliament's War: And others attempting the same at the same time; and the Confusions which the Army had brought upon us, being such as made me very much disposed to think ill of those beginnings which had no better an end, I thought it best to publish my Detestation and Lamentation for those Rebellious Proceedings of the Army, (which I did as plainly as could be born, both in an Epistle to them, and in a Meditation in the end), and withal to declare the very Truth, that hereby I was made suspicious and doubtful of the beginnings or first Cause, but yet was not able to answer the Arguments which the Lawyers of the Parliament then gave, and which had formerly inclined me to that side. I confessed, that if mens Miscarriages and ill Accidents would warrant me to Condemn the beginnings which were for another Cause, then I should have condemned them: But that being not the way, I found my self yet unable to answer the first Reasons; and therefore laid them down together, desiring the help of others to answer them, professing my own suspicion, and my daily Prayers to God for just satisfaction. And this Paper is it that containeth all my Crimes. Against this, one Tomkins wrote a Book, called, *The Rebels Plea*. But I wait in silence till God enlighten us.

In the beginning of this Book having reprehended the Army, I answer a Book of Sir Henry Vane's, called, *The Healing Question*. It was published when Richard Cromwell was pull'd down, and Sir H. Vane's New Commonwealth was forming.

§ 196. 40. About the same time, one that called himself *W. Johnson*, (but I hear his Name is Mr. Terret) a Papist, engaged me in a Controversie, about the perpetual visibility of the Church; which afterwards I published; the story of which you have more at large in the following part of this Book. In the latter I inserted a Letter of one Thomas Smyth a Papist, with my Answer to it, which it seemeth occasioned his recovery from them, as is manifest in a Letter of Mr. Thomas Stanley his Kinsman (a sober godly man in Breadstreet) which I by his own consent subjoyned. To this Book Mr. Johnson hath at last replied; and I have since return'd an Answer to him.

§ 197. 41. Having been desired in the time of our Associations, to draw up those Terms which all Christian Churches may hold Communion upon; I published them, though too late for any such use (till God give men better minds) that the World might see what our Religion and our Terms of Communion were; and that if after Ages prove more peaceable, they may have some light from those that went before them. It consisteth of three parts:

The first containeth the Christian Religion, which all are positively to profess, that is, Either to subscribe the Scriptures in general, and the ancient Creeds in particular; or at most, The Confession (or Articles) annexed: e.g. [I do believe all the Sacred Canonical Scripture, which all Christian Churches do receive; and particularly I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c.]

The second Part (instead of Books of unnecessary Canons) containeth seven or eight Points of Practice for Church Order, which, so it be practised, it is no great matter whether it be subscribed or not. And here it must be understood that these are written for Times of Liberty, in which Agreement rather than Force doth procure Unity and Communion.

The third Part containeth the larger Description of the Office of the Ministry, and consequently of all the Ordinances of Worship; which need not be subscribed, but none should preach against it, nor omit the practice; except Peace require that the Point of Infant Baptism be left free.

This small Book is called by the Name of *Universal Concord*; which when I wrote, I thought to have published a Second Part, *viz.* a large Volume containing the particular Terms of Concord, between all Parties capable of Concord. But the Change of the Times hath necessarily changed that purpose.

§ 198. 42. The next published was a Sermon before the Parliament, the day before they voted in the King, being a Day of Humiliation appointed to that end. It is called *A Sermon of Repentance*, of which more afterward.

§ 199. 43. The next published was a Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at *Pauls*, being on their Day of Rejoycing for General *Monk's* Success to bring in the King: It is called *A Sermon of Right Rejoycing*.

§ 200. 44. The next was a Sermon of the *Life of Faith*, preached before the King, being all that ever I was called to preach before him, when I had been sworn his Chaplain in Ordinary: of which more afterward.

§ 201. 45. The next was called *A Believer's last Work*, being prepared for the Funeral of *Mrs. Mary Hammer*, Mother to my Wife (then intended, but after married): Its use is to prepare for a Comfortable Death.

§ 202. 46. Before this (which I forgot in its proper place) I published a Treatise of Death, called, *The last Enemy to be overcome*, shewing the true Nature of the Enmity of Death, and its uses: Being a Funeral Sermon for *Mrs. Elizabeth Baker*, Wife to *Mr. Joseph Baker* Minister at *Worcester*; with some Notes of her Life.

§ 203. 47. Another was called, *The vain Religion of the Formal Hypocrite*: A Discovery of the Nature and Mischief of a Formal vain Religion, preached at *Westminster-Abby*: with a Sermon annexed of the *Prosperity of Fools*. This being preached at *Covent-Garden* was unjustly accused, and published by way of Vindication, with the former.

§ 204. 48. The next was a Treatise on *Luke 10. 42. One thing is needful*; called, [*A Saint or a Bruit*] shewing the Necessity, Utility, Safety, Honour and Pleasure of a Holy Life, and evincing the Truth of our Religion against Atheists and Infidels and Profane ones.

§ 205. 49. The next was a Treatise of *Self-knowledge*, preached at *Dunstan's West*, called, *The Mischiefs of Self-ignorance, and Benefits of Self-acquaintance*; which was published partly to vindicate it from many false Accusations, and partly at the desire of the Countess of *Balcarres* to whom it was directed. It was fitted to the Disease of this furious Age, in which each man is ready to devour others, because they do not know themselves.

§ 206. 50. The next was a Treatise called *The Divine Life*: which containeth three Parts; The first is of the Right Knowledge of God, for the imprinting of his Image on the Soul, by the knowledge of his Attributes, &c. The second is, Of walking with God. The third is, Of improving Solitude to converse with God, when we are forsaken by all Friends, or separated from them.

The Occasion of the publishing of this Treatise was this; The Countess of *Balcarres* being going into *Scotland*, after her abode in *England*, being deeply sensible of the loss of the Company of those Friends which she left behind her, desired me to preach the last Sermon which she was to hear from me on those words of Christ, *John 16. 32. Behold the hour cometh, yea is now come, that ye shall be scattered every man to his own, and shall leave me alone; and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me.*] At her request I preached on this Text; and being afterward desired by her to give it her in Writing, and the Publication being her design, I prefixed the two other Treatises to make it more considerable, and published them together. The Treatise is upon the most Excellent Subject, but not elaborate at all; being but Popular Sermons preached in the midst of diverting Businesses, Accusations, and malicious Clamours.

When I offered it to the Press, I was fain to leave out the quantity of one Sermon in the end of the second Treatise [*That God took Henoah*]: wherein I shewed what a mercy it is to one that hath walked with God, to be taken to him from this World; because it is a dark, a wicked, a malicious, and implacable, a treacherous deceitful World, &c. All which the Bishop's Chaplain must have expunged, because men would think it was all spoken of them! And so the World hath got a Protection against the force of our Baptismal Vow.

§ 207. Because I have said so much in the Epistles of these two Books of the Countess of *Balcarres*, the Reader may expect some further satisfaction of her Quality, and the Cause.

She is Daughter to the late Earl of *Seaforth* in *Scotland*, towards the High-lands, and was married to the Earl of *Balcarres*, a Covenanter, but an Enemy to *Cromwell's* perfidiouſneſs, and true to the Perſon and Authority of the King: with the Earl of *Glencarne* he kept up the laſt War for the King againſt *Cromwell*, and his Lady, through deareneſs of Affection, marched with him, and lay out of doors with him on the Mountains. At laſt *Cromwell* drove them out of *Scotland*, and they went together beyond Sea to the King; where they long followed the Court, and he was taken for the Head of the Presbyterians with the King, and by evil Inſtruments fell out with the Lord Chancellor, who prevailing againſt him, upon ſome advantage he was for a time forbidden the Court; the Grief whereof added to the Diſtempers he had contracted by his Warfare on the cold and hungry Mountains, caſt him into a Conſumption, of which he died. He was a Lord of excellent Learning, Judgment and Honesty; none being praised equally with him for Learning and Underſtanding in all *Scotland*.

When the Earl of *Lauderdale* (his near Kinsman and great Friend) was Priſoner in *Portſmouth* and *Windſor-Caſtle*, he fell into acquaintance with my Books, and ſo valued them that he read them all, and took Notes of them, and earneſtly commended them to the Earl of *Balcarres* (with the King). The Earl of *Balcarres* met at the firſt ſight with ſome Paſſages where he thought I ſpoke too favourably of the Papists, and differed from many other Proteſtants, and ſo caſt them by, and ſent the reaſon of his diſtaſte to the Earl of *Lauderdale*: who preſt him but to read one of the Books over; which he did; and ſo read them all (as I have ſeen many of them marked with his hand); and was drawn to over-value them more than the Earl of *Lauderdale*.

Hereupon his Lady reading them alſo, and being a Woman of very ſtrong Love and Friendſhip, with extraordinary Entireneſs ſwallowed up in her Husband's Love, for the Books ſake and her Husband's ſake, ſhe became a moſt affectionate Friend to me, before ſhe ever ſaw me. While ſhe was in *France*, being zealous for the King's Reſtoration (for whoſe Cauſe her Husband had pawned and ruined his Eſtate), by the Earl of *Lauderdale's* direction, ſhe with Sir *Robert Murray*, got divers Letters from the Paſtors and others there, to bear witneſs of the King's ſincerity in the Proteſtant Religion (among which there is one to me from Mr. *Gaches*). Her great Wiſdom, Modesty, Piety and Sincerity, made her accounted the Saint at the Court. When ſhe came over with the King, her extraordinary Reſpects obliged me to be ſo often with her, as gave me Acquaintance with her Eminency in all the foreſaid Vertues: She is of ſolid Underſtanding in Religion, for her Sex; and of Prudence much more than ordinary; and of great Integrity and Conſtancy in her Religion, and a great Hater of Hypocriſie, and faithful to Chriſt in an unfaithful World; and ſhe is ſomewhat over-much affectionate to her Friend; which hath coſt her a great deal of Sorrow, in the loſs of her Husband, and ſince of other ſpecial Friends, and may coſt her more when the reſt forſake her, as many in Proſperity uſe to do thoſe that will not forſake their Fidelity to Chriſt. Her eldeſt Son, the young Earl of *Balcarres*, a very hopeful Youth, died of a ſtrange Diſeaſe, two Stones being found in his Heart, of which one was very great. Being my conſtant Auditor and over-reſpectful Friend, I had occaſion for the juſt Praises and Acknowledgments which I have given her; which the occaſioning of theſe Books hath cauſed me to mention.

She is ſince married to the Earl of *Argyle*.

§ 208. 51. After our Diſpute at the *Savoy*, ſomebody printed our Papers (moſt of them) given in to them in that Treaty; of which the Petition for Peace, the Reformed Liturgy (except the Prayer for the King which Dr. *W.* wrote), the large Reply to their Answer of our Exceptions, and the two laſt Addreſſes were my writing: But in the firſt Propoſals, and the Exceptions againſt the Liturgy, I had leſs to do than ſome others.

§ 209. 52. When the grievous Plague began at *London*, I printed a half-sheet (to ſtick on a Wall) for the uſe of the Ignorant and Ungodly who were ſick, or in danger of the Sickneſs: (for the Godly I thought had leſs need, and would read thoſe larger Books, which are plentifully among us). And I the rather did it, becauſe many well-winded People that are about the Sick, that are ignorant and unprepared, and know not what to ſay to them, may not only read ſo ſhort a Paper to them, but ſee there in what method ſuch Perſons are to be dealt with in ſuch a Caſe of Extremity, that they may themſelves enlarge as they ſee Cauſe.

§ 210. 53. At that time one Mr. Nathaniel Lane wrote to me to intreat me to write one sheet or two for the use of poor Families, who will not buy or read any bigger Books. Though I knew that brevity would unavoidably cause me to leave out much necessary matter, or else to write in a Stile so concise and close as will be little moving to any but close judicious Readers, yet I yielded to his persuasions, and thought it might be better than nothing, and might be read by many that would read no larger; and so I wrote *two Sheets for poor Families*: The first containing the method and motives for the Conversion of the Ungodly. The second containing the Description or Character of a true Christian, or the necessary Parts of Christian Duty, for the direction of Beginners in a Godly Life. These three last Sheets were printed by the favour of the Archbishop's Chaplain, when the Bishop of London's Chaplain had put me out of hope of printing any more.

* Of what is since published, see afterwards.

With all these Writings I have troubled the World already*: and these are all except Epistles to other mens Works; (as one before Mr. Swinnock's Book of Regeneration; one before Mr. Hopkin's Book; one before Mr. Eedes; one before Mr. Matthew Pool's *Model for Advancing Learning*; one before Mr. Benjamin Baxter's Book; one before Mr. Jonathan Hammer's Exercitation of Confirmation; one before Mr. Lawrence of Sickness; two before two of Mr. Tombe's Books; and some others; (of which there are two that I must give some account of)

The Bookseller being to print the Assembly's Works, with the Texts cited at length, desired me by an Epistle to recommend it to Families: I thought it a thing arrogant and unfit for a single Person, who was none of the Synod, to put an Epistle before their Works. But when he made me know that it was the desire of some Reverend Ministers, I wrote an Epistle, but required him to put it into other mens hands, to publish or suppress, according to their Judgment: but to be sure that they printed *all* or none. The Bookseller gets Dr. Manton to put an Epistle before the Book, who inserted mine in a differing Character in his own, (as mine, but not naming me): But he leaveth out a part, which it seems, was not pleasing to all. When I had commended the Catechisms for the use of Families, I added, That [I hoped the Assembly intended not all in that long Confession and those Catechisms, to be imposed as a Test of Christian Communion; nor to disown all that scrupled any word in it; If they had I could not have commended it for any such use, though it be useful for the instruction of Families, &c.] All this is left out, which I thought meet to open, lest I be there misunderstood.

Also take notice that the Poem prefixed to Mr. Vines's Book of the Sacrament, was not printed by any order of mine. Having received the printed Book from the Stationer as a Gift, it renewed my Sorrow for the Author's Death; which provoked me to write that Poem the same Night, in the Exercise of my Sorrow, and gave it the Donor for his Book; and he printed it without my knowledge.

§ 211. Manuscripts that are yet unprinted, which I ye by me, are these following.

1. * A Treatise in Folio, called, *A Christian Directory*, or *Sum of Practical Divinity*, in four Tomes: The first called *Christian Ethicks*; The second *Christian Ecclesiasticks*; The third, *Christian Oeconomicks*; The fourth, *Christian Politicks*. It containeth bare *Directions* for the practice of our Duties in all these respects; as Christians, as Church-Members, as Members of the Family, and as Members of the Commonwealth: But there is a sufficient Explication of the Subject usually premised, and the Directions themselves are the Answers of most useful Cases of Conscience thereabouts, though the Cases be not named by way of Question: But where it was necessary the Cases are distinctly named and handled.

My intent in writing this, was at once to satisfy that motion so earnestly made by Bishop Usher, mentioned in the Preface to my *Call to the Unconverted*, which I had been hindred from doing by parts before: And I had some little respect to the request which was long ago sent to him from some Transmarine Divines, to help them to a Sum of Practical Divinity in the *English* method: But though necessary brevity hath deprived it of all life and lustre of Stile, it being but a Skeleton of Practical Heads; yet is it so large by reason of the multitude of things to be handled, that I see it will not be of so common a use as I first intended it. To young Ministers, and to the more intelligent and diligent sort of Masters of Families, (who would have a Practical Directory at hand to teach them every Christian Duty, and how to help others in the practice) it may be not unserviceable.

* Since printed twice.

2. Another Manuscript is called [* *A Christian indeed*]: It consisteth of two Parts; The first is a Discovery of the Calamities which follow the *weakness* and *faultiness* of many true Christians, and Directions for their strengthening and growth in Grace: which was intended as the third particular Tractate in fulfilling the foresaid request of Bishop *Usher*; The *Call to the Unconverted* being for that sort; and the *Directions for a sound Conversion*, being for the second sort, who are yet as it were in the birth: And this being for the *weaker* and *faultier* sort of Christians, which are the third sort. To which is added a second Part, containing the just Description of a sound confirmed Christian (whom I call a Christian indeed) in sixty Characters or Marks; and with each of them is adjoyned the Character of the *weak Christian*, and of the *Hypocrite* about the same part of Duty. But all is but briefly done (the Heads being many) without any life or ornament of Stile.

* Since printed.

Since printed as Directions for weak Christians.

This short Treatise I offered to Mr. *Thomas Grigg*, * the Bishop of *London's* * Chaplain, to be licensed for the Press, (a man that but lately Conformed, and professed special respect to me); but he utterly refused it; pretending that it favoured of Discontent, and would be interpreted as against the Bishops and the Times. And the matter was, that in several Passages I spake of the Prosperity of the Wicked, and the Adversity of the Godly, and described Hypocrites by their Enmity to the Godly, and their forsaking the Truth for fear of Suffering, and described the Godly by their undergoing the Enmity of the wicked World, and being steadfast whatever it shall cost them, &c. And all this was interpreted as against the Church or Prelates. I asked him whether they would license that of mine which they would do of another man's against whom they had no displeasure (in the same words): And he told me No: because the words would receive their interpretation with the Readers from the mind of the Author. And he asked me, whether I did not think my self that Nonconformists would interpret it as against the Times. I answered him, Yes, I thought they would; and so they do all those Passages of Scripture which speak of Persecution and the Suffering of the Godly; but I hoped Bibles should be licensed for all that. I asked him whether that was the Rule which they went by, that they would license nothing of mine which they thought any Readers would interpret as against the Bishops or their Party. And when he told me plainly, that it was their Rule or Resolution, I took it for my final Answer, and purposed never to offer him more: For I despair of writing that which men will not interpret according to their own Condition and Opinion; especially against those whose Crimes are notorious before the World. This made me think what a troublesome thing is Guilt, which, as *Seneca* saith, is like a Sore, which is pained not only with a little touch, but sometime upon a conceit that it is touched; and maketh a man think that every Brier is a Sergeant to Arrest him; or with *Cain*, that every one that seeth him would kill him! *A Cainites heart and life hath usually the attendance of a Cainites Conscience.* I did but try the Licenser with this small inconsiderable Script, that I might know what to expect for my more valued Writings! And I told him that I had troubled the World with so much already, and said enough for one man's part, that I could not think it very necessary to say any more to them; and therefore I should accept of his discharge. But fain they would have had my Controversial Writings, (about Universal Redemption, Predetermination, &c. in which my Judgment is more pleasing to them); but I was unwilling to publish them alone, while the Practical Writings are refused. And I give God thanks that I once saw Times of greater Liberty (though under an Usurper); or else as far as I can discern, scarce any of my Books had ever seen the Light.

* Now dead.

3. Another Manuscript that lyeth by me, is a Disputation for some *Universality of Redemption* *, which hath lain by me near Twenty years unfinished, partly because many narrow minded Brethren would have been offended with it, and and partly because at last came out after *Amyraldus*, and *Davenant's Dissertations*, a Treatise of *Dallæus*, which contained the same things, but especially the same Testimonies of concordant Writers which I had prepared to produce.

* Published since the Author's Death, by Mr. Jof. Read.

4. There is also by me an imperfect Manuscript of Predetermination.

5. And divers Disputations of sufficient Grace.

6. And divers miscellaneous Disputations on several Questions in Divinity, cursorily managed at our Monthly Meetings.

7. And my two Replies to Mr. *Cartwright's* Exceptions against my Aphorisms.

* Since Printed.

8. And my two Replies to Mr. *Lawson's* Animadversions on the same Book.

9. And my Reply to Mr. *John Warren's* Animadversions (which being first done is least digested).

10. And the beginning of a Reply to Dr. *Wallis's* Animadversions.

11. And a Discourse of the Power of Magistrates in Religion, against those that would not have them to meddle in such Matters, being an Affize Sermon preached at *Shrewsbury* when Coll. *Thomas Hunt* was Sheriff.

* Since
Printed.

12. And some Fragments of Poetry.

13. And a Multitude of Theological Letters.

14. And an imperfect Treatise of Christ's Dominion, being many popular Sermons preached twenty Years ago ; and very rude and undigested ; with divers others.

§ 212. And concerning almost all my Writings I must confess, that my own Judgment is, that fewer well studied and polished had been better : but the Reader who can safely censure the Books is not fit to censure the Author, unless he had been upon the Place, and acquainted with all the Occasions and Circumstances : Indeed for the *Saints Rest* I had Four Months Vacancy to write it (but in the midst of continual Languishing and Medicine) : But for the rest I wrote them in the Crowd of all my other Employments, which would allow me no great Leisure for Polishing and Exactness, or any Ornament ; so that I scarce ever wrote one Sheet twice over, nor stayed to make any Blots or Interlinings, but was fain to let it go as it was first conceived : And when my own Desire was rather to stay upon one thing long, than run over many, some sudden Occasions or other extorted almost all my Writings from me : and the Apprehensions of *Present Usefulness* or *Necessity* prevailed against all other Motives. So that the Divines which were at hand with me still put me on and approved of what I did, because they were moved by *present Necessities* as well as I : But those that were far off, and felt not those nearer Motives did rather wish that I had taken the other way, and published a few elaborate Writings ; and I am ready my self to be of their Mind, when I forgot the Case that then I stood in, and have lost the Sense of former Motives. The opposing of the Anabaptists, Separatists, Quakers, Antinomians, Seekers, &c. were Works which then seemed necessary ; and so did the Debates about Church Government and Communion which touched our present Practice ; but now all those Reasons are past and gone, I could wish I had rather been doing some work of more durable Usefulness. But even to a foreseeing Man, who knoweth what will be of longest use, it is hard to discern how far that which is *presently needful* may be omitted, for the sake of a greater future Good. There are some other works, wherein my Heart hath more been set than any of those forementioned ; in which I have met with great Obstructions. For I must declare that in this as in many other Matters I have found that we are not the Choosers of our own Employments, no more than of our own Successes.

§ 213. Because it is Soul-Experiments which those that urge me to this kind of Writing, do expect that I should especially communicate to others, and I have said little of God's dealing with my Soul since the time of my younger Years, I shall only give the Reader so much Satisfaction, as to acquaint him truly what Change God hath made upon my Mind and Heart since those unriper times, and wherein I now differ in Judgment and Disposition from my self : And for any more particular Account of Heart-Occurrences, and God's Operations on me, I think it somewhat unsavory to recite them ; seeing God's Dealings are much what the same with all his Servants in the main, and the Points wherein he varieth are usually so small, that I think not such fit to be repeated : Nor have I any thing extraordinary to glory in, which is not common to the rest of my Brethren, who have the same Spirit, and are Servants of the same Lord. And the true Reason why I do adventure so far upon the Censure of the World, as to tell them wherein the Case is altered with me, is that I may take off young unexperienced Christians from being over confident in their first Apprehensions, or overvaluing their first degrees of Grace, or too much applauding and following unfurnished unexperienced Men ; but may somewhat be directed what Mind and Course of Life to prefer, by the Judgment of one that hath tried both before them.

1. The Temper of my Mind hath somewhat altered with the Temper of my Body. When I was young, I was more vigorous, affectionate, and fervent in Preaching, Conference and Prayer, than (ordinarily) I can be now ; my Style was more extemporate and lax, but by the Advantage of Affection, and a very familiar moving Voice and Utterance, my preaching then did more affect the Auditory, than many of the last Years before I gave over Preaching ; but yet what I delivered was
much

much more raw, and had more Passages that would not bear the Tryal of accurate Judgments; and my Discourses had both less *Substance* and less *Judgment* than of late.

2. My understanding was then *quicker*, and could easlyer manage any thing that was newly presented to it upon a sudden; but it is since better *furnished*, and acquainted with the ways of Truth and Error, and with a Multitude of particular Mistakes of the World, which then I was the more in Danger of, because I had only the *Faculty* of Knowing them, but did not *actually* know them. I was then like a Man of a quick Understanding that was to travail a way which he never went before, or to cast up an Account which he never laboured in before, or to play on an Instrument of Musick which he never saw before: And I am now like one of somewhat a slower Understanding (by that *præmatura senectus* which weakness and excessive bleedings brought me to) who is travelling a Way which he hath often gone, and is casting up an Account which he hath often cast up, and hath ready at hand, and that is playing on an Instrument which he hath often playd on: So that I can very confidently say, that my Judgment is much sounder and firmer now than it was then; for though I am now as competent Judge of the *Actings* of my own Understanding then, yet I can judge of the *Effects*: And when I peruse the Writings which I wrote in my younger Years, I can find the Footsteps of my unfurnished Mind, and of my Emptyness and Insufficiency: So that the Man that followed my Judgment then, was liker to have been misled by me, than he that should follow it now.

And yet, that I may not say worse than it deserveth of my former measure of Understanding, I shall truly tell you what change I find now, in the perusal of my own Writings. Those Points which then I *thoroughly studied*, my Judgment is the same of *now*, as it was *then*; and therefore in the *Substance* of my Religion, and in those Controversies which I then searcht into, with some extraordinary Diligence, I find not my mind disposed to a Change: But in divers Points that I studied slightly and by the halves, and in many things which I took upon trust from others, I have found since that my Apprehensions were either erroneous, or very lame. And those things which I was Orthodox in, I had either insufficient Reasons for, or a mixture of some sound and some insufficient ones, or else an insufficient Apprehension of those Reasons; so that I scarcely knew what I seemed to know: And though in my Writings I found little in substance which my present Judgment differeth from, yet in my *Aphorisms* and *Saints Rest* (which were my first Writings) I find some raw unmeet Expressions; and one common Infirmary I perceive, that I put off Matters with some kind of Confidence, as if I had done something new or more than ordinary in them, when upon my more mature Reviews, I find that I said not half that which the Subject did require: As *E. g.* in the Doctrine of the Covenants, and of Justification, but especially about the Divine Authority of the Scripture in the second part of *the Saints Rest*; where I have not said half that should have been said; and the Reason was, because that I had not read any of the fuller sort of Books that are written on those Subjects, nor conversed with those that knew more than my self, and so all those things were either new or great to me, which were common and small perhaps to others; and because they all came in by the way of my own Study of the naked matter, and not from Books, they were apt to affect my mind the more, and to seem greater than they were. And this Token of my Weakness accompanied those my younger Studies, that I was very apt to start up Controversies in the way of my Practical Writings, and also more desirous to acquaint the World with all that I took to be the Truth, and to assault those Books by Name which I thought did tend to deceive them, and did contain unsound and dangerous Doctrine: And the Reason of all this was, that I was then in the vigour of my youthful Apprehensions, and the new Appearance of any sacred Truth, it was more apt to affect me, and be highlyer valued, than afterward, when commonness had dulled my Delight; and I did not sufficiently discern then how much in most of our Controversies is verbal, and upon mutual Mistakes. And withal I know not how impatient Divines were of being contradicted, nor how it would stir up all their Powers to defend what they have once said, and to rise up against the Truth which is thus thrust upon them, as the mortal Enemy of their Honour: And I knew not how hardly Mens Minds are charged from their former Apprehensions by the Evidence never so plain. And I have perceived, that nothing so much hindreth the Reception of the Truth, as urging it on Men with too harsh Importunity, and falling too heavily on their Errors: For hereby you engage their Honour in the business,

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and they defend their Errors as themselves, and stir up all their Wit and Ability to oppose you : In controversies it is fierce Opposition which is the Bellows to kindle a resisting Zeal ; when if they be neglected, and their Opinions lie a while despised, they usually cool and come again to themselves (though I know that this holdeth not when the Greediness and Increase of his Followers, doth animate a Sectary, even though he have no Opposition). Men are so loth to be drenched with the Truth, that I am no more for going that way to work ; and to confess the Truth, I am lately much prone to the *contrary Extream*, to be too indifferent what Men hold, and to keep my Judgment to my self, and never to mention any thing wherein I differ from another, or any thing which I think I know more than he ; or at least, if he receive it not presently to silence it, and leave him to his own Opinion : And I find this Effect is mixed according to its Causes, which are some good, and some bad : The *bad Causes* are 1. An Impatience of Mens weakness and mistaking frowardness and Self-conceitedness. 2. An Abatement of my *sensible Esteem of Truth*, through the long abode of them on my Mind : Though my Judgment value them, yet it is hard to be equally affected with old and common things, as with *new and rare* ones. The better Causes are 1. That I am much more sensible than ever of the necessity of living upon the Principles of Religion, which we are all agreed in, and uniting these ; and how much Mischief Men that over-value their own Opinions have done by their *Controversies* in the Church ; how some have destroyed Charity, and some caused Schisms by them, and most have hindered Godliness in themselves and others, and used them to divert Men from the serious prosecuting of a holy Life ; and as Sir Francis Bacon saith, (in his *Essay of Peace*) that it's one great Benefit of Church-Peace and Concord, that writing Controversies is turned into Books of practical Devotion for increase of Piety and Virtue. 2. And I find that it's much more for most Mens Good and Edification, to converse with them only in that way of Godliness which all are agreed in, and not by touching upon Differences to stir up their Corruptions ; and to tell them of little more of your Knowledge, than what you find them willing to receive from you as meer Learners ; and therefore to stay till they *crave* Information of you (as *Musculus* did with the Anabaptists ; when he visited them in Prison, and conversed kindly and lovingly with them, and shewed them all the Love he could, and never talkt to them of their Opinions, till at last they who were wont to call him a Deceiver and false Prophet, did intreat him to instruct them, and received his Instructions). We mistake Mens Diseases when we think there needeth nothing to cure their Errors ; but only to bring them the *Evidence* of Truth : Alas ! there are many Distempers of Mind to be removed, before Men are apt to receive that Evidence. And therefore that Church is happy where Order is kept up, and the Abilities of the Ministers command a reverend Submission from the Hearers ; and where all are in Christ's School in the distinct Ranks of Teachers and Learners : For in a learning way Men are ready to receive the Truth, but in a Disputing way they come armed against it with Prejudice and Animosity.

3. And I must say farther, that what I last mentioned on the by, is one of the notablest Changes of my Mind : In my youth I was quickly past my Fundamentals, and was running up into a multitude of Controversies, and greatly delighted with metaphysical and scholastick Writings (though I must needs say, my Preaching was still on the necessary Points) : But the elder I grew the smaller stress I layd upon these Controversies and Curiosities (though still my intellect abhorreth Confusion), as finding far greater Uncertainties in them, than I at first discerned, and finding less *Usefulness* comparatively, even where there is the greatest Certainty. And now it is the fundamental Doctrines of the Catechism, which I highest value, and daily think of, and find most useful to my self and others : The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, do find me now the most acceptable and plentiful matter, for all my Meditations : They are to me as my daily *Bread* and *Drink* : And as I can speak and write of them over and over again ; so I had rather read or hear of them, than of any of the School Niceties, which once so much pleased me. And thus I observed it was with old Bishop *Usher*, and with many other Men : And I conjecture that this Effect also is mixt of good and bad, according to its Causes.

The *bad Cause* may perhaps be some natural Infirmity and Decay : And as Trees in the Spring shoot up into Branches, Leaves and Blossoms ; but in the *Autumn* the Life draws down into the Root ; so possibly, my Nature conscious of its Infirmity and Decay, may find it self insufficient for numerous Particles, and Assurgency to the attempting of difficult things ; and so my Mind may retire to the Root of

Christian Principles; and also I have often been afraid, lest *ill-rooting* at first, and many *Temptations afterwards*, have made it more necessary for me than many others to retire to the Root, and secure my Fundamentals. But upon much Observation I am afraid lest most others are in no better a Case; and that at the first they take it for a granted thing, that Christ is the Saviour of the World, and that the Soul is Immortal, and that there is a Heaven and a Hell, &c. while they are studying abundance of Scholastick Superstructures, and at last will find cause to study more soundly their Religion it self, as well as I have done.

The *better* Causes are these: 1. I value all things according to their *Use* and *Ends*; and I find in the daily Practice and Experience of my Soul, that the Knowledge of God and Christ, and the Holy Spirit, and the Truth of Scripture, and the Life to come, and of a Holy Life, is of *more use* to me, than all the most curious Speculations. 2. I know that every Man must grow (as Trees do) downwards and upwards both at once; and that the *Roots* increase as the Bulk and Branches do. 3. Being nearer Death and another World, I am the more regardful of those things which my Everlasting Life or Death depend on. 4. Having most to do with ignorant miserable People, I am commanded by my Charity and Reason, to treat with them of that which their Salvation lyeth on; and not to dispute with them of Formalities and Niceties, when the Question is presently to be determined whether they shall dwell for ever in Heaven or in Hell. In a Word, my *Meditations* must be most upon the matters of my Practice and my Interest: And as the Love of God, and the seeking of Everlasting Life is the Matter of my Practice and my Interest, so must it be of my Meditation. That is the *best* Doctrine and Study which maketh Men *better*, and tendeth to make them *happy*. I abhor the Folly of those unlearned Persons, who revile or despise Learning because they know not what it is: And I take not any piece of true Learning to be useless: And yet my Soul approveth of the Resolution of Holy Paul, who determined to know nothing among his Hearers, (that is, comparatively to value and make Ostentation of no other Wisdom) but (the Knowledge of) a Crucified Christ; to know God in Christ is Life Eternal. As the Stock of the Tree affordeth Timber to build Houses and Cities, when the small though higher multifarious Branches are but to make a Crows Nest, or a Blaze: So the Knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ, of Heaven and Holyness, doth build up the Soul to endless Blessedness, and affordeth it solid Peace and Comfort; when a multitude of School Niceties serve but for vain Janglings and hurtful Diversions and Contentions: And yet I would not dissuade my Reader from the perusal of *Aquinas*, *Scotus*, *Ockam*, *Arminius*, *Durandus*, or any such Writer; for much Good may be gotten from them: But I would persuade him to study and live upon the essential Doctrines of Christianity and Godliness, incomparably above them all. And that he may know that my Testimony is somewhat regardable, I presume to say, that in this I as much gainsay my natural Inclination to Subtily and Accurateness in Knowing, as he is like to do by his, if he obey my Counsel. And I think if he lived among Infidels and Enemies of Christ, he would find that to make good the *Doctrine of Faith* and of *Life Eternal*, were not only his noblest and most useful Study; but also that which would require the height of all his Parts, and the utmost of his Diligence, to manage it skilfully to the Satisfaction of himself and others.

4. I add therefore that this is Another thing which I am changed in; that whereas in my younger Days I never was tempted to doubt of the Truth of Scripture or Christianity, but all my Doubts and Fears were exercised at home, about my own Sincerity and Interest in Christ, and this was it which I called *Unbelief*; since then my forest Assaults have been on the other side, and such they were, that had I been void of internal Experience, and the Adhesion of Love, and the special help of God, and had not discerned more Reason for my Religion than I did when I was younger, I had certainly Apostatized to Infidelity (though for *Atheism* or *Ungodliness*, my Reason seeth no stronger Arguments, than may be brought to prove that there is no Earth or Air, or Sun). I am now therefore much more Apprehensive than heretofore, of the Necessity of wellgrounding Men in their Religion, and especially of the Witness of the indwelling Spirit: For I more sensibly perceive that the Spirit is the great Witness of Christ and Christianity to the World: And though the Folly of Fanaticks tempted me long to over-look the Strength of this Testimony of the Spirit, while they placed it in a certain *internal Assertion*, or enthusiastick Inspiration; yet now I see that the Holy Ghost in another manner is the Witness of Christ and his Agent in the World: The Spirit in the Prophets was
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his first Witness ; and the Spirit by Miracles was the second ; and the Spirit by Renovation, Sanctification, Illumination and Consolation, assimilating the Soul to Christ and Heaven is the continued Witness to all true Believers : And if any Man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his, *Rom. 8. 9.* Even as the Rational Soul in the Child is the inherent Witness or Evidence, that he is the Child of Rational Parents. And therefore ungodly Persons have a great disadvantage in their resisting Temptations to unbelief, and it is no wonder if Christ be a *stumbling block* to the Jews, and to the Gentiles foolishness. There is many a one that hideth his Temptations to Infidelity, because he thinketh it a shame to open them, and because it may generate doubts in others: but I doubt the imperfection of most mens care of their Salvation, and of their diligence and resolution in a holy Life, doth come from the imperfection of their belief of Christianity and the Life to come. For my part I must profess, that when my belief of things Eternal and of the Scripture is most clear and firm, all goeth accordingly in my Soul, and all Temptations to sinful Compliances, Worldliness or Flesh-pleasing, do signifie worse to me, than an invitation to the Stocks or *Bedlam*. And no Petition seemeth more necessary to me than [*Lord increase our Faith : I Believe, help thou my unbelief.*]

5. Among Truths certain in themselves, all are not equally certain unto me ; and even of the Mysteries of the Gospel, I must needs say with Mr. *Richard Hooker Eccl. Polit.* that whatever men may pretend, the subjective Certainty cannot go beyond the objective Evidence : for it is caused thereby as the print on the Wax is caused by that on the seal : Therefore I do more of late than ever discern a necessity of a methodical procedure in maintaining the Doctrine of Christianity, and of beginning at Natural Verities, as presupposed fundamentally to supernatural (though God may when he please reveal all at once, and even Natural Truths by Supernatural Revelation) : And it is a marvellous great help to my Faith, to find it built on so sure Foundations, and so consonant to the Law of Nature. I am not so foolish as to pretend my certainty to be greater than it is, meerly because it is a dishonour to be less certain ; nor will I by shame be kept from confessing those Infirmitie, which those have as much as I, who hypocritically reproach me with them. My certainty that I am a Man, is before my certainty that there is a God ; for *Quod facit notum est magis notum* : My certainty that there is a God, is greater than my certainty that he requireth love and holiness of his Creature : My certainty of *this* is greater than my certainty of the Life of Reward and Punishment hereafter : My certainty of that, is greater than my certainty of the endless duration of it, and of the immortality of individuate Souls : My certainty of the Deity is greater than my certainty of the Christian Faith : My certainty of the Christian Faith in its Essentials, is greater than my certainty of the Perfection and Infallibility of all the Holy Scriptures : My certainty of that is greater than my certainty of the meaning of many particular Texts, and so of the truth of many particular Doctrines, or of the Canonicalness of some certain Books. So that as you see by what Gradations my Understanding doth proceed, so also that my Certainty differeth as the Evidences differ. And they that have attained to greater Perfection, and a higher degree of Certainty than I, should pity me and produce their Evidence to help me. And they that will begin all their Certainty with that of the Truth of the Scripture, as the *Principium Cognoscendi*, may meet me at the same end ; but they must give me leave to undertake to prove to a Heathen or Infidel, the Being of a God ; and the necessity of Holiness, and the certainty of a Reward or Punishment, even while he yet denieth the Truth of Scripture, and in order to his believing it to be true.

6. In my younger years my trouble for Sin, was most about my *Actual failings* in Thought, Word, or Action, (except *Hardness of Heart*, of which more anon). But now I am much more troubled for *Inward Defects*, and omission or want of the Vital Duties or Graces in the Soul. My daily trouble is so much for my Ignorance of God, and weakness of Belief, and want of greater love to God, and strangeness to him, and to the Life to come, and for want of a greater willingness to die, and longing to be with God in Heaven, as that I take not some Immoralities, though very great, to be in themselves so great and odious Sins, if they could be found as separate from these. Had I all the Riches of the World, how gladly should I give them, for a fuller Knowledge, Belief, and Love of God and Everlasting Glory ! These wants are the greatest burden of my Life, which oft maketh my Life it self a burden. And I cannot find any hope of reaching so high in these, while I am in the Flesh, as I once hoped before this time to have attained : which maketh me the wearier of this sinful World, which is honoured with so little of the Knowledge of God.

7. Heretofore I placed much of my Religion in tenderness of heart, and grieving for sin, and penitential tears; and less of it, in the love of God, and studying his love and goodness, and in his joyful praises, than now I do. Then I was little sensible of the greatness and excellency of Love and Praise; though I coldly spake the same words in its commendations, as now I do: And now I am less troubled for want of *grief* and *tears* (though I more value *humility*, and refuse not needful *Humiliation*): But my Conscience now looketh at *Love* and *Delight* in God, and praising him, as the top of all my Religious Duties, for which it is that I value and use the rest.

8. My Judgment is much more for frequent and serious Meditation on the heavenly Blessedness, than it was heretofore in my younger days. I then thought that a Sermon of the Attributes of God, and the Joys of Heaven were not the most excellent; and was wont to say, *Every body knoweth this, that God is great and good, and that Heaven is a blessed place; I had rather bear how I may attain it.* And nothing pleased me so well as the Doctrine of Regeneration, and the Marks of Sincerity; which was because it was suitable to me in that state: but now I had rather read, hear or meditate, on God and Heaven, than on any other Subject: for I perceive that it is the Object that altereth and elevateth the Mind; which will be such as that is, which it most frequently feedeth on: And that it is not only useful to our *comfort*, to be much in Heaven in our believing thoughts; but that it must animate all our *other Duties*, and fortifie us against every *Temptation* and *Sin*; and that the *Love* of the *end* is it that is the *poise* or spring, which setteth every Wheel a going, and must put us on to all the *means*: And that a Man is no more a Christian indeed than he is *Heavenly*.

9. I was once wont to meditate most on my own heart, and to dwell all at home, and look little higher: I was still poring either on my Sins or Wants, or examining my Sincerity; but now, though I am greatly convinced of the need of Heart-acquaintance and imployment, yet I see more need of a higher work; and that I should look often upon Christ, and God, and Heaven, than upon my own Heart. At home I can find Distempers to trouble me, and some Evidences of my Peace: but it is *above* that I must find matter of *Delight* and *Joy*, and *Love* and *Peace* it self. Therefore I would have *one thought* at home upon *my self and sins*, and *many thoughts above* upon the high and amiable and beatifying Objects.

10. Heretofore I knew much less than now; and yet was not half so much acquainted with my Ignorance: I had a great delight in the daily new Discoveries which I made, and of the Light which shined in upon me (like a Man that cometh into a Country where he never was before): But I little knew either how *imperfectly* I understood those very Points, whose discovery so much delighted me, nor how much might be said against them; nor how many things I was yet a stranger to: But now I find far greater Darkness upon all things, and perceive how very little it is that we know in comparison of that which we are ignorant of, and and have far meaner thoughts of my own Understanding, though I must needs know that it is better furnished than it was then.

11. Accordingly I had then a far higher opinion of Learned Persons and Books, than I have now; for what I wanted my self, I thought every Reverend Divine had attained, and was familiarly acquainted with: And what Books I understood not by reason of the strangeness of the Terms or Matter, I the more *admired* and thought that others understood their worth. But now Experience hath constrained me against my will to know, that Reverend Learned Men are imperfect, and know but little as well as I; especially those that think themselves the wisest: And the better I am acquainted with them, the more I perceive that we are all yet in the dark: And the more I am acquainted with holy Men, that are all for Heaven, and pretend not much to Subtilties, the more I value and honour them. And when I have studied hard to understand some abstruse admired Book, (as *De Scientia Dei*, *De Providentia circa malum*, *de Decretis*, *de Prædeterminatione*, *de Libertate Creaturæ*, &c.) I have but attained the Knowledge of Humane Imperfection, and to see that the Author is but a Man as well as I.

12. And at first I took more upon my Author's Credit, than now I can do: And when an Author was highly commended to me by others, or pleased me in some part, I was ready to entertain the whole; whereas now I *take and leave* in the same Author, and dissent in some things from him that I like best, as well as from others.

13. At first I was greatly inclined to go with the *highest* in Controversies, on one side or other; as with Dr. *Twisse*, and Mr. *Rutherford*, and *Spanhemius de Providentia, & gratia, &c.* But now I can so easily see what to say against both extremes that I am much more inclinable to reconciling Principles. And whereas then I thought that Conciliators were but ignorant men, that were willing to please all, and would pretend to reconcile the World by Principles which they did not understand themselves; I have since perceived that if the amiableness of Peace and Concord had no hand in the business, yet greater Light and stronger Judgment usually is with the Reconcilers, than with either of the contending Parties (as with *Davenant, Hall, Usher, Lud. Crocius, Bergius, Strangius, Camero, &c.*) But on both accounts their Writings are most acceptable, (though I know that Moderation may be a pretext of Errors).

14. At first the *Style* of Authors took as much with me as the Argument, and made the Arguments seem more forcible: But now I judge not of Truth at all by any such Ornaments or Accidents, but by its naked Evidence.

15. I now see more *Good* and more *Evil* in all Men than heretofore I did: I see that *Good* men are not so good, as I once thought they were, but have more Imperfections: And that nearer approach and fuller trial, doth make the best appear more weak and faulty, than their Admirers at a distance think. And I find that few are so bad, as either their *malicious Enemies*, or *ensorious separating Professors* do imagine. In some indeed I find that Humane Nature is corrupted into a greater likeness to Devils, than I once thought any on Earth had been. But even in the wicked usually there is more for grace to make advantage of, and more to testify for God and Holiness, than I once believed there had been.

16. I less admire *Gifts of Utterance* and *bare Profession* of Religion than I once did; and have much more Charity for many, who by the want of Gifts, do make an obscurer Profession than they. I once thought that almost all that could pray movingly and fluently, and talk well of Religion, had been Saints. But Experience hath opened to me, what odious Crimes may consist with high Profession; and I have met with divers obscure Persons, not noted for any extraordinary Profession, or forwardness in Religion, but only to live a quiet blameless Life, whom I have after found to have long lived, as far as I could discern, a truly godly and sanctified Life; only their Prayers and Duties were by accident kept secret from other mens observation. Yet he that upon this pretence would confound the Godly and the Ungodly, may as well go about to lay Heaven and Hell together.

17. I am not so narrow in my *special Love* as heretofore: Being less censorious, and talking more than I did for Saints, it must needs follow that I love more as Saints than I did before. I think it not lawful to put that Man off with bare Church Communion, and such common Love which I must allow the Wicked, who professeth himself a true Christian, by such a Profession as I cannot disprove.

18. I am not too narrow in my Principles of Church Communion as once I was: I more plainly perceive the difference between the Church as *Congregate* or visible, and as *Regenerate* or Mystical: and between *Sincerity* and *Profession*; and that a *Credible Profession* is proof sufficient of a Man's Title to Church Admission: and that the Profession is *Credible in foro Ecclesiæ*, which is not disproved. I am not for narrowing the Church more than Christ himself alloweth us; nor for robbing him of any of his Flock. I am more sensible how much it is the Will of Christ that every Man be the *chooser* or *refuser* of his own felicity, and that it lieth most on his own hands, whether he will have Communion with the Church or not; and that if he be an Hypocrite it is himself that will bear the loss.

19. Yet am I more apprehensive than ever of the great use and need of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and what a sin it is in the Pastors of the Church, to make no distinction, but by bare *Names* and *Sacraments*, and to force all the unmeet against their own wills, to Church Communion and Sacraments (though the ignorant and erroneous may sometime be forced to hear instruction): And what a great dishonour to Christ it is, when the Church shall be as vicious as Pagan and Mahometan Assemblies, and shall differ from them only in Ceremony and Name.

20. I am much more sensible of the Evil of Schism, and of the Separating Humour, and of gathering Parties, and making several Sects in the Church than I was heretofore. For the Effects have shewed us more of the mischiefs.

21. I am much more sensible how prone many young Professors are to Spiritual Pride and Self-conceitedness, and Unruliness and Division, and so to prove the Grief of their Teachers, and Firebrands in the Church; and how much of a Minister's work lieth in preventing this, and humbling and confirming such young unexperienced Professors, and keeping them in order in their progress in Religion.

22. Yet am I more sensible of the Sin and Mischief of using Men cruelly in Matters of Religion, and of pretending Mens good, and the Order of the Church, for Acts of Inhumanity or Uncharitableness: Such know not their own Infirmary, nor yet the nature of Pastoral Government, which ought to be *Paternal* and by *Love*; nor do they know the way to win a Soul, nor to maintain the Churches Peace.

23. My Soul is much more afflicted with the thoughts of the miserable World, and more drawn out in desire of their Conversion than heretofore: I was wont to look but little further than *England* in my Prayers, as not considering the state of the rest of the World: Or if I prayed for the Conversion of the Jews, that was almost all. But now as I better understand the Case of the World, and the method of the Lord's Prayer, so there is nothing in the World that lyeth so heavy upon my heart, as the thought of the miserable Nations of the Earth: It is the most astonishing part of all God's Providence to me, that he so far forsaketh almost all the World, and confineth his special Favour to so few: That so small a part of the World hath the Profession of Christianity, in comparison of Heathens, Mahometans and other Infidels! And that among professed Christians there are so few that are saved from gross Delusions, and have but any competent Knowledge: and that among *those* there are so few that are seriously Religious, and truly set their hearts on Heaven. I cannot be affected so much with the Calamities of my own Relations, or the Land of my Nativity, as with the Case of the Heathen, Mahometan, and ignorant Nations of the Earth. No part of my Prayers are so deeply serious, as that for the Conversion of the Infidel and Ungodly World, that God's Name may be sanctified, and his Kingdom come, and his Will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven: Nor was I ever before so sensible what a Plague the Division of Languages was which hindereth our speaking to them for their Conversion; nor what a *great Sin tyranny* is, which keepeth out the Gospel from most of the Nations of the World. Could we but go among Tartarians, Turks, and Heathens, and speak their Language, I should be but little troubled for the silencing of Eighteen hundred Ministers at once in *England*, nor for all the rest that were cast out here, and in *Scotland* and *Ireland*: There being no Employment in the World so desirable in my Eyes, as to labour for the winning of such miserable Souls: which maketh me greatly honour Mr. John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians in *New-England*, and whoever else have laboured in such work.

24. Yet am I not so much inclined to pass a peremptory Sentence of Damnation upon all that never heard of Christ; having some more reason than I knew of before, to think that God's dealing with such is much unknown to us! And that the Ungodly here among us Christians are in a far worse Case than they.

25. My Censures of the Papists do much differ from what they were at first: I then thought that their Errours in the *Doctrines of Faith* were their most dangerous Mistakes, as in the Points of Merit, Justification by Works, Assurance of Salvation, the Nature of Faith, &c. But now I am assured that their mis-expressions, and misunderstanding us, with our mistakings of them, and inconvenient expressing our own Opinions, hath made the difference in these Points to appear much greater than they are; and that in some of them it is next to none at all. But the great and unreconcilable Differences lye, in their Church Tyranny and Usurpations, and in their great Corruptions and Abasement of God's Worship, together with their befriending of *Ignorance* and *Vice*. At first I thought that Mr. Perkins well proved that a Papist cannot go beyond a Reprobate: but now I doubt not but that God hath many sanctified Ones among them, who have received the true Doctrine of Christianity so practically, that their contradictory Errours prevail not against them, to hinder their Love of God, and their Salvation: but that their Errours are like a conquerable Dose of Poyson which Nature doth overcome. And I can never believe that a Man may not be saved by that Religion, which doth but bring him to the true Love of God, and to a heavenly Mind and Life: nor that God will ever cast a Soul into Hell that truly loveth him. Also at first it would disgrace any Doctrine with me, if I did but hear it called Popery and Antichristian: but I have long learned to be more impartial, and to dislike Men for

bad Doctrine, rather than the Doctrines for the Men; and to know that Satan can use even the Names of Popery and Antichrist, against a Truth.

26. I am deeper afflicted for the disagreements of Christians than I was when I was a younger Christian. Except the Case of the Infidel World, nothing is so sad and grievous to my thoughts, as the Case of the divided Churches. And therefore I am more deeply sensible of the sinfulness of those Prelates and Pastors of the Churches, who are the principal Cause of these Divisions. O how many millions of Souls are kept by them in ignorance, and ungodliness, and deluded by *Faction* as if it were true Religion. How is the Conversion of Infidels hindered by them! and Christ and Religion heinously dishonoured! The Contentions between the Greek Church and the Roman, the Papists and the Protestants, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, have woefully hindered the Kingdom of Christ.

27. I have spent much of my Studies about the *Terms of Christian Concord*, and have over and over considered of the several ways, which several sorts of Reconcilers have devised: I have thought of the Papists way, who think there will be no Union, but by coming over wholly to their Church: and I have found that it is neither possible nor desirable. I have thought and thought again of the way of the moderating Papists, *Cassander*, *Grotius*, *Balwin*, &c. and of those that would have all reduced to the state of the Times of *Gregory the First*, before the Division of the Greek and Latin Churches, that the Pope might have his Primacy, and govern all the Church by the Canons of the Councils, with a *Salvo* to the Rights of Kings and Patriarchs and Prelates; and that the Doctrines and Worship which then were received might prevail. And for my own part, if I lived in such a state of the Church, I would live peaceably, as glad of Unity, though lamenting the Corruption and Tyranny: But I am fully assured that none of these are the true desirable Terms of Unity, nor such as are ever like to procure an Universal Concord: And I am as sure that the true Means and Terms of Concord are obvious and easie to an impartial willing mind. And that these three Things alone would easily heal and unite all the Churches.

1. That all Christian Princes and Governours take all the Coercive Power about Religion into their own Hands, (though if Prelates and their Courts must be used as *their Officers* in exercising that *Coercive Power*, so be it): And that they make a difference between the *approved* and the *tolerated* Churches; and that they keep the Peace between these Churches, and settle their several Priviledges by a Law.

2. That the Churches be accounted *Tolerable*, who profess all that is in the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Decalogue in particular, and generally all that they shall find to be revealed in the Word of God, and hold Communion in Teaching, Prayer, Praises, and the two Sacraments, not obstinately preaching any Heresie contrary to the particular Articles which they profess, nor seditiously disturbing the Publick Peace: And that such *Heretical Preaching*, and such *Seditious unpeaceableness*, or *notorious Wickedness of Life*, do forfeit their Toleration.

3. And that those that are *further Orthodox* in those Particulars, which Rulers think fit to impose upon their Subjects, have their *publick Maintenance* and *greater Encouragement*. Yea, and *this much* is become necessary, but upon supposition that Men will still be so self-conceited and uncharitable, as not to forbear their unnecessary Impositions. Otherwise there would be found but very few who are *Tolerable*, that are not also in their measure to be *approved*, maintained and encouraged. And if the Primitive Simplicity in Doctrine, Government and Worship, might serve turn, for the Terms of the Churches Union and Communion, all would be well without any more ado; supposing that where Christian Magistrates are, they keep the Peace, and repress the Offenders, and exercise all the Coercive Government: And Hereticks, who will subscribe to the *Christian Faith*, must not be punished because they will *subscribe to no more*, but because they are proved to preach or promote Heresie, contrary to the Faith which they profess.

28. I am farther than ever I was from expecting great matters of Unity, Splendor or Prosperity to the Church on Earth, or that Saints should dream of a Kingdom of this World, or flatter themselves with the Hopes of a Golden Age, or reigning over the Ungodly, (till there be a *new Heaven and a new Earth wherein dwelleth Righteousness*). And on the contrary I am more apprehensive that Sufferings must be the Churches most ordinary Lot, and Christians indeed must be *self-denying Cross-bearers*, even where there are none but formal nominal Christians to be the *Cross-makers*: And though ordnarily God would have Vicissitudes of Summer and Winter, Day and Night, that the Church may grow *extensively* in the Summer of Prosperity,

perity, and intensively and radically in the Winter of Adversity; yet usually their *Night* is longer than their *Day*, and that *Day* its self hath its Storms and Tempests. For the Prognosticks are evident in their Causes: 1. The Church will be still *Imperfect* and *Sinful*, and will have those *Diseases* which need this bitter Remedy. 2. *Rich Men* will be the *Rulers* of the World; and Rich Men will be generally so far from true Godliness, that they must come to Heaven as by *Human Impossibilities*, as a Camel through a Needles Eye. 3. The Ungodly will ever have an Enmity against the Image of God, and he that is born of the Flesh will persecute him that was born after the Spirit, and Brotherhood will not keep a *Cain* from killing an *Abel*, who offereth a more acceptable Sacrifice than himself: And the Guilty will still hate the Light, and make a Prey to their Pride and Malice of a conscionable Reprover. 4. The Pastors will be still troubling the Church with their Pride and Avarice and Contentions; and the worst will be seeking to be the greatest, and they that seek it are likeliest to attain it. 5. He that is highest will be still imposing his Conceits upon those under him, and Lording it over God's Heritage, and with *Diotrephes* casting out the Brethren, and ruling them by constraint, and not as Volunteers. 6. Those that are truly *judicious* will still comparatively be few; and consequently the Troublers and Dividers will be the Multitude; and a judicious Peace-maker and Reconciler will be neglected, slighted, or hated by both Extreams. 7. The Tenour of the Gospel Predictions, Precepts, Promises and Threatnings, are fitted to a People in a suffering State. 8. And the Graces of God in a Believer are mostly suited to a State of Suffering. 9. Christians must imitate Christ, and suffer with him before they reign with him; and his Kingdom was not of this World. 10. The Observation of God's dealing hitherto with the Church in every Age confirmeth me: and his befooling them that have dreamed of glorious Times. It was such Dreams that transported the *Munster* Anabaptists, and the Followers of *David George* in the Low Countries, and *Campanella*, and the *Illuminati* among the Papists, and our English Anabaptists and other Fanaticks here, both in the Army and the City and Country. When they think the Golden Age is come, they shew their Dreams in their extravagant Actions: And as our Fifth Monarchy Men, they are presently upon some unquiet rebellious Attempt, to set up Christ in his Kingdom whether he will or not. I remember how *Abraham Scultetus* in *Curriculo Vitæ suæ* confesseth the common Vanity of himself and other Protestants in Germany, who seeing the Princes in England, France, Bohemia, and many other Countreys, to be all at once both Great and Wise, and Friends to Reformation, did presently expect the Golden Age: But within one year either Death, or Ruines of War or Back-slidings, had exposed all their Expectations to Scorn, and laid them lower than before.

29. I do not lay so great a Stress upon the external Modes and Formes of Worship, as many young Professors do. I have suspected my self, as perhaps the Reader may do, that this is from a cooling and declining from my former Zeal (though the truth is, I never much complied with Men of that Mind): But I find that *Judgment* and *Charity* are the Causes of it, as far as I am able to discover. I cannot be so narrow in my Principles of Church-Communion as many are; that are so much for a Liturgy, or so much against it, so much for Ceremonies or so much against them, that they can hold Communion with no Church that is not of their Mind and Way. If I were among the Greeks, the Lutherans, the Independants; yea, the Anabaptists (that own no Herisy, nor set themselves against Charity and Peace) I would hold sometimes occasional Communion with them as Christians (if they will give me leave, without forcing me to any sinful Subscription or Action): Though my most usual Communion should be with that Society, which I thought most agreeable to the Word of God, if I were free to chuse. I cannot be of their Opinion that think God will not accept him that prayeth by the Common-Prayer-Book, and that such Forms are a self-invented Worship which God rejecteth: Nor yet can I be of their Mind that say the like of extemporary Prayers.

30. I am much less regardful of the Approbation of Man, and set much lighter by Contempt or Applause, than I did long ago. I am oft suspicious that this is not only from the increase of Self-denial and Humility; but partly from my being glutted and surfeited with human Applause: And all worldly things appear most vain and unsatisfactory when we have tryed them most. But though I feel that this hath some hand in the Effect, yet as far as I can perceive, the Knowledge of Man's Nothingness, and God's transcendent Greatness, with whom it is that I have most to do, and the sense of the brevity of humane things, and the nearness

of Eternity are the principal Causes of this Effect ; which some have imputed to Self-conceitedness and Morosity.

31. I am more and more pleased with a solitary Life ; and though in a way of Self-denial I could submit to the most publick Life, for the service of God, when he requireth it, and would not be unprofitable that I might be private ; yet I must confess, it is much more pleasing to my self, to be retired from the World, and to have very little to do with Men, and to converse with God and Conscience and good Books ; of which I have spoken my Heart in my *Divine Life*, Part III.

32. Though I was never much tempted to the Sin of Covetousness, yet my fear of dying was wont to tell me, that I was not sufficiently loosened from this World. But I find that it is comparatively very easy to me to be loose from this World, but hard to live by Faith above. To despise Earth is easy to me ; but not so easy to be acquainted and conversant in Heaven. I have nothing in this World which I could not easily let go ; but to get satisfying Apprehensions of the other World is the great and grievous Difficulty.

33. I am much more apprehensive than long ago, of the *Odiousness* and *Danger* of the Sin of Pride ; scarce any Sin appeareth more odious to me : Having daily more Acquaintance with the lamentable Naughtiness and Frailty of Man, and of the Mischiefs of that Sin ; and especially in Matters Spiritual and Ecclesiastical : I think so far as any Man is proud he is kin to the Devil, and utterly a Stranger to God and to himself : It's a Wonder that it should be a possible Sin, to Men that still carry about with them, in Soul and Body, such humbling matter of Remedy as we all do.

34. I more than ever lament the Unhappiness of the Nobility, Gentry, and great ones of the World, who live in such Temptation to Sensuality, Curiosity and wasting of their time about a multitude of little things ; and whose Lives are too often the Transcript of the Sins of *Sodom* ; Pride, fulness of Bread, and abundance of Idleness, and want of Compassion to the Poor. And I more value the Life of the poor Labouring Man ; but especially of him that hath neither Poverty nor Riches.

35. I am much more sensible than heretofore, of the Breadth, and Length, and Depth of the radical, universal, odious Sin of *Selfishness*, and therefore have written so much against it : And of the Excellency and Necessity of *Self-denial*, and of a publick Mind, and of loving our Neighbour as our selves.

36. I am more and more sensible that most Controversies have more need of *right Stating* than of *Debating* ; and if my Skill be increased in any thing it is in that, in *narrowing* Controversies by Explication, and separating the *real* from the *verbal*, and proving to many Contenders, that they differ less than they think they do.

37. I am more solicitous than I have been about my Duty to God, and less solicitous about his *Dealings* with me ; as being assured that he will do all things well ; and as acknowledging the Goodness of all the Declarations of his Holyness, even in the Punishment of Man ; and as knowing that there is no Rest but in the Will and Goodness of God.

38. Though my Works were never such as could be any Temptation to me to dream of obliging God by proper Merit, in commutative Justice ; yet one of the most ready, constant, undoubted Evidences of my Uprightness and Interest in his Covenant, is the Consciousness of my *living as devoted to him* : And I the easier believe the Pardon of my Failings through my Redeemer, while I know that I serve no other Master, and that I know no other End, or Trade, or Business ; but that I am employed in his Work, and make it the Business of my Life, and live to him in the World, notwithstanding my Infirmities : And this *Bent* and *Business* of my Life, with my longing *Desires* after Perfection, in the Knowledge and Belief and Love of God, and in a Holy and Heavenly Mind and Life, are the two standing, constant, discernable Evidences, which most put me out of doubt of my Sincerity : And I find that *constant Action* and *Duty* is it that keepeth the first always in Sight ; and *constant Wants* and *Weaknesses*, and coming short of my *Desires*, do make those *Desires* still the more *troublesome*, and so the more easily still perceived.

39. Though my habitual Judgment and Resolution and Scope of Life be still the same, yet I find a great Mutability as to actual *Apprehensions*, and Degrees of Grace ; and consequently find that so mutable a thing as the Mind of Man, would never keep its self if God were not its Keeper. When I have been seriously musing upon the Reasons of Christianity, with the concurrent Evidences methodically

dically placed in their just Advantages before my Eyes, I am so clear in my Belief of the Christian Verities, that Satan hath little room for a Temptation. But sometimes when he hath on a sudden set some Temptation before me, when the foresaid Evidences have been out of the Way, or less upon my Thoughts, he hath by such Surprizes amazed me, and weakened my Faith in the present Act: So also as to the Love of God, and trusting in him, sometimes when the Motives are clearly apprehended, the Duty is more easy and delightful: And at other times, I am meerly passive and dull, if not guilty of actual Despondency and Distrust.

40. I am much more cautious in my Belief of History than heretofore: Not that I run into their Extream that will believe nothing because they cannot believe all things. But I am abundantly satisfied by the Experience of this Age, that there is no believing two sorts of Men, *Ungodly Men* and *Partial Men* (though an honest Heathen of no Religion may be believed, where Enmity against Religion byasseth him not; yet a *debauched Christian*, besides his Enmity to the Power and Practice of his own Religion, is seldom without some farther Byass of Interest or Faction; especially when these concur, and a Man is both *ungodly* and *ambitious*, espousing an *Interest* contrary to a holy heavenly Life, and also *Factionous*, embodying himself with a Sect or Party suited to his *Spirit* and *Designs*, there is no believing his Word or Oath. If you read any Man partially bitter against others as differing from him in *Opinion*, or as cross to his *Greatness*, *Interest* or *Designs*, take heed how you believe any more, than the Historical Evidence distinct from his Word compelleth you to believe. The prodigious Lies which have been published in this Age in matters of Fact, with unblushing Confidence, even where thousands or Multitudes of Eye and Ear-Witnesses knew all to be false, doth call Men to take heed what History they believe, especially where Power and Violence affordeth that Priviledge to the Reporter, that no Man dare answer him or detect his Fraud, or if they do their Writings are all suppressed. As long as Men have Liberty to examine and contradict one another, one may partly conjecture by comparing their Words, on which side the Truth is like to lie. But when great Men write History, or Flatteries by their Appointment, which no Man dare contradict, believe it but as you are constrained. Yet in these Cases I can freely believe History: 1. If the Person shew that he is acquainted with what he saith. 2. And if he shew you the Evidences of Honesty and Conscience, and the Fear of God (which may be much perceived in the Spirit of a Writing). 3. And if he appear to be Impartial and Charitable, and a Lover of Goodness and of Mankind; and not possessed with Malignity, or personal ill Will and Malice, nor carried away by Faction or personal Interest: Conscionable Men dare not lye; but Faction and Interest abate Mens Tenderness of Conscience. And a charitable impartial Heathen may speak Truth in a love to Truth, and hatred of a Lye: But ambitious Malice and false Religion, will not stick to serve themselves on any thing. It's easy to trace the Footsteps of Veracity in the Intelligence, Impartiality, and Ingenuity of a *Thuanus*, a *Guicciardine*, a *Paulus Venet.* though Papists, and of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, though accused by the Factionous of favouring the Novations; and many Protestants in a *Melancthon*, a *Bucholtzer*, and many more; and among Physicians in such as *Crato*, *Platerus*, &c. But it's as easy to see the Footsteps of Partiality and Faction and Design, in a *Genebrard*, a *Baronius*, and a Multitude of their Companions; and to see reason of Suspicion in many more. Therefore I confess I give but halting Credit to most Histories that are written, not only against the *Albigenses* and *Waldenses*, but against most of the Ancient Hereticks, who have left us none of their own Writings, in which they speak for themselves, and I hartily lament that the Historical Writings of the Ancient Schismaticks and Hereticks (as they were called) perished, and that partiality suffered them not to survive, that we might have had more Light in the Church-Affairs of those times, and been better able to judge between the Fathers and them. And as I am prone to think that few of them were so bad as their Adversaries made them; so I am apt to think that such as the Novations, and Luciferians, and *Indians*, &c. whom their Adversaries commend, were very good Men, and more Godly than most Catholicks, however mistaken in some one Point. Sure I am, that as the Lies of the Papists, of *Luther*, *Zwinglius*, *Calvin*, and *Beza*, are visibly malicious and impudent, by the common plenary contradicting Evidence; and yet the Multitude of their Seduced ones believe them all in despite of Truth and Charity; so in this Age there have been such things written against Parties and Persons whom the Writers design to make odious; so notoriously false as you would think that the Sense of their Honour at least, should have made it impossible for such Men to write: My own
Eyes

Eyes have read such *Words* and *Actions* asserted with most vehement iterated unblushing Confidence, which abundance of Ear-Witnesses, even of their own Parties must needs know to have been altogether false : and therefore having my self now written this History of my self, notwithstanding my Protestation that I have not in any thing wilfully gone against the Truth, I expect no more Credit from the Reader, than the self-evidencing Light of the matter, with concurrent rational Advantages, from Persons, and Things, and other Witnesses, shall constrain him to; if he be a Person that is unacquainted with the Author himself, and the other Evidences of his Veracity and Credibility. And, I have purposely omitted almost all the Descriptions of any Persons that ever opposed me, or that ever I or my Brethren suffered by, because I know that the appearance of *Interest* and *partiality* might give a fair excuse to the Readers incredulity : (Although indeed the true Description of Persons is much of the very Life of History, and especially of the History of the Age which I have lived in; yet to avoid the suspicion of Partiality I have left it out). Except only when I speak of the *Cromwellians* and *Sectaries*, where I am the more free, because none suspecteth my Interest to have engaged me against them; but (with the rest of my Brethren) I have opposed them in the obedience of my Conscience, when by pleasing them I could have had almost any thing that they could have given me, and when before-hand I expected that the present Governours should silence me, and deprive me of Maintenance, House and Home, as they have done by me and many hundreds more. Therefore I supposed that my Descriptions and Censures of those Persons which would have enriched and honoured me, and of their Actions against that Party which hath silenced, impoverished and accused me, and which before-hand I expected should do so, are beyond the Suspicion of Envy, Self-interest or Partiality: If not, I there also am content that the Reader exercise his Liberty, and believe no worse even of these Men, than the Evidence of Fact constraineth him.

Thus much of the Alterations of my Soul, since my younger years, I thought best to give the Reader, instead of all those Experiences and Actual Motions and Affections, which I suppose him rather to have expected an account of. And having transcribed thus much of a Life which God hath read, and Conscience hath read, and must further read, I humbly lament it, and beg pardon of it, as sinful and too unequal and unprofitable : And I warn the Reader to amend that in his own, which he findeth to have been amiss in mine; confessing also that much hath been amiss which I have not here particularly mentioned, and that I have not lived according to the abundant Mercies of the Lord. But what I have recorded, hath been especially to perform my Vows, and declare his Praise to all Generations, who hath filled up my days with his unvaluable Favours, and bound me to bless his Name for ever : And also to prevent the defective performance of this Task, by some overvaluing Brethren, who I know intended it, and were unfitter to do it than my self. And for such Reasons as *Junius*, *Scalpetus*, *Thuanus*, and many others have done the like before me. The principal of which are these three : 1. As Travellers and Seamen use to do after great Adventures and Deliverances, I hereby satisfy my Conscience, in praising the Blessed Author of all those undeserved Mercies which have filled up my Life. 2. Foreseeing by the Attempts of Bishop *Morley*, what Prelatists and Papists are like to say of me, when they have none to contradict them, and how possible it is that those that never knew me may believe them, though they have lost their hopes with all the rest, I take it to be my Duty to be so faithful to that stock of Reputation which God hath intrusted me with, as to defend it at the rate of opening the Truth. Such as have made the World believe that *Luther* consulted with the Devil, that *Calvin* was a stigmatized Sodomite, that *Beza* turned Papist, &c. to blast their Labours, I know are very like to say any thing by me, which their Interest or Malice tell them will any way advantage their Cause, to make my Writings unprofitable when I am dead. 3. That young Christians may be warned by the Mistakes and Failings of my unriper Times, to learn in patience, and live in watchfulness, and not be fierce and proudly confident in their first Conceptions; And to reverence ripe experienced Age, and to take heed of taking such for their Chief Guides as have nothing but immature and unexperienced Judgments, with fervent Affections, and free and confident Expressions; but to learn of them that have (with holiness) study, time and trial, looked about them as well on one side as the other, and attained to clearness and impartiality in their Judgments.

1. But having mentioned the Changes which I think were for the better, I must add, that as I confessed many of my Sins before, so since I have been guilty of many, which because materially they seemed small, have had the less resistance, and yet on the review to trouble more than if they had been greater done in ignorance: It can be no small sin formally which is committed against Knowledge and Conscience and Deliberation, whatever excuse it have. To have sinned while I preacht and wrote against Sin, and had such abundant and great obligations from God, and made so many promises against it, doth lay me very low: not so much in fear of Hell, as in great displeasure against my self, and such self-abbhorrence as would cause revenge upon my self, were it not forbidden. When God forgiveth me I cannot forgive my self; especially for any rash words or deeds, by which I have seemed injurious, and less tender and kind than I should have been to my near and dear Relations, whose Love abundantly obliged me; when such are dead, though we never differed in point of Interest or any great Matter, every sour or cross provoking word which I gave them, maketh me almost unreconcilable to my self: and tells me how Repentance brought some of old to pray to the Dead whom they had wronged, to forgive them, in the hurry of their Passion.

2. And though I before told the Change of my Judgment against provoking Writings, I have had more will than skill since to avoid such. I must mention it by way of penitent Confession, that I am too much inclined to such words in Controversial Writings which are too keen, and apt to provoke the Person whom I write against. Sometimes I suspect that Age sowreth my Spirits, and sometimes I am apt to think that it is long thinking and speaking of such things that maketh me weary, and less patient with others that understand them not: And sometimes I am ready to think that it is out of a hatred of the flattering humour which now prevaieth so in the World, that few Persons are able to bear the Truth: And I am sure that I cannot only bear my self such Language as I use to others, but that I expect it. I think all these are partly Causes; but I am sure the principal Cause is a long Custom of studying how to speak and write in the keenest manner to the common, ignorant, and ungodly People (without which keenness to them, no Sermon nor Book does much good); which hath so habituated me to it, that I am still falling into the same with others; forgetting that many Ministers and Professors of Strictness do desire the greatest sharpness to the Vulgar, and to their Adversaries, and the greatest lenity and smoothness and comfort, if not honour to themselves. And I have a strong natural inclination to speak of every Subject just as it is, and to call a Spade a Spade, & *verba rebus aptare*; so as that the thing spoken of may be fullest known by the words; which methinks is part of our speaking truly. But I unfeignedly confess that it is faulty, because imprudent; (for that is not a good means which doth harm, because it is not fitted to the end); and because whilst the Readers think me angry, (though I feel no Passion at such times in my self) it is scandalous and a hinderance to the usefulness of what I write: And especially because (though I feel no Anger, yet which is worse) I know that there is some want of Honour and Love or Tenderneß to others; or else I should not be apt to use such words as open their weakness and offend them: And therefore I repent of it, and wish all over-sharp passages were expunged from my Writings, and desire forgiveness of God and Man. And yet I must say that I am oft afraid of the contrary Extream, lest when I speak against great and dangerous Errors and Sins, (though of Persons otherwise honest) I should encourage men to them, by speaking too easily of them (as Eli did to his Sons), and lest I should so favour the Person as may befriend the Sin, and wrong the Church. And I must say as the New-England Synodists in their Defence against Mr. Davenport, pag. 2. Pref. [*We heartily desire that as much as may be, all Expressions and Reflexions may be forbore that tend to break the Bond of Love. Indeed such is our Infirmary, that the naked discovery of the fallacy or invalidity of anothers Allegations or Arguings is apt to provoke. This in Disputes is unavoidable.*]


And therefore I am less for a disputing way than ever; believing that it tempteth Men to bend their Wits, to defend their Errors and oppose the Truth, and hindereth usually their information: And the Servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle to all Men, &c. Therefore I am most in Judgment for a Learning or a Teaching way of Converse: In all Companies, I will be glad either to hear those speak that can teach me, or to be heard of those that have need to learn.

And that which I named before on the by, is grown one of my great Diseases: I have lost much of that Zeal which I had, to propagate any Truths to others, save the meer Fundamentals. When I perceive People or Ministers (which is too common) to think they know what indeed they do not, and to dispute those things which they never thoroughly studied, or expect I should debate the Case with them, as if an hours talk would serve instead of an acute understanding and seven years study, I have no Zeal to make them of my Opinion, but an impatience of continuing Discourse with them on such Subjects, and am apt to be silent or to turn to something else: which (though there be some reason for it) I feel cometh from a want of Zeal for the Truth, and from an impatient Temper of Mind. I am ready to think that People should quickly understand all in a few words; and if they cannot, lazily to despair of them, and leave them to themselves: And I the more know that it is sinful in me, because it is partly so in other things; even about the Faults of my Servants or other Inferiours, if three or four times warning do no good on them, I am much tempted to despair of them, and turn them away and leave them to themselves.

I mention all these Distempers, that my Faults may be a warning to others to take heed, as they call on my self for Repentance and Watchfulness. O Lord, for the Merits and Sacrifice and Intercession of Christ, be merciful to me a Sinner, and forgive my known and unknown Sins.

T H E
L I F E
O F T H E
R E V E R E N D
Mr. Richard Baxter.

L I B. I. P A R T II.

§ 1.  N the Time of the late unhappy Wars in these Kingdoms, the Controversies about Church Government, were in most Mens mouths, and made the greatest Noise, being hotly agitated by States-men and Divines, by Words and Writings: which made it necessary to me, to set my self to the most serious study of those Points: The result of which was, this confident and settled Judgment, that of the four contending Parties, (the *Eraastian*, *Episcopal*, *Presbyterian* and *Independent*) each one had some Truths in peculiar, which the other overlookt, or took little notice of, and each one had their proper Mistakes which gave advantage to their Adversaries; though all of them had so much truth in common among them, as would have made these Kingdoms happy, if it had been unanimously and soberly reduced to practice, by prudent and charitable Men.

§ 2. 1. The *Eraistians*, I thought, were thus far in the right, in asserting more fully than others the Magistrates Power in Matters of Religion; that all Coercive Power (by Mulcts or Force) is only in their hands (which is the full sence of our Oath of Supremacy); and that no such Power belongeth to the Pastors or People of the Church; and that thus (as Dr. *Ludov. Molinæus* pleadeth) there should not be any *Imperium in Imperio*, or any Coercive Power challenged by Pope, Prelate, Presbytery, or any, but by the Magistrate alone: that the Pastoral Power is only *Perswasive*, or exercised on Volunteers; yet not *private*, such as belongeth to every Man (to *perswade*) that hath a perswading Faculty, but Publick and Authoritative by Divine appointment: And not only to *perswade* by Sermons or general Speeches, but by particular oversight of their particular Flocks! much like the Authority of *Plato* or *Zeno* in his School, or a Master in any Academy of Volunteers, or of a Physician in his Hospital, supposing these were Officers of God's Institution, who could as the ground of their *perswasions*, produce his Commission or Command for what they said and did.

But though the Diocesans, and the Presbyterians of *Scotland* (who had Laws to enable them) opposed this Doctrine or the Party at least, yet I perceived that indeed, it was but on the ground of their Civil Advantages, as the Magistrate had impowered by them by his Laws (which the *Eraistians* did not contradict); except some few of the higher stiffer sort, who pleaded as the Papists, for somewhat

more, which yet they could not themselves tell what to make of: But the generality of each Party indeed owned this Doctrine; and I could speak with no sober Judicious Prelatist, Presbyterian, or Independant, but confessed that no Secular, or Forcing Power, belonged to any Pastors of the Church as such; and unless the Magistrates authorized them as his Officers, they could not touch mens Bodies or Estates, but the Conscience alone * (which can be of none but of Assenters).

* Arch-
shop Bilson
frequently
and fully
professeth.

§ 3. 2. The Episcopal Party seemed to have reason on their side in this, that in the Primitive Church there were some Apostles, Evangelists, and others, who were general unfixed Officers of the Church, not tyed to any particular Charge; and had some Superiority (some of them) over-fixed Bishops or Pastors! And though the extraordinary Parts of the Apostles Office ceased, with them, I saw no proof of the Cessation of any ordinary part of their Office, such as Church Government is confessed to be. All the doubt that I saw in this was, Whether the Apostles themselves were constituted Governours of other Pastors, or only over-ruled them by the Eminency of their Gifts and Privilege of Infallibility. For it seemed to me unmeet to affirm without proof, that Christ settled a Form of Government in his Church, to endure only for one Age, and changed it for a New one when that Age was ended.

And as to fixed Bishops of particular Churches that were Superiours in degree to Presbyters, though I saw nothing at all in Scripture for them, which was any whit cogent, yet I saw that the Reception of them in all the Churches was so timely (even in the days of one of the Apostles in some Churches), and so general, that I thought it a most improbable thing, that if it had been contrary to the Apostles mind, we should never read that they themselves, or any one of their Disciples that conversed with them, no nor any Christian or Heretick in the World, should once speak or write a word against it, till long after it was generally settled in the Churches. This therefore I resolved never to oppose.

§ 4. 3. And as for the Presbyterians, I found that the Office of Preaching Presbyters was allowed by all that deserve the Name of Christians; and that this Office did participate (subserviently to Christ) of the Prophetical (or Teaching) the Priestly (or worshipping) and the Governing Power; and that both Scripture, Antiquity, and the persuasive Nature of Church Government, clearly shew that all Presbyters were Church Governours, as well as Church Teachers! and that to deny this was to destroy the Office, and to endeavour to destroy the Churches. And I saw in Scripture, Antiquity and Reason, that the Association of Pastors and Churches for Agreement, and their Synods in Cases of Necessity, are a plain duty: and that their ordinary stated Synods are usually very convenient.

And I saw that in England the Persons which were called Presbyterians were eminent for Learning, Sobriety and Piety: and the Pastors so called were they that went through the Work of the Ministry, in diligent serious preaching to the People, and edifying Mens Souls, and keeping up Religion in the Land.

§ 5. 4. And for the Independants, I saw that most of them were Zealous, and very many Learned, discreet and godly Men; and fit to be very serviceable in the Church. And I found in the search of Scripture and Antiquity, that in the beginning a Governed Church, and a stated worshipping Church, were all one; and not two several things: And that though there might be other by-Meetings in places like our Chappels or private Houses, for such as Age or Persecution hindered to come to the more solemn Meetings, yet Churches then were no bigger (in number of Persons) than our Parishes now (to grant the most): And that they were Societies of Christians united for Personal Communion; and not only for Communion by Meetings of Officers and Delegates in Synods, as many Churches in Association be. And I saw if once we go beyond the bounds of [Personal Communion] as the end of particular Churches, in the Definition, we may make a Church of a Nation, or of ten Nations, or what we please, which shall have none of the Nature and Ends of the Primitive particular Churches. Also I saw a commendable care of serious Holiness and Discipline in most of the Independant Churches: And I found that some Episcopal Men (as Bishop Usher himself did voluntarily profess his Judgment to me) did hold that every Bishop was independant, as to Synods, and that Synods were not proper Governours of the particular Bishops, but only for their Concord.

§ 6. 5. And for the Anabaptists themselves (though I have written and said so much against them,) as I found that most of them were Persons of Zeal in Religion, so many of them were sober godly People, and differed from others but in the Point of Infant Baptism, or at most in the Points of Predestination and Free-will

will and Perseverance, (as the *Jesuits* differ from the *Dominicans*, the *Lutherans* from the *Calvinists*, and the *Arminians* from the *Contra-Remonstrants*) : And I found in all Antiquity, that though Infant Baptism was held lawful by the Church, yet some with *Tertullian* and *Nazienzen*, thought it most convenient to make no haste, and the rest left the time of Baptism to every ones liberty, and forced none to be baptized : Infomuch as not only *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, and such others as were converted at Years of Discretion, but *Augustine* and many such as were the Children of Christian Parents (one or both) did defer their Baptism much longer than I think they should have done. So that in the Primitive Church some were Baptized in Infancy, and some at ripe Age, and some a little before their Death ; and none were forced, but all left free ; and the only Penalty (among men) of their delay was, that so long they were without the Priviledges of the Church, and were numbred but with the *Catechumens*, or *Expectants*.

§ 7. 6. As to *Doctrinal Differences* also (between *Arminians* and *Anti-Arminians*) I soon perceived that it was hard to find a Man that discerned the true State of the several Controversies ; and that when *unrevealed points* (uncertain to all) were laid aside, and the Controversies about Words were justly separated from the Controversies about things ; the Differences about things which remained were fewer and smaller than most of the Contenders perceived or would believe.

§ 8. 7. Yea, I found that our *Doctrinal Controversies* with the *Papists* themselves, were very much darkned, and seldom well stated ; and that in the Points of Merit, Justification, Assurance of Salvation, Perseverance, Grace, Free-will, and such others, it was common to misunderstand one another, and rare to meet with any that by just Distinction and Explication, did well state the Controversies, and bring them out of the Dark.

See this matter fully cleared in *Le Blanc's Thesis*.

§ 9. What I begin to write about any of these *Doctrinal Differences*, in my *Aphorisms*, *Confession*, *Apologie*, &c. I will now pass by, and the manifold Censures and Encounters which I had thereupon, and the many Manuscripts of worthy Brethren animadverting upon my *Aphorisms*, which I was (privately) put to answer : Because it is not such Differences that now I am to speak of.

§ 10. I perceived then that every Party beforementioned, having *some Truth* or *Good*, in which it was more eminent than the rest, it was no impossible thing to separate all that from the Error and the Evil, and that among all the Truths which they held either in Common or in Controversy, there was no Contradiction : And therefore, that he that would procure the Welfare of the Church must do his best to promote all the *Truth* and *Good* which was held by every part, and to leave out all their Errors and their Evil ; and not take up all that any Party had espoused as their own.

§ 11. The things which I disliked as erroneous or evil in each Party were these :

1. In the *Erafsians* I disliked, 1. That they made too light of the Power of the Ministry and Church, and of Excommunication ; and did not distinguish sufficiently of a *persuasive Power* which is but *private*, and is founded only in the Reason of the Speaker, and a *persuasive Power* which is *publick* in an Officer of *Christ* (which *Camero* well calleth *Doctoral*), and is founded *conjunctly* in his *Authority* (by *God's Commission*) and his *Arguments*. 2. That they made the Articles of [the *Holy Catholick Church*, and the *Communion of Saints*] too insignificant, by making Church Communion more common to the impenitent than *Christ* would have it ; and so dishonoured *Christ* by dishonouring his Church, and making it too like to the Heathen World, and breaking down the Hedge of *Spiritual Discipline*, and laying it almost in common with the Wilderness. 3. That they misunderstood and injured their Brethren, supposing and affirming them to claim as from *God* a *coercive Power* over the Bodies or Purfes of Men, and so setting up *Imperium in Imperio* ; whereas all temperate Christians (at least except *Papists*) confess that the Church hath no Power of *Force*, but only to manage *God's Word* unto Mens Consciences.

§ 12. In the *Diocesane Party* I utterly disliked

1. Their Extirpation of the true Discipline of *Christ*, as we conceive, by consequence, though not *intentionally* ; not only as they omitted it, and corrupted it ; but as their Principles and Church State had made it unpracticable and impossible, while one Bishop with his Consistory, had the sole Government of a thousand or many hundred Churches, even over many thousands whose Faces they were never like to see ; not setting up any *Parochia* Government under them : But just as if the Archbishops (or rather the *Patriarchs*) in *Constantine's* days, should have deposed

deposed all the Bishops in the Empire, and have taken all their Charges upon themselves.

2. That hereby they altered the Species of Churches, and either would deface all particular Churches, and have none but associated Diocesane Churches, (who hold the Communion by *Delegates* and not *personally*); or else they would turn all the particular Parochial Churches into Christian Oratories and Schools, while they gave their Pastors but a *Teaching*, and *Worshipping* Power; but not a *Governing*.

3. That hereby they altered the ancient Species of Presbyters, to whose Office the Spiritual Government of their proper Folks as truly belonged, as the Power of preaching and worshipping God did.

4. That they extinguished the ancient Species of Bishops, which was in the times of *Ignatius*, when every Church had *one Altar and one Bishop*; and there were none but *Itinerants* or *Archbishops* that had many Churches.

5. That they set up Courts that were more *Secular* than *Spiritual*, in the manner of other Secular Courts; and that the Government of the Church by Excommunication, Suspensions, Absolutions, &c. was exercised by a Chancellor, who was a civil Lawyer and a Lay-man even against Ministers themselves, unless for a blind, some Priest did formally pronounce the Sentence.

6. That the great Church Business of these Bishops and Courts, was to vex honest Christians that durst not worship God by such Ceremonies as their Consciences thought unlawful, and to silence able godly Preachers that durst not subscribe and swear Obedience to them, and use every one of their Formes and Ceremonies, and profess the Lawfulness of all this; and that by gratifying the multitude of the ungodly, and espousing a Cause so pernicious to the Church, which multitudes of sober Christians would dislike, they had engaged themselves into a way of Enmity and Violence against a very considerable Number of as able Ministers, and holy Christians as any were in the Land or in the known World.

7. And hereby it came to pass that the Multitude of the Ignorant and ungodly People were become the zealous Pleaders for the Prelacie, and made it the Breff-work to exercise their Enmity against the serious Practice of Religion.

8. And that ignorant drunken Readers (unfit to live in Christian Communion) were the only Pastors (under the Prelates) of abundance of the Churches in the Land.

9. And that their zeal for Formality and Ceremonies, and their Enmity to the most serious way of Preaching, Praying, yea, and Living, did greatly tend to the suppressing of Godliness, and the increase of Ignorance and Prophaneness in the People.

10. And lastly, That they were set upon a way of uncharitable Censuring, Reproaching, Cruelty and Force, for the carrying on of so ill a Cause; wherein their carnal Interest did evidently manage a War against the Interest of Christ and Godliness and the Souls of Men.

§ 13. 3. In the Presbyterian way I disliked

1. Their Order of *Lay-Elders* who had *no Ordination*, nor *Power to Preach*, nor to *administer Sacraments*: For though I grant that Lay-Elders, or the Chief of the People, were oft employed to express the Peoples Consent, and preserve their Liberties, yet these were no *Church-Officers* at all, nor had any Charge of private Oversight of the Flocks: And though I grant that one Church had oft more Elders, than did *use* to preach, and that many were most employed in private Oversight, yet that was but a prudent dividing of their Work, according to the Gifts and parts of each, and not that any Elders wanted *Power of Office* to preach or Administer Sacraments when there was Cause.

2. And I disliked the Course of some of the more rigid of them, that drew too near the way of Prelacie, by grasping at a kind of secular Power; not using it themselves, but binding the Magistrates to confiscate or imprison Men, merely because they were excommunicate; and so corrupting the true Discipline of the Church, and turning the Communion of Saints, into the Communion of the Multitude that must keep in the Church against their Wills, for fear of being undone in the World. When as a *Man whose Conscience cannot feel a just Excommunication, unless it be back'd with Confiscation or Imprisonment*, is no fitter to be a Member of a *Christian Church in the Communion of Saints*, than a *Corps* is to be a Member of a *Corporation*. It's true they claim not this Power as *Jure Divino* (though some say that the Magistrate is bound to execute these Penalties on Men merely as excommunicate;) nor no more do the Prelates, when yet the *Writ de Excommunicato*

Capiendo,

Capiendo, is the Life of all their Censures): But both Parties too much *debase the Magistrate*, by making him their *meer Executioner*; when as he is the *Judge* where-ever he is the *Executioner*, and is to try each Cause at his own Barr before he be obliged to punish any; and they corrupt the Discipline of Christ by mixing it with secular Force; and they reproach the Keys or Ministerial Power, as if it were a Leaden Sword, and not worth a Straw unless the Magistrates Sword enforce it. (And what then did the Primitive Church for Three hundred Years?) And, worst of all, they corrupt the Church by forcing in the Rabble of the unfit and unwilling; and thereby tempt many Godly Christians to Schisms and dangerous Separations. In all this I deny not, but that the Magistrate must restrain all sorts of Vice: But not as a Hangman only, that executeth the Judgment of another; nor *eo Nomine* to punish a Man because he is Excommunicate (that is most heavily punished already by others): Till Magistrates keep the Sword themselves, and learn to deny it to every angry Clergyman that would do his own Work by it, and leave them to their own Weapons, the Word and Spiritual Keys; & *valeant quantum valere possunt*, the Church shall never have Unity and Peace; *bucusque probatum est*.

3. And I disliked *some* of the Presbyterians, that they were not tender enough to dissenting Brethren; but too much *against Liberty* as others were too much *for it*; and thought by Votes and Number to do that which Love and Reason should have done.

4. And when the Independents said [*A Worshipping Church and a Governed Church is and must be all one* :] And the Presbyterians said [*They may be all one though it be not necessary*]; yet in their Practice they would have so settled it, that they should no where be all one, but ten or twelve worshipping Churches should have made one Governed Church; which prepared the way to the Diocesane Frame; though I confess it is incomparably better (because ten or Twelve Churches is not so many as a thousand or many hundred; and because the Pastor of every Church had the Government of his own Flock, in Conjunction with the Presbytery or Synod, though not alone).

§ 14. 4. And in the Independent way I disliked many things: As

1. That they made too light of Ordination.

2. That they also had their Office of Lay-Eldership.

3. That they were commonly Stricter about the Qualification of Church Members, than Scripture, Reason, or the Practice of the Universal Church would allow; not taking a Man's *bare Profession* as *Credible*, as a sufficient Evidence of his Title to Church Communion, unless either by a holy Life, or the Particular Narration of the Passages of the Work of Grace, he satisfied the Pastors (yea, and all the Church) that he was truly Holy; whereas every Man's Profession is the valid Evidence of the thing professed in his Heart, unless it be *disproved* by him that questioneth it, by proving him guilty of Heresies or Impiety, or Sins inconsistent with it. And if once you go beyond the Evidence of [*a serious sober Confession*] as a credible and sufficient sign of Title, you will never know where to rest; but the Churches Opinion will be both Rule and Judge, and Men will be let in or kept out, according to the various Latitude of Opinions or Charity in the several Officers or Churches: and he will be passable in one Church who in another is intollerable; and so the Churches will be heterogeneous and confused. And there is in all this a little (if not more than a little) spiritual Pride of the Weaker sort of Professors, affecting to be visibly set at a greater Distance from the colder Professors of Christianity, than God would have them, that so they may be more observable, and conspicuous for their Holyness in the World: And there is too much uncharitableness in it, when God hath given sincere Professors the Kernel of his Mercies, even Grace and Glory, and yet they will grudge to cold Hypocritical Professors, so small a thing as the outward Shell, and visible Communion and external Ordinances; Yea, though such are kept in the Church for the Sakes and Service of the Sincere.

4. And I disliked also the lamentable tendency of this their way to Divisions and Sub-divisions, and the nourishing of Heresies and Sects.

5. But above all I disliked, that most of them made the People by majority of Votes to be Church-Governors, in Excommunications, Absolutions, &c. which Christ hath made an Act of Office, and so they governed their Governors and themselves.

6. Also that they too much exploded Synods, refusing them as stated, and admitting them but upon some extraordinary Occasions.

7. Also their over-rigidness against the Admission of Christians of other Churches to their Communion.

8. And their making a Minister to be as no Minister to any but his own Flock, and to act to others but as a private Man; with divers others such Irregularities, and dividing Opinions: Many of which the moderation of the *New England Synod* hath of late corrected and disowned; and so done very much to heal these Breaches.

§ 15. 5. And for the Anabaptists I knew that they injuriously excluded the Infants of the Faithful from solemn entrance into the Covenant and Church of God, and as sinfully made their Opinion a Ground of their Separations from the Churches and Communion of their Brethren; and that among them grew up the Weeds of many Errors and Divisions, Sub-divisions, Reproach of Ministers, Faction and Pride, and scandalous Practices were fomented in their way.

§ 16. The case standing thus with all these Parties, I thought it my Duty, 1. To labour to bring them all to a concordant Practice of so much as they all agreed in. 2. To set all that together which was *True and Good* among them all, and to promote that so far as I was able, and to reject the rest. 3. And especially in order to these, to labour the reviving of *Christian Charity*, which Faction and Disputes had lamentably extinguish'd. But how to accomplish this, was beyond the Prospect of my Hope.

§ 17. Besides the Hinderances which are contained in *Mens Principles*, I found three others which were exceeding Powerful: One is in *Mens Company* and another in their seeming *Interests*, and the chiefest of all in the Disposition and Quality of their *Minds*.

§ 18. 1. Some that were most conversant with sober, peaceable, experienced Men, and were under the Care of peaceable Ministers, I found very much inclined to Charity and Peace. But multitudes of them conversed most with ignorant, proud, unexperienced, Passionate, Uncharitable Persons; who made it a part of their Zeal and Ingenuity to break a Jest in Reproach and Scorn of them that differed from them; and who were ordinarily Backbiters, and bold unrighteous Censurers of others, before they well understood them, or ever heard them give a Reason of their Judgments or Practices, or speak for themselves. And the hearing and conversing with such Persons as these doth powerfully dispose Men to the same Disease, and to sin impenitently after their Example. Especially when Men are incorporated into a *Seet* or *uncharitable Party*, and have captivated themselves to a human Servitude in Religion, and given up themselves to the Will of Men, the Stream will bear down the plainest Evidence, and carry them to the foulest Errors.

§ 19. 2. And as it is carnal *Interest* that ruleth the carnal World, so I found that 1. Among *Selfish Men*, there were as many *Interests* and *Ends*, as Persons; and every one had an Interest of his own which governed him, and set him at a very great Enmity to the most necessary means of Peace. 2. And that ever Man that had once given up himself to a Party, and drowned himself in a Faction, did make the Interest of that Faction or Party to be his own: And the Interest of *Christianity*, *Catholicism* and *Charity*, is contrary to the Interest of *Seets*, as *such*. And it is the Nature of a *Seetary*, that he preferreth the Interest of his Opinion, *Seet* or Party, before the Interest of Christianity, Catholicism and Charity, and will sacrifice the latter to the Service of the former.

§ 20. 3. But the Grand Impediment I found in the temper of *Mens Minds*; and there I perceived a manifold difference. Among all these Parties I found that some were *naturally* of mild and calm and gentle Dispositions, and some of sower, forward, passionate, peevish, or furious Natures: Some were young and raw and unexperienced, and those were like a young Fruit, sour and harsh; addicted to pride of their own Opinions, to Self-conceitedness, Turbulency, Censoriousness and Temerity, and to engage themselves for a Cause and Party before they understood the matter: and were led about by those Teachers and Books that had once won their highest Esteem; judging of Sermons and Persons by their Fervency, more than by the *soundness* of the Matter and the Cause. And some I found on the other side, to be ancient and experienced Christians that had tried the Spirits, and seen what was of God, and what of Man, and noted the Events of both in the World; and these were like ripe Fruit, Mellow and sweet, first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of Mercy and good Fruits, without Partiality, without Hypocrisy, who being Makers of Peace, did sow the Fruits of Righteousness

in peace, *James 3. 17, 18.* I began by experience to understand the meaning of those words of *St. Paul, 1 Tim. 3. 6.* [*Not a Novice, lest being lifted up with pride, he fall into the condemnation of the Devil.*] Novices, that is, young, raw, unexperienced Christians, are much apter to be proud, and censorious, and factious, than old experienced, judicious Christians.

§ 21. But the Difference between the *Godly* and the *Ungodly*, the *Spiritual* and the *Carnal* worshippers of God, was here the most considerable of all. An humble, holy, upright Soul is sensible of the interest of Christ and Souls; and a *gracious* Person is ever a *charitable* Person, and loveth his Neighbour as himself; and therefore judgeth of him, as he would be judged of himself, and speaketh of him as he would be spoken of himself, and useth him as he would be used himself: And it is as much against his charitable inclination to disagree or separate from his Brethren; much more to prosecute them or cast them out, as it is against the nature of the *body* to dismember it self, by cutting off any of the parts. And it is easie to bring such Persons to Agreement, at least to live in Charitable Communion. But on the other side the Carnal, Selfish and Unsanctified, (of what Party or Opinion soever) have a Nature that is quite against holy Concord and Peace. They want that *love* which is the natural Balsom for the Churches wounds: They are every one *Selfish*, and ruled by *Self-Interest*, and have as many *Ends* and Centres of their Desires and Actions, as they are individual Men. They are easily deceived and led into Error, especially in Practicals, and against Spiritual Truths, for want of Divine Illumination, and Experience of the Things of God, and a Nature suitable thereto. Their Designs are Carnal, Ambitious, Covetous, as Worldly Felicity is their Idol and their End: God is not taken for their highest Governour, his Laws must give place to the Desires of their Flesh: Their very Religion is but Pride and Worldliness, or subject to it. They have a secret Enmity against a holy, spiritual Life, and therefore against the People that are holy: They love not them that are serious in their own Religion, and that go beyond their dead Formality: This Enmity, provoked by Self-interest or Reproof, doth easily make them Persecutors of the Godly, if they have but power. And their carnal worldly hearts incline them to the carnal worldly side in any Controversies about Religion, and to corrupt it, and make it a carnal thing. These Hypocrites in the Church do betray its Purity and Peace, and sell Christ's Interest and the Gospel for as small a price as *Judas* sold his Lord for. And though in a time, when God's Providence setteth his own Cause on the higher ground, and giveth it the advantage of holy Governours, these Men may possibly be serviceable to its welfare, as finding it to serve their carnal Ends; yet ordinarily they will sell the Peace of the Church for Preferment; and are either *imposing persecuting Dividers*, or *discontented humorous Dividers*; and hardly brought to the necessary terms of a just and holy and durable Peace, (of whom I have more largely written in my Book called *Catholick Unity*). These, and many more Impediments do rise up against all conciliatory endeavours.

§ 22. But I found not all these *alike* in all the disagreeing Parties, though some of both Sorts in every Party. The *Erastian* Party is most composed of Lawyers and other Secular Persons, who better understand the Nature of Civil Government, than the Nature, Form and Ends of the Church, and of those Offices appointed by Christ for Men's Spiritual Edification and Salvation. The Diocesan Party (with us) consisted of some grave, learned, godly Bishops, and some sober godly People of their mind; and withal of almost all the carnal Politicians, Temporizers, Prophane, and Haters of Godliness in the Land; and all the Rabble of the ignorant, ungodly Vulgar: Whether this came to pass from any thing in the Nature of their Diocesan Government, or from their accommodating the ungodly Sort by the formal way of their Publick Worship; or from their heading and pleasing them by running down the stricter sort of People whom they hated; or all these together; and also because the *worst and most* do always fall in with the Party that is uppermost, I leave to the Judgment of the considerate Reader. The Presbyterian Party consisted of grave, orthodox, godly Ministers, together with the hopefullest of the Students and young Ministers, and the soberest, godly, ancient Christians, who were equally averse to *Persecution* and to *Schism*; and of those young ones who were educated and ruled by these: As also in those places where they most prevailed, of the soberest sort of the well-meaning Vulgar, who liked a godly Life, though they had no great knowledge of it: And this Party was most desirous of Peace. The Independant Party had many very godly Ministers and People, but with them many young injudicious Persons, inclined much to Novelries and Separations, and abounding more in Zeal than Knowledge; usually doing more

for Subdivisions, than the few sober Persons among them could do for unity and Peace; too much mistaking the Terms of Church Communion, and the difference between the Regenerate (invisible) and the Congregate (or visible) Church. The Anabaptists Party consisted of some (but fewer) sober, peaceable Persons, and orthodox in other Points; but withal, of abundance of young transported Zealots, and a medley of Opinionists, who all hastened directly to *Enthusiasm* and *Subdivisions*, and by the Temptation of Prosperity and Success in Arms, and the Policy of some Commanders, were led into Rebellions, and hot Endeavours against the Ministry, and other scandalous Crimes; and brought forth the horrid Sects of *Ranters*, *Seekers*, and *Quakers* in the *Land*.

§ 23. But the greatest Advantage which I found for Concord and Pacification, was among a great number of Ministers and People who had addicted themselves to no Sect or Party at all; though the Vulgar called them by the Name of *Presbyterians*: And the truth is, as far as I could discover, this was the Case of the greatest number of the godly Ministers and People throughout *England*. For though Presbytery generally took in *Scotland*, yet it was but a stranger here: And it found some Ministers that lived in conformity to the Bishops, Liturgies and Ceremonies (however they wisht for Reformation); and the most (that quickly after were ordained) were but young Students in the Universities, at the time of the change of Church Government, and had never well studied the Point on either side: And though most of the Ministers (then) in *England* saw nothing in the Presbyterian way of *practice*, which they could not cheerfully concur in, yet it was but few that had resolved on their *Principles*: And when I came to try it, I found that most (that ever I could meet with) were against the *Jus Divinum* of Lay Elders, and for the moderate Primitive Episcopacy, and for a narrow Congregational or Parochial Extent of ordinary Churches, and for an accommodation of all Parties, in order to Concord, as well as my self. I am sure as soon as I proposed it to them, I found most inclined to this way, and therefore I suppose it was their Judgment before: Yea, multitudes whom I had no converse with, I understood to be of this mind; so that this moderate Number, (I am loth to call them a *Party*, because they were for Catholicism against *Parties*), being no way pre-engaged, made the Work of Concord much more hopeful than else it would have been, or than I thought it to be when I first attempted it.

§ 24. Things being in this Case, I stood still some years, as a looker on, and contented my self to *wish* and *pray* for Peace, and only drop now and then a word for it in my practical Writings; which hath since been none of my smallest troubles. The Reasons were, 1. Because I was taken up in Practicals, and in such Controversies as tended to Doctrinal Agreement. 2. Because I looked when some abler and more eminent Divines attempted it. 3. But the chief Reason was, Despair: I was so conscious of my meanness and inconsiderableness in the Church, that I verily thought, but very few will regard what I said. But when I once attempted it, God convinced me of this Errour, and shewed me how little Instruments signifie, when he will *work*: and that his Ministers and People were more humble to hear the meanest of their Brethren, than I before believed. At last the workings of my earnest Desire, and the apprehension of my Duty, to do my best, and leave the Success to God, engaged me as followeth.

§ 25. I first began in Conference and Writing to Reverend Mr. *Anthony Burgess*, and some others, to put the main Question, Whether all Church Government be not, as *Camero* holdeth, only *Perswasive*, not by *private*, but *publick* or authorized Doctoral Perswasion, and so can work on none but the Conscientious or Assenters? And whether the usurpation of a strictly Legislative and Judicial Power (save only to judge what we are to execute), or a power of binding Dissenters, even *Clave errante*, especially binding Magistrates to execute by Corporal Penalties and Mulcts, and other Punishments, *Eo nomine*, because by Excommunication the Church hath punished them, I say, whether this be not a robbing the Magistrate of his Power, and making the Exercise of the Keys, to be too like a Coercive Secular Judgment, and so the Ground of all the Quarrels in the Church? For I saw plainly that the Papists, and those Prelates and Presbyterians who are for such an unexamined Judicial Power, do but strive for that which belongeth to none of them all. Upon the raising of these doubts I was suspected to be an *Erastian*, and had no other Answer, or Satisfaction: But the study of the Point somewhat cleared my own Judgment.

§ 26. Next this I wrote to Reverend and Judicious Mr. Richard Vines, about an attempt for Concord with all, but especially the Episcopal Party : And also about Lay-Elders ; and his Judgment fully concurred with me, and (besides others) he wrote to me the following Letter.

SIR,

THough I should have desired to have understood your thoughts about the Point of Sacrilege, that so I might have formed up my thoughts into some better order and clearer issue than I did in my last : yet to shew unto you how much I value this Correspondence with you, I am willing to make some return to your self. And first touching the School-master intended, &c. — The Accommodation you speak of is a great and a good work for the gaining into the Work such useful parts and interests as might very much heal the Discord, and unite the strength of Men to oppose destructive ways, and in my opinion more feasible with those men than any other, if they be moderate and godly : for we differ with them rather about some Pinacles of the Temple, than the Foundation or Abbuttresses thereof. I would not have much time spent in a formula of Doctrine or Worship : for we are not much distant in them, and happily no more than with one another. But I would have the Agreement attempted in that very thing which chiefly made the Division, and that is Government ; heal that breach and heal all ; there begin, and therein labour all you can. What influence this may have upon others, I know not, in this exulceration of mens minds : but the Work speaks it self good, and your Reasons for the attempting of it are very considerable. For the Assembly, you know, they can meddle with just nothing but what is sent unto them by Parliament, or one House thereof (as the Order saith) and for that reason never took upon them to intermeddle therein. What they do in such a thing, must be done as private persons, and not as in the capacity of Assembly-men, except it come to them recommended by the Parliament. The great business is to find a temperament in Ordination and Government, in both which the Exclusion or Admittance of Presbyters (dicis Causa) for a shadow, was not regular ; and no doubt the Presbyters ought and may both teach and govern, as men that must give account of Souls. For that you say of every particular Church having many Presbyters, it hath been considered in our Assembly, and the Scripture speaks fair for it, but then the Church and City was of one Extent : No Parishes or Bounds assigned out to particular men (as now) but the Minister preached in circuits, or in common, and stood in relation to the Churches as to one Church, though meeting haply in divers houses or places (as is still the manner of some Cities in the Low Countries.) If you will follow this model, you must lay the City all into one Church particular, and the Villages half a dozen of them into a Church : which is a business here in England of vast design and consequence. And as for that you say of a Bishop over many Presbyters, not over many Churches ; I believe no such Bishops will please our men : but the Nation, as you conceive it, hath been, and is the Opinion of learned Men. Grotius in his Commentary on the Acts, in divers places, and particularly cap. 17. saith, That as in every particular Synagogue (many of which was in some one City) there was ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, such was the Primitive Bishop : and doubtless the first Bishops were over the Community of Presbyters, as Presbyters in joint relation to one Church or Region ; which Region being upon the increase of Believers, divided into more Churches, and in after times those Churches assigned to particular men : yet he, the Bishop, continued Bishop over them still. For that you say, he had a negative voice, that's more than ever I saw proved, or ever shall, I believe for the first two hundred years ; and yet I have laboured to enquire into it. That makes him Angelus princeps, not Angelus præses, as Dr. Reignolds saith ; Calvin denies that, and makes him Consul in Senatu. Or as the Speaker in the House of Parliament, which as I have heard that D. B. did say, was but to make him Foreman of the Jury. Take heed of yielding a Negative Voice. As touching the introduction of Ruling Elders, such as are modelled out by Parliament, my judgment is sufficiently known : I am of your judgment in the Point. There should be such Elders as have power to preach as well as rule : I say power ; but how that will be affected here I know not, except we could or would return to the primitive nature and constitution of particular Churches : and therefore it must be helped by the combination of more Churches together into one as to the matter of Government, and let them be still distinct as to Word and Sacraments. That is the easiest way of Accommodation that yet occurs to my thoughts. Sir, I fear I trouble you too long, but it is to shew how much I value you and your Letters to me ; for which I thank you, and rest

Yours in the best Bonds,

R. Vines.

§ 27. Something also I wrote to Reverend and Learned Mr. Th. Gataker, whose Judgment I had seen before in his own Writings: And having the encouragement of such Consent, I motioned the Business to some *London* Ministers to have it set on foot among themselves, because if it came from them, it would be much more taking than from us: But they thought it unfit to be managed there, for several Reasons, and so we must try it, or only sit still and wish well as we had done.

§ 28. Next this, the state of my own Congregation, and the necessity of my Duty, constrained me to make some Attempt. For I must administer the Sacraments to the Church, and the ordinary way of Examining every Man before they come, I was not able to prove necessary, and the People were averſe to it: So that I was forced to think of the matter more seriously; and having determined of that way which was, I thought, most agreeable to the Word of God, I thought, if all the Ministers did accord together in one way, the People would much more easily submit, than to the way of any Minister that was singular. To attempt their Consent I had two very great Encouragements: The one was an honest, humble, tractable People at home, engaged in no Party, Prelatical, Presbyterian, or Independant; but loving Godliness and Peace, and hating Schism as that which they perceived to tend to the ruine of Religion. The other was a Company of honest, godly, serious, humble Ministers in the Country where I lived, who were not one of them (that Associated) Presbyterian or Independant, and not past four or five of them Episcopal; but dis-engaged faithful Men. At a Lecture at *Worcester* I first procured a Meeting, and told them of the Design, which they all approved: They imposed it upon me, to draw up a Form of Agreement. The Matter of it was to consist [So much of the Church Order and Discipline, as the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Independant are agreed in, as belonging to the Pastors of each particular Church]. The Reasons of this were, 1. Because we all believed that the practice of so much as all are agreed in, would do very much to the Order and Reformation of the Churches; and that the controverted Parts are those of least necessity or weight. 2. Because we would not necessitate any Party to refuse our Association, by putting in a word which he disowneth: for we intended not to dispute one another into nearer Agreement in Opinions, but first to agree in the practice of all that which was owned by us all.

According to their desire I drew up some Articles for our Consent which might engage us to the most effectual practice of so much Discipline as might reduce the Churches to order, and satisfy Ministers in administering the Sacraments, and stop the more religious People from Separation, to which the unreformedness of the Churches through want of Discipline inclined them, and yet might not at all contradict the Judgments of any of the three Parties: And I brought in the Reasons of the several Points: which after sufficient Deliberation and Examination (with the alteration of some few words) were consented to by all the Ministers that were present; and after several Meetings we subscribed them, and so associated for our mutual help and concord in our Work. The Ministers that thus associated were for Number, Parts and Piety, the most considerable part of all that County, and some out of some neighbouring Counties that were near us. There was not, that I know of, one through Presbyterian among them, because there was but one such that I knew of in all the County, and he lived somewhat remote: Nor did any Independant subscribe, save one; for there were, (that I knew of) but five or six in the County, and two of the weightiest of them approved it in words, and the rest withdrew from our Debates, and gave us no reason against any thing proposed. Those that did not come near us, nor concur with us, were all the weaker sort of Ministers, whose Sufficiency or Conversation was questioned by others, and knew they were of little esteem among them, and were neither able or willing to exercise any Discipline on their Flocks: As also some few of better parts of the Episcopal way, who never came near us, and knew not of our Proposals, or resolved to do nothing, till they had Episcopacy restored; or such whose Judgments esteemed such Discipline of no great necessity: And one or two very worthy Ministers, who approved of our Agreement, subscribed it not, because they had a People so very Refractory, that they knew they were not able to bring them to submit to it.

Having all agreed in this Association, we proposed publickly to our People so much as required their Consent and Practice, and gave every Family a Copy in Print, and a sufficient time to consider and understand it, and then put it in Execution; and I published it with the Reasons of it, and an Explication of what seemed doubtful in it, in a Book which I called [*Christian Concord*] which pleased me, and displeased others.

§ 29. There were at that time, two sorts of Episcopal Men, who differed from each other, more than the more moderate sort differed from the Presbyterians. The one was the old common moderate sort, who were commonly in Doctrine Calvinists, and took Episcopacy to be necessary *ad bene esse Ministerii & Ecclesiæ*, but not *ad esse*; and took all those of the Reformed that had not Bishops, for true Churches and Ministers, wanting only that which they thought would make them more complete. The other sort followed Dr. H. Hammond, and (for ought we knew) were very new, and very few: Their Judgment was (as he asserteth in *Annot. in Act. 11. & in Desertat.*) that all the Texts of Scripture which speak of Presbyters, do mean Bishops, and that the Office of Subject-Presbyters was not in the Church in Scripture Times, (but before Ignatius wrote it was) but that the Apostles planted in every Church only a Bishop with Deacons, but with this intent (asserted but never proved) that in time, when the Christians multiplied, these Bishops (that had then but one Church a piece) should ordain Subject-Presbyters under them, and be the Pastors of many Churches: And they held that Ordination without Bishops was invalid, and a Ministry so ordained was null, and the Reformed Churches that had no Bishops, nor Presbyters ordained by Bishops, were no true Churches, though the Church of Rome be a true Church, as having Bishops: These Men in Doctrine were such as are called Arminians: And though the other sort were more numerous and elder, and some of them said that Dr. H. Hammond had given away their Cause (because hereby he confesseth that *de facto*, the Churches were but Congregational or Parochial, and that Every Church had a Bishop, and no Subject Presbyters were ordained by the Apostles, or in Scripture time, which is almost all that the Presbyterians desire) yet Dr. H. Hammond and the few that at first followed him, by their Parts and Interest in the Nobility and Gentry, did carry it at last against the other Party. Now in my *Christian Concord*, I had confessed that it was only the moderate ancient Episcopal Party which I hoped for Agreement with; it being impossible for the Presbyterian and Independant Party to associate with them that take them and their Churches, and all the reformed Ministers and Churches that have not Episcopal Ordination, for null: And knowing that this Opinion greatly tended to the Division of the Christian Churches, and gratifying the Papists, and offending the Protestants, I spake freely against it, which alienated that party from me.

Having settled our Associations Dr. Warmestry (after Dean of Worcester) and Dr. Thomas Good (after Prebend of Hereford) were willing to have a Conference with us, in order to bring in the Episcopal Party in Shropshire (where they then lived) to our Association: Accordingly we met with them at Cleobury in Shropshire; and our Articles were read over by Dr. Warmestry, and examined one by one, and in the conclusion they professed their very good likeing of our Design, and that they purposed to join with us, but they thought it not meet at that present, being but two, to subscribe their full Assent lest it should seem over hasty to their Brethren, and should hinder the Association, which they Desired to promote: But yet at present they subscribed as followeth:

Sept. 20. 1653.

§ 30. **W**E whose Names are under written, having had Conference with divers of our Brethren of the Ministry of Worcestershire, concerning their Agreement and Association, for the promoting of Peace and Unity, and Reformation of their respective Congregations, according to the Word of God, do by these Presents approve of their Christian Intentments in the general, as being such that in Reference to the present Condition of the Church, we conceive to conduce very much to the Glory of God, the Promotion of Holyness, the restraint of Sin, the removing of Scandal, and the settling of God's People in Christian Unity and Concord. Witness our Hands, the Day and Year above written,

THO. WARMESTRY.
THO. GOOD.

(This is that Dr. Warmestry, who, when I was silenced by Bishop Morley, and he made Dean of Worcester, came purposely to my Flock, to preach those vehement tedious Invectives of which more hereafter.)

§ 31. In our Association we agreed upon a Monthly Meeting at certain Market-Towns for Conference about such Cases of Discipline as required Consultation and

* The Principles of which Book I most liked and followed.

and Consent : Accordingly at *Evesham* and *Kidderminster* they were constantly kept up : In the Town where I lived we had once a Month a Meeting of Three Justices of the Peace (who lived with us) and three or four Ministers (for so many we were in the Parish, my self and Assistants) and three or four Deacons, and twenty of the ancient and godly Men of the Congregation, who pretended to no Office, as Lay-Elders, but only met as the Trustees of the whole Church, to be present and secure their Liberties ; and do that which any of the Church might do ; and they were chosen once a year hereunto (as * *Grotius de Imperio sum Poteft.* adviseth) ; because all the People could not have leisure to meet so oft, to debate things which required their Consent : At this meeting we admonished those that remained impenitent in any scandalous Sin, after more private Admonition before two or three ; and we did with all possible tenderness persuade them to repentance, and labour to convince them of their Sin and danger ; and pray with them if they consented : And if they could not be prevailed with to repent, we required them to meet before all the Ministers at the other monthly Meeting, which was always the next Day after this parochial Meeting. There we renewed our Admonitions and Exhortations, and some Ministers of other Parishes laboured to set it home, that the Offender might not think it was only the Opinion of the Pastor of the Place, and that he did it out of ill Will or Partiality. If he yielded penitently to confess his Sin and promise Amendment (more or less publicly according to the Nature of the Scandal) we then joined in Prayer for his true Repentance and Forgiveness, and exhorted him farther to his Duty for the future : But if he still continued obstinately impenitent, by the Consent of all, he was by the Pastor of the Place to be publicly admonished and prayed for by that Church, usually three several days together ; and if still he remained Impenitent, the Church was required to avoid him, as a Person unfit for their Communion ; as is more fully opened in the Articles of our Agreement.

§ 32. This monthly Meeting of the Ministers proved of exceeding great Benefit and comfort to us ; where when we had dined together, we spent an Hour or two in Disputation on some Question which was chosen the Week before ; and when the Respondent and Opponent had done their Part, they were pleased to make it my Work to determine : And after that, if we had any Church-business (as aforesaid) we consulted of it. And many Ministers met with us, that were not of our Association, for the Benefit of these Disputations. I must confess this was the comfortablest time of all my Life, through the great delight I had in the Company of that Society of honest, sincere, laborious, humble Ministers of Christ : Every Week on the Lecture Day I had the pleasant Company of many of them at my House, and every Month at our appointed Meeting I had the Company of more ; I so well knew their Self-denial, Impartiality, Peaceableness, and exemplary Lives, together with their Skill and faithful Diligence for the Good of Souls (however almost all of them have been since silenced and cast out) that its pleasant to me to remember the Converse I had with them ; so aimable are sincere and upright Men, whose singleness of Heart doth imitate the State of the primitive Believers, when proud, self-seeking reserved Hypocrites, do turn their best Endowments into a Reproach.

§ 33. When Dr. *Warmestry* and Dr. *Good* had subscribed as above, a while after Dr. *Warmestry* consulted with his *London* Brethren : and he received a Paper of Animadversions (not against the Articles of our Agreement, but) against my Explication of them, and my Passages which oppose those Episcopal Divines who deny the Ministry and Churches which have not Prelatical Ordination : These Animadversions he sent to me with a Letter, which signified his desire of Peace in general, but that he must not strike a League with Faction, &c. There was no Name to this Paper, but long time after I learnt that it was Mr. *Peter Gunning's*, afterwards Bishop of *Ely*. I presently wrote an Answer to it, and offered the Doctor to send it him, if he would tell me the Author. Because it is too long to be inserted here, I have put the Paper and Answer together in the End, where you may read them.

In the Appendix.

After this I received from Sir *Ralph Clare* these ensuing Papers, as from some Courtiers (which are of the same Strain with Dr. *Gunning's*) ; which with my brief Answer I adjoin.

S I R,

THE Influence and Power you have in the present Pastor of your Church (who is much famed abroad, and had in a reverend Esteem as well for Piety of Life, as for his Learning, Moderation, and desiring the Peace of the Church) gives Encouragement to your old Acquaintance, and Associate in that One-glorious Court of England to desire the Favour that this inclosed Paper may be presented to his Christian View and Consideration ; presuming so great is his Charity, that he will not leave any wounded Soul unbealed, wherein he is able to bestow his Balm. In this he extends not his Charity alone as to a single Person, but (in me) there are many more of your Friends included ; who would have appeared in Person, or met in Conference, were it not our Mansions are at too great a distance, and the Malignity and Jealousy of Times challenges Retirements, rather than Assemblies.

It is not civil in us to chalk the Method of Answering the Queries ; yet for Ease and Brevity, it will be satisfactory his free Concession of any Proposals in the Affirmative to be true without any Enlargement of Reasons ; and for those Queries which may and must admit Divisions, Distinctions, and Discourse on the Case, let the reverend Gentleman use his own Form, Judgment and Discretion ; as believing he will proceed with such Candor and Impartiality, as becometh a Man of his Calling and Eminency ; waving all By-Interests and Relations to any Party or Faction, either regnant or eclipsed ; which Act will deservedly heighten the high Esteem he is valued at, and your self by this Honour done, engage me and many more of your old Friends (in me) to subscribe our selves

Your Servants,

April 20. 1655.

Theophilus Church.

(A feigned Name)

Certain Queries and Scruples of Conscience offered to some Learned Divines for Resolution and Satisfaction.

1. **W**HETHER may a Christian Magistrate tolerate Liberty of Conscience in Religion and Church Discipline without Scandal?
2. Whether may and ought a tender Conscience exercise and use his Liberty and Freedom without Violence enforced by Superiors ?
3. Whether in Matters of Government Ecclesiastical depending only of Fact, the general and perpetual Practice of the Church from Age to Age, be not a sufficient Evidence and Warrant of the Right, Truth, and certainty of the thing ?
4. Whether the Vocation of Bishops be an Order Lawful in it self ?
5. Whether the Regiment Ecclesiastical by Bishops hath not continued throughout the Christian Church ever since the Apostles, untill Calvin's days ? No Church Orthodox dissenting.
6. Whether was there ever since the Apostle's days so much as one national Church governed by a Presbytery without a Bishop untill Calvin's Days ? If so, where was the Original ? in what Place ? by what Persons ? of what continuance ? and how was it lost, or changed into Episcopacy, and upon what Grounds or Motives ?
7. Whether the present Ministry in the Church of England (as it now separated from their lawful Superiors or Bishops) be not Schismatical ?
8. Whether all these Ministers that have taken the Oath of Canonical Obedience to their Bishops, and have backsliden and submitted to those Powers that violently deprived the said Bishops of their legal Powers and Jurisdictions, by yielding a voluntary Obedience to their Ordinances, are not under a high Censure of Perjury and Schism ?
9. Whether those Ministers now pretended to be made and ordained in the Church of England only by their Fellow Ministers without a Bishop, be true Ministers or no ; or else meer Lay Persons, and bold Usurpers of the Sacred Function and Order, like Corah and his Complices ?
10. Whether all those Ministers which are now in actual possession of the late Incumbents Parsonages and Cures of Souls (and deprived for their only adhering and assisting their late lawful Prince and their Governour, and also their Bishops) to whom they owed

all

all Canonical Obedience) without and beside any Legal Induction or Admission, may not be reputed as Intruders and false Shepherds?

11. Whether it had not been an excellent part of Christian Perfection, rather to endure passively loss of Liberty, Estate, and even of Life it self for the maintenance and defence of the Just and Legal Rights invested in the Church, and the Bishops it's Superintendent Pastors, and the Liturgy and Service of the Church, than carnally for Self-interest and Ends, to comply and submit even against their knowing Consciences, to a violent and meer prevailing power and force in the abolishing of Episcopal Power, and the daily Prayers and Service used in the Church?

12. Whether all such Persons be not guilty of Schism and of Scandal given, which Communicate and be present in such Ministers Congregations and Assemblies, whether in Church or in private Meetings, to hear their Prayers or Sermons, or receive their Sacraments according to the now present mode and form, more especially in the participation with them in the Sacrament of the Eucharist? Or how far may a good Christian Communicate with such without just Scandal given or taken?

13. Whether it be lawful and just for any Orthodox Minister or Episcoparian to accept of any Benefice with Cure of Souls, as the state of the English Church now standeth visible and ruling, without guilt of Schism by compliance to their Form?

14. Whether as the Condition of the present Church of England is, The Ministers thereof may not legally, and so justifiably, exercise and use against the late Liturgy of the Church, there being no Statute Law prohibiting the same? And whether those that continue the Observation of the late Directory be not perturbors of the Peace of the Church, especially since the limitation of trial by a pretended Legality and Command for its observance, is expired and not reconfirmed.

15. Whether the old Jewish Church had not set Forms of Prayer? whether St. John the Baptist our Saviour's Præcursor, and our blessed Saviour himself, taught not their Disciples set Forms of Prayers, and whether the Christian Church (especially since the time of Peace from the violence of Heathenish Persecution) had not, nor generally used set Forms of Prayer? And whether the Ministers now ex tempore Prayers in the Church, be not as well a set Form of Prayers to the Auditors, whose Spirits are therein bounded, as any set Form of Prayer used in the Church?

16. Whether may a Christian, without Scandal given, appear to be a Godfather or God-mother to a Child in these New Assemblies, where the Minister useth his own Dictates and Prayers, and not of the ancient Liturgy, except the Words of Baptism, I Baptize thee (A. B.) in the Name of the Father, &c.

17. Whether any Supream Earthly Power or Powers Spiritual or Temporal, joint or separate, can alienate and convert to secular uses or employments any Houses, Lands, Goods, or Things once devoted, offered and dedicated to God and his Church, without grand Sacrilege and Prophaneness; although by Corruption of Persons and Times they have been either superstitiously abused, or too prophanelly employed, but rather to reduce them to their primitive Use and Donation?

18. Whether the ancient Fasting Days of the Week and Festivals of the Church, settled both by Provincial Synods in the Year 1562. and 1640. and confirmed by the then Regal Power, and also by several Statutes and Laws, ought not by all persons in Conscience to be still observed, until they be abrogated by the like Powers again? or how far the Liberty of Conscience therein may be used in observing or not observing them? the like for the usage of the Cross in Baptism, and the humble posture of Kneeling at the receiving of the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper?

19. Which way of security and peace of Conscience may a quiet Christian order and dispose himself, his Wife, Children and Family in his Duty and Service towards God, and enjoy the right use and benefit of the Sacraments and other holy Duties, as long as that part of the Catholick Church wherein he lives, is under persecution, and the visible Ruling Church therein is faln Schismatical, if not in many particulars Heretical?

April 20th, 1655.

May

May 14th, 1655. *An Answer to the foregoing Questions, sent to Sir R. Clare.*

Ad Quest. 1^m. **E**ither that Conscience owneth the right Religion and Discipline only, or the right with some tolerable accidental Errours, or a wrong Religion and Discipline in the Substance. The first the Magistrate must not only tolerate, but promote. The second he must tolerate rather than do worse by suppressing it. The third he must suppress by all lawful means, and tolerate when he cannot help it, without a greater Evil. I suppose no Judicious Man will expect an exact Solution of so Comprehensive a Question in few words: And I find not that a large Discussion is now expected from me: There are four or five Sheets of my Manuscripts in some hands abroad on this Point, which may do more towards a satisfactory Solution, than these few words.

Ad 2^m. Either the tender Conscience is in the right, or in the wrong: If in the wrong, the Magistrates Liberty will not make a Sin to be no Sin; but the Party is bound by God to rectifie his Judgment, and thereby his Practice. If in the right, it is a strange Question, Whether a Man may obey God, that hath the Magistrates leave, till he be enforced by Mens violence? Doth any doubt of it?

Ad 3^m. *Matter of Government depending only on Fact*, is a Contradiction: Seeing Government consisteth in a Right, and the Exercise of it. I am not able therefore to understand this Question. Yet, if this may afford any help toward the Solution, I affirm, That the general and perpetual practice of the Church from Age to Age, of a thing not forbidden by the Word of God, will warrant our imitation. I say [of a thing not forbidden] because it hath been the general and perpetual practice of the Church, to Sin, by vain Thoughts, Words, imperfect Duties, &c. wherein our imitation is not warrantable. The *general and perpetual practice* includeth the Apostles and that Age. But what is meant by [Evidencing the Right of a thing that dependeth only of Fact] or by [Evidencing the Truth and Certainty of a Fact by general and perpetual practice] (which is to prove *idem per idem*), I will not presume that I understand.

Ad 4^m. I know not what Bishops you mean. A Congregational Bishop overseeing the People is undoubtedly lawful: so is a Congregational Bishop, being President of a Presbytery which is over that Congregation. Where many Congregational Officers are associated, I do not think that a President for a time, or during his fitness, standing and fixed, is unlawful. The like I may say of a President of many of those Associations again associated, as in a Province or Diocese: And I believe it were a very easie work for wise, godly, moderate men to agree about his Power: And I would not seem so censorious as to proclaim that *England* wanteth such, further than the actual want of such Agreement, or just endeavours thereto, doth proclaim it. I am satisfied also, that the Apostles themselves have *de jure* Successors in all that part of their work which is to be perpetuated, or continued till now; though not in their extraordinary Endowments and Priviledges. But if the sense of your Question be, Whether one Man may be the standing chief Governour of many particular Churches with their Officers, having either sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction (as some would have) or a Negative Voice in both (as others) it would seem great arrogancy in me to be the confident Determiner of such a Question, which so wise, learned, godly sober Men, have said so much of on both sides already.

Ad 5^m. 1. He that knows how short Church History is in these Matters for the first Age after the Apostles, at least, and hath read impartially what *Gerſon*, *Bucerus*, *Parker*, *Blondellus*, *Salmasius*, *Altare Damascen*, have said on one side; and *Saravia*, *Downham*, *Dr. Hammond*, &c. on the other; would sure never expect that I should presume to pass any confident Sentence in the Point: And it's like he would be somewhat moderate himself.

2. I say as before, I know not what you mean by Bishops: I am confident that the Church was not of many Hundred years after Christ governed as ours was lately in *England*, by a Diocesan Bishop and a Chancellor, excluding almost all the Presbyters.

3. Why do you say [Since the Apostles days,] when you before spoke of the [General and perpetual practice of the Church]?

Ad 6^m. The word [National Church] admits of divers senses. As it was usually understood in *England*, I think there was none for divers hundred years after Christ, either governed by Bishops or without them. They that will look after the most encouraging Presidents, must look higher than National Churches.

Ad 7^m. The Question seems not to mean any particular truly-schismatical Party of Ministers, but the generality, that live not under the Bishops : and so I answer *negatively*, waiting for the Accusers proof.

Ad 8^m. 1. I know not what the Oath of Canonical Obedience is : therefore cannot give a full Answer. I know multitudes of Ministers ordained by Bishops, that never took any such Oath.

2. The Powers that violently took down the Bishops, were the Secular Powers : None else could use violence. And it were a strange Oath for a Man to swear that he would never obey the Secular Powers if they took down the Bishops, when the Holy Ghost would have us obey Heathen Persecutors.

3. If it were so great a Sin to obey those Powers, I conceive it must be so to the Laity as well as the Ministry : And I knew but few of the Episcopal Gentry or others called to it, that did refuse to take the Engagement to be true and faithful to that Power, when the Presbyters here accused durst not take it.

4. Most Presbyters that I know do perform all Ecclesiastical Matters upon supposition of a Divine Direction, and not upon the Command of Humane Powers.

Ad 9^m. The Ordination of meer Presbyters is not null, and the Presbyters so ordained now in *England* are true Presbyters, as I am ready to maintain. But wait for the Accuser's proof of the nullity.

Ad 10^m. 1. This calls me to decide the Controversie about the late Wars, which I find not either necessary or convenient for me to undertake.

2. The like I must say of deciding the Legality of Inductions and Admissions.

3. If a worthy Man be cast out, had you rather that God's Worship were neglected, and the People perished for lack of Teaching, then any other Man should be set over them, though one that had no hand in casting him out ? Must the People needs have him or none as long as he lives ? Was it so when Bishops were cast out heretofore by Emperours or Councils ? I think I may take the Guidance of a destitute People, so I hinder not a worthy Man from recovering his Right.

4. I never desired that any should be Excluded but the Unworthy, (the Insufficient, or Scandalous, or grossly Negligent) : And I know but too few of the Ejected that are not such : And this Question doth modestly pass over their Case ; or else I should have said somewhat more to the Matter.

Ad 11^m. 1. It is a necessary Christian Duty to see that we do not the least Evil for our own safety : And all God's Ordinances must be maintained as far as we can : But as I before disclaimed the Arrogance of determining the Controversie about our Diocesan Episcopacy, so I think not every Legal Right of the Church (which it hath by Man's Law), nor every thing in our Liturgy, to be worthy so stiff a maintenance, as to the loss of Life ; nor the loss of Peace : Nor did the late King think so, who would have let go so much. But I think that they that did this [carnally for Self-interest and Ends] did grievously sin, whether the thing it self were good or bad : especially if they went against their Consciences.

2. I think there is no unlawful Prayers or Service now offered to God in the Church ordinarily, where I have had opportunity to know it. And I think we pray for the same things, in the main, as we were wont to do ; and offer God the same Service : And that Mr. Ball and others against the Separatists, have sufficiently proved, that it is no part of the Worship, but an Accident of it self indifferent, that I use *These Words*, or *Those*, a Book or no Book, a Form premeditated, or not. And no Separatist hath yet well answered them.

Ad 12^m. Such as you described you can hardly know, and therefore not knowingly scruple their Communion ; for a Man's ends and knowledge are out of your sight : You can hardly tell who did this [against Knowledge and Conscience, carnally, for Self-interest]. But if you mean it of your ordinary Ministers and Congregations, I am past doubt that you are Schismatical, if not worse, if you avoid the Assemblies, and Ordinances mentioned, upon such Accusations and Suppositions : And I shall much easier prove this, than you will make good your Separation.

Ad 13^m. Permitting you to suppose [Orthodox] and [Episcoparian] to be the same, at present; you may easily know that the Episcopal are not all of a Mind, but differ, I think, much more among themselves, than the moderate Episcopal and Presbyterians differ: some maintaining that the Ordination of meer Presbyters is not null, with divers the like things; which the novel sort doth disclaim. The old Episcopal Protestant may not only take a Cure of Souls now, without any Contradiction to his Principles, but may comfortably Associate with the peaceable Ministry of the Land, and may not conscionably avoid it. The Novel sort before mentioned, ought to rectifie their mistakes, and so to take up their duty; but as they are, I see not how they can do it in consistency with their Principles, unless under the Jurisdiction of a Bishop.

Ad 14^m. For the Point of the legality of the Liturgy, you call me to determine Cases in Law, which I find my self unfit for. And for the Directory, its Nature is (according to its Name) not to impose Words or Matter, nor bind by human Authority, but to direct Men how to understand God's Word concerning the Ordering of his Worship. Now either it directeth us right or wrong: If wrong, we must not follow such Directions: If right, it's no unlawful disturbance of the Churches Peace to obey God's Word upon their Direction: Circumstances, wherein some place most of their Government, they very little meddle with. And indeed I know but few that do much in the order of Worship *eo Nomine* because it is so in the Directory; but because they think it most agreeable to God's Word; or most tending to Concord, as things now stand. Would you have us avoid any Scripture or orderly Course, meerly because it is expressed in the Directory? And think you those are Ways of Peace?

Ad 15^m. I think (on the Credit of others) that the Jewish Church had a Liturgy; I am sure they had Forms of Praises and Prayer in some Cases. I know Christ taught his Disciples the Lord's Prayer, I will not determine whether as a Directory for Matter and Order, or whether as a Form of Words to be used, or when, or how oft used: I conjecture you regard the Judgment of *Grotius*, who saith in *Matt. 6. 9.* [*utrus: In hunc Sensum: Non enim præcipit Christus verba recitari, quod nec legimus Apostolos fecisse, quanquam id quoque fieri cum fructu potest sed materiam precum hinc promovere.*] i. e. Pray thus; that is, to this Sense: For Christ doth not command the saying of the Words, nor do we read that the Apostles did it, though that also may profitably be done; but hence to fetch the Matter of Prayer.] You know the Directory adviseth the use of the Words: And how it was that *John* taught his Disciples to pray, I cannot tell; nor will herein pretend my self wiser than I am. The Example of the Primitive Church is never the more imitable for the Cessation of Persecution; and its Example before is most to be regarded, that being purest that is next the Fountain. We are sure that the Church long used extemporate Prayers, and its probable betimes, some Forms withal. I think they are strangely Dark and addicted to Extreame, that think either that no Forms are lawful, or that only prescribed or premeditated Forms are lawful. And if you will condemn all publick extemporate Prayers, you will err as grossly as they that will have no other.

Ad 16^m. I know no necessity of any Godfather or Godmother, beside the Parents, unless you will call those so, that in case of their necessary Absence are their Delegates. Nor do I know that ordinarily among us any Dictates or Prayers are used that a sober Christian hath the least reason to scruple Communion in. Will you have a Pastor that shall not speak in the Name of the People to God? or will you call his Prayers [his own] which he puts up by Virtue of his Office, according to God's Word?

Ad 17^m. I think they cannot without Sacriledge make such Alienation; except where God's Consent can be proved. For Example; if the Ministers of the Church have full as much means given, as is fit for the Ends to which it is given, and yet the People will give more and more, to the Burden and ensnaring of the Church, and the impoverishing or ruin of the Common-wealth, here I think God consents not to accept that Gift, and therefore it was but an Offer, and not plenarily a Gift, for want of Acceptance; for he accepts not that which he prohibits. Here therefore the Magistrate may restore this to its proper use. But whether this were any of the Case of these (Sacrilegious) Alienations too lately made in this Land, is a farther Question: I apprehend a deep Guilt of Sacriledge upon some.

Ad 18^m. The Particulars here mentioned must be distinctly considered:

1. About Fasts and Feasts, the Question as referring to the Obligation of the Laws of the Land, is of the same Resolution as all other Questions respecting those Laws; which being a Case more out of my way, I shall not presume to determine without a clearer Call. Only I must say that I see little Reason why those Men should think themselves bound in this, who yet suppose themselves loose from many other Laws, and who obey many of the Laws or Ordinances of the present Powers.

2. I much fear that not only the Querist, but many more are much ensnared in their Consciences, by misunderstanding the Nature and use of Synods. It's one thing for an Assembly of Bishops to have a superior Governing Power directly over all particular Churches and Bishops; and another thing for such an Assembly to have a Power of determining of things necessary for the Concord of the several Churches. I never yet saw it proved that Synods are over Bishops in a direct Governing Order, nor are called for such Ends; but properly *in ordine ad Unitatem*, and so oblige only (more than single Bishops) by Virtue of the General Precept, of maintaining Unity and Concord. This is the Opinion of the most learned Bilhop and famous antiquary that I am acquainted with.

3. And then when the end ceases, the Obligation is at an End. So that this can now be no Law of Unity with us.

4. All human Laws die with the Legislator, farther than the surviving Rulers shall continue them. The Reason is drawn from the Nature of a Law, which is to be *jussum Majestatis*, in the Common-wealth, and every where to be a sign of the Rectors Will *de debito, vel constituendo, vel confirmando*: Or his Authoritative Determination of what shall be due from us and to us. Therefore no Rector, no Law: and the Law that is, though made by the deceased Rector, is not his Law, but the present Rector's Law, formally; it being the signifier of his Will: And it is his Will for the continuance of it, that gives it a new Life. In all this I speak of the whole *Summa potestas* that hath the absolute Legislative Power. If therefore the Church Governors be dead that made these Laws, and no sufficient Power succeeds them to continue these Laws and make them theirs, then they are dead with their Authors.

5. The present Pastors of the Church (though but Presbyters) are the true Guides of it, while Bishops are absent (and the true Guides conjunctly with the Bishops, if they were present, according to the Judgment of your own side). Whoever is the sole existent governing Power, may govern, and must be obeyed in things Lawful. Therefore you must (for all your unproved Accusation of Schism) obey them. The Death or Deposition of the Bishops depriveth not the Presbyters of that Power which they had before.

6. Former Church Governors have not Power to bind all that shall come after them, where they were before free: But their Followers are as free as they were.

7. The Nature of Church Canons is to determine of Circumstances only for a present time, place or occasion, and not to be universal standing Laws, to all Ages of the Church: For if such Determinations had been fit, God would have made them himself, and they would have been contained in his perfect Word. He gives not his Legislative Power to Synods or Bishops.

8. Yet if your Conscience will needs persuade you to use those Ceremonies, you have no ground to separate from all that will not be of your Opinion.

9. For the Cross, the Canons require only the Minister to use it, and not you: and if he do not, that's nothing to you.

10. Have you impartially read what is written against the Lawfulness of it, by Amesius's fresh Suit, Bradshaw, Parker, and others: If you have: you may at least see this, that it's no fit matter to place the Churches Unity or Uniformity in: and they that will make such Laws for Unity go beyond their Commission. Church Governors are to determine the Circumstances *pro loco & tempore* in particular, which God hath in Word or Nature made necessary *in genere*, and left to their Determination. But when Men will presume beyond this, to determine of things not indeed circumstantial, or no way necessary *in genere* nor left to their Determination (as to institute new standing Symbols in and with God's Symbols or Sacraments, to be engaging Signs to engage us to Christ, and to Work Grace on the Soul as the Word and Sacraments do, that is by a moral Operation) and then will needs make these the Cement of Unity; this is it that hath been the Bane of Unity, and Cause of Divisions.

11. Kneeling at the Sacrament is a Novelty introduced many hundred years after Christ, and contrary to such Canons and Customs of the Church, to which for Antiquity and Universality, you owe much more respect, than to the Canons of the late Bishops in *England*.

12. If your General Rule hold that you stand bound by all Canons, not repealed by equal Power, you have a greater burden on your back than you are aware of, which if you bore indeed, you would know how little this usurped Legislative Power befriends the Church: And among others, you are bound not to kneel in the Church on any Lord's Day, in Sacrament or Prayer. *Grotius de Imperio Sum. potest.* would teach much more Moderation in these Matters than I here perceive.

Ad Q. 19^m. 1. It's too much Self-conceitedness and Uncharitableness to pass so bold a Censure as your Supposition doth contain, of the visible ruling Church being Schismatical, and so Heretical. Which is the ruling Church? I know none in *England* besides Bishops that pretend to rule any but their own Provinces; and but few that pretend Order to Regiment. Perhaps when the Schism and Heresie come to be opened, it will not be found to lye where you imagin, nor so easily proved as rashly affirmed, or intimated.

2. Do not be too sensible of Persecution, when Liberty of Conscience is so proclaimed, though the Restriction be somewhat on your side. O the difference of your Persecution, and theirs that suffered by you!

3. The only conscionable and safe way for the Church and your own Souls, is to love, long for, pray, and consult for Peace. Close in the unanimous practice of so much as all are agreed in: In amicable Meetings endeavour the healing of all breaches: Disown the ungodly of all Parties: Lay by the new violent Opinions inconsistent with Unity. I expect not that this advice should please the prejudiced: But that it's the only safe and comfortable way, is the Confident Opinion of

Your Brother,

Richard Baxter.

All the Disturbance I had in my own Parish was by Sir *Ralph Clare's* refusing to Communicate with us, unless I would give it him kneeling on a distinct Day, and not with those that received it sitting. To which Demand I gave him this following Answer.

SIR,

UPON Consultation with others and my own Conscience, I return this Answer to your last motion; beseeching you to believe that it had been more pleasing, if it would have stood with the pleasing of God and my own Conscience.

1. In general it is my resolution to be so far from being the Author of any Divisions in any part of the Church of Christ, as that I shall do all that lawfully I can to avoid them.

2. I am so far from the Judgment and Practices of the late Prelates of *England*, in point of compelling all to obey or imitate them in gestures and other indifferent things, on pain of being deprived of God's greatest Ordinances (which are not indifferents), beside the ruine of their Estates, &c. that I would become all things (lawful) to all Men for their good, and as I know that the Kingdom of God standeth not in such things, so neither would I shut any out of his visible Kingdom for such things; as judging that our Office is to see God's Law obeyed as far as we can procure it, and not to be Law-givers to the Church our selves, and in Circumstantials to make no more Determinations than are necessary; lest they prove but Engines to ensnare Mens Consciences, and to divide the Church. And as I would impose no such things on other Churches if I had power, so neither will I do it on this Church of which I have some oversight.

3. More particularly, I am certain that sitting in the receiving of the Lord's Supper is lawful: or else Christ and his Apostles, and all his Churches for many hundred years after him did sin, which cannot be. And I take it to be intolerable arrogancy

cy and unmannerliness (to speak easily) to call that unreverence and lawciness, (as many do) which Christ and the Apostles and all the Church so long used with one consent. He better knew what pleaseth himself than we do : The vain pretended difference between the Apostles Gesture and ours , is nothing to the matter : He that sitteth on the Ground, sitteth as well as he that sitteth on a Stool : And if any difference were, it was their Gesture that seems the more homely : and no such difference can be pretended in the Christian Churches many hundred years after. And I think it is a naked pretence (having no shew of reason to cover it) of them that against all this will plead a necessity of kneeling , because of our unworthiness : For, 1. The Churches of so long time were unworthy as well as we. 2. We may kneel as low as the Dust (and on our bare knees, if we please) immediately before in praying for a blessing and for the pardon of our sins, and as soon as we have done. 3. Man must not by his own Conceits make those things necessary to the Church, which Christ and his Church for so long thought unnecessary. 4. On this pretence we might refuse the Sacrament it self : for they are more unworthy to eat the Flesh of Christ, and to drink his blood, than to sit at his Table. 5. The Gospel is Glad Tidings ; the Effects of it are Faith and Peace and Joy : the Benefits are to make us one with Christ, and to be his Spouse and Members : the work of it is the joyful Commemoration of these Benefits, and living in Righteousness, Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost : And the Sacramental Signs are such as suit the Benefits and Duties. If therefore Christ have called us by his Example, and the Example of all his Church, to sit with him at his Table to represent our Union, Communion, and joyful redeemed State, and our everlasting sitting with him at his Table in his Kingdom, it as little beseems us to reject this Mercy and Duty, because of our Unworthiness, as to be our own Lawgivers. And on the like Reasons men might say, [I will not be united to thee, nor be a Member of thy Body, or married to thee, nor sit with thee on thy Throne (Rev. 3. 21.) according to thy Promise, because it would be too great lawciness in me]. Gospel Mercies, and Gospel Duties, and Signs, must be all suited, and so Christ hath done them, and we may not undo them.

4. I must profess that upon such Considerations, I am not certain that sitting is not of commanded Necessity (as I am sure it is lawful) ; nor am I certain that kneeling in the Act of Receiving, when done of choice, is not a flat sin. For I know it is not only against Scripture Example (where though Circumstances apparently occasional bind not, as an upper Room, &c. yet that's nothing to others) but also it is against the Canons of Councils, yea a General Council (at Trull. in Constantinople) and against so concurrent a Judgment and Practice of the Church for many hundred years, that it seems to fight with *Vincentius Lerinens.* Catholick Rule, *quod semper, ubique & ab omnibus receptum*, &c. Let them therefore justifie kneeling as lawful that can, for I cannot ; and therefore dare not do that which shall be an owning of it, when we may freely do otherwise.

5. Yet for all this, I so much incline to Thoughts of Peace, and Closure with others, that I will not say that sitting is of necessity, nor that kneeling is unlawful (unless where other Circumstances make it so) nor condemn any that differ from me herein : Yea, if I could not otherwise Communicate with the Church in the Sacrament, I would take it kneeling myself, as being certain that the Sacrament is a Duty, and not certain that kneeling is a sin : and in that Case I believe it is not.

6. As for them that think kneeling a Duty, because of the Canons of the late Bishops enjoying it, I have more to say against their Judgment than this Paper will contain. Only in a word, 1. If it be the Secular Powers establishing, those Canons that binds their Consciences, Why do they not obey the present Secular Powers in all other things ? It is known the King consented to relax this : And however, this is little to them that go on the Ground of Divine or Ecclesiastical Right. And if we must so plunge our selves into Enquiries after the Rights of Secular Governours, before we can know whether to stand or set at the Sacrament, we are all uncertain what to do in greater Matters : for there are as apparent grounds for our uncertainty of five hundred years old and more, which this is no place to dive into. And it would be as unlawful on this ground to read any other Psalm or Chapter, but what was of old appointed for the Day, as to forbear kneeling at the Sacrament. And perhaps on the Opponents grounds, it would be still as sinful to restrain a Child or Servant from Dancing on the Lord's Day. And if it be Ecclesiastical Authority that they stick at, that must be derived from Christ, and so Originally Divine, or it is none. And then (not to wade so unseasonably into the

the main Controversie), 1. Before they have proved their Legislative Authority; 2. And that this Congregation is *Jure Divino* part of their Charge, and under their Jurisdiction; 3. And that they had power to contradict the Examples of Christ and his Apostles herein, and the constant practice of the Primitive Church, and the Canons of Councils, even General Councils; 4. And that their Canons are yet in force against all these; I say before all this be well done, we shall find that there must go more than a slight Supposition to the making good of their Cause. According to their own Principles, a lower Power cannot reverse the Acts of a higher. But the General Councils at *Nice* and *Constantinople* that forbade Kneeling on any Lord's Day, was a higher Power than the *English* Convocation: *Ergo*, The *English* Convocation cannot Repeal its Acts. (Though for my own part I think that neither of their Acts do need any Repeal to Null them to us, in such Cases). 5. Besides this; If these Canons bind Conscience; yet, it is either by the Authority that Enacted them, or by the Authority of the present Church-Governours that impose them. If old Canons bind, without or against the present Power, then the same Canon that forbiddeth Kneeling bindeth, and many an hundred more, a great part of which are now made no Conscience of: If it be the present Authority that is above the Ancient, then 1. They that pretend to such Authority over this Congregation should produce and exercise it: For if we know them not, nor receive any Commands from them, we are capable of no Disobedience to them. 2. And in the mean time, We that are in the place must take it as our Charge; or do the Work, or for ought I know, it will in most Places be undone: For the Authority is for the Work. 3. We use to take it for the great partiality (at least) of the Church of *Rome*, that will be judged by none but the present Church, that is, themselves, when we would be tried by the Scripture or the Ancient Church. In a word, I do not think that when Circumstances tending to Order and Decency are so mutable, that God ever gave power to any Bishops to tie all Congregations and Ages to this or that Sacrament Gesture; nor at all to make them so necessary, as that Bodily Punishment or Excommunications should be inflicted on the Neglecters of them. And I think that Calling which hath no better Work than this to do, is not worth the regarding.

And here I should propound to the contrary-minded one Question, Whether if a Bishop should command them to stand or sit, they would do it? Yea; or if a Convocation commanded it? If they say Yea; then must they lay by all their Arguments from pretended irreverence to prove Sitting evil: for I hope they would not be irreverent, nor do evil at the command of a Bishop or Convocation: And then let our Authority (from Scripture Example and the Universal Church, and a General Council, and the present Secular Power, and the late Assembly and Parliaments, and the present Pastors or Presbyters of the Congregations) I say, let all this be set against the present Countermand of I know not who, nor for what Reason, as being not visible. But if they say, They would not obey the Bishops if they forbade them Kneeling, then let them justify us that obey them not when they command us to kneel, having so much as is expressed to the contrary.

Thus Sir, I have first given you my Reasons about the Gesture it self. And of putting it into each Persons hands, I have thus much more to say; 1. I know nothing to oblige me to it. 2. Christ himself did otherwise, as appeareth in *Matth.* 26. 27. [For *λάβετε, φάγετε, πίνετε ὅς ἀπὸ πάντες*; take ye, eat ye, drink ye all of it] doth shew that it was given to them all in general, and not to each man singly. 3. And in this also Antiquity is on my side, the contrary being much later. More Reasons I have that I shall not now trouble you with.

To this I may well add, That no Man can have any Rational pretence (that I know of) against the Receiving of the Sacrament upon such a General Delivery. 1. Because the contrary was never yet pleaded necessary *Jure Divino* that I know of. 2. And if it were a Sin, it would be the Ministers Sin so to deliver it, and not theirs, who as they have not the Rule of his Actions, so they shall not Answer for them. Having thus told you my thoughts of the Matters in doubt, I shall next tell you my purpose as to your Motion.

1. I did never hitherto, to my remembrance, refuse to give the Sacrament to any one, meerly because they would not take it Sitting or Standing; nor did ever forbid or repel any on that account; nor ever mean to do. If any of my Charge shall take it Standing or Kneeling, I shall not forbid them on any such account.

2. If they further expect that I should put it into each Man's hands individually, I may well expect the liberty of guiding my own Actions, according to my own Conscience, if I may not guide theirs: It is enough that in such Cases they will refuse to be Ruled by me; they should not also usurp the ruling of me: but let us be equal, and let me have my liberty, as I am willing to let them have theirs; and if I sin they are not guilty of it: Nor have they any ground to refuse the Sacrament rather than so take it.

3. Yet if any of my Pastoral Charge shall be unsatisfied, if they will but hear my Reasons first, and if those Reasons convince them not, if they will profess, that they think it a Sin against God for them to Receive the Sacrament unless it be put into their hands Kneeling, and *Ergo* that they dare not in Conscience take it otherwise, I do purpose to condescend to their Weakness, and so to give it them. So that no one of them shall be ever able to say, that I wronged a truly tender Conscience, or deprived them of that holy Ordinance. My Reasons are, because I take not their Errours to be so heinous a thing, as to deserve their total Exclusion from the Sacrament. Nor do I suppose it a Sin in me so far to yield to them in case of such Weakness. Though I know Inconveniencies will follow, which they, and not I, are guilty of. And thus much, as far as is necessary, I should make known.

4. But then these Persons must not expect that I should never give them my Judgment and Reasons against their Opinion: for that were to cease teaching them the Truth, as well as to yield to their Errours.

5. And I shall expect that at the first Receiving they will openly profess that they take not the Bread for the Substantial Body of Christ, nor Worship the Bread.

6. But as for those that are not of my Pastoral Charge, I must say more, whether they live in this Parish or another; Either they are such as are Members of some other particular Church, or of none. For the former sort, 1. Ordinarily it is fit and necessary that they Receive the Sacrament of their own Pastor, and in that particular Church of which they are Members; or else how are they Members of it? 2. And in Extraordinary Cases, I shall not deny any of them the Sacrament on these Conditions; 1. If they bring Certificates from the Pastor under whose Guidance they are, that they are of his Flock, and walk as Christians, supposing the Pastor faithful that certifieth it. 2. Or if they do not this, yet if they will come to me, and acquaint me who is their Pastor, and what Church they are Members of, and what Reasons they had to withdraw from this Church, I shall not refuse them, if their account be such as may justly satisfy.

But as for those of this Parish that have (after this two years Invitation and Expectation) refused to profess themselves to be Members of this particular Church, and to take me for their Teacher or Pastor, and yet are not Members of any other Church, nor under any particular Pastor and Discipline, I shall desire to speak with them before I give them the Sacrament. And if they can give me any tolerable Reason of it, I shall willingly receive it, and if they prove the blame to be in me, I shall endeavour to reform it. But if they give me no sufficient reason, I cannot admit such to the Lord's Supper (specially ordinarily and the multitude of them) for these Reasons following: 1. Because I take it to be a heinous, scandalous sin, to live from under Discipline, as a Stragler and in Disorder, having no Pastor, nor being a Member of any particular Church: And therefore I dare not admit such till they repent, no more than I would do a Drunkard or Adulterer. 2. I dare not be an Instrument of hindering Reformation, and the Execution of just Discipline, by gratifying the Unruly that fly from it, and set themselves again it. And as for all those that either will not give me an account, why they live from under Discipline, or can give no just account, yea, and those that think their own Reasons for it good, when I do not, or on any ground are from under my Pastoral Charge, without my Fault, I say, for all these, I dare not admit them ordinarily to the Sacrament, because I dare not spend so much time on them as is necessary for Preparation. I may not do it without some previous Instruction; and I have so much more work already than I can well do, that I have not a minute of time to spare. And (except in publick or extraordinary Cases) I take my self to be more strictly tied to those of my Charge, than to any others; and having made my self theirs, I dare not rob them of my Labours, nor neglect them to attend on others that are no part of my Charge, nor will be. If you say, that if they did become Members of my Charge, I must then as much neglect others for them; I answer, but then I could do it innocently, when I have the

the same Relation to them, and Obligation to help them, as others. If I were your Steward, and you trust me to distribute Money or Bread to all that are under my Stewardship, if there were but few I must give it them all; and if many they can have but all. If I had ten Children, and had but ten Pounds to give them, I might justly give them but each one a Pound: But if I had but two, I should think the whole little enough for them two. I am first bound to watch over my Flock, and if they be never so many they can have no more of me than I have: But if they were fewer, each one might have more of my help, and might challenge it as their due before another that is not of my Charge.

The sum of all then in two Words is this; 1. I dare condescend to give the Sacrament kneeling, and into the hands of those that live orderly under Christian Discipline; that is ordinarily to those of my own Charge; and occasionally to those of another Mans. 2. But I dare not (I profess seriously I dare not) ordinarily at least) give the Sacrament to those unruly scandalous Persons, that will live under no just Discipline, and I dare not defraud my Charge of my Labours, while I attend ordinarily upon those that are not of my Charge.

If any should say that their coming to Church and receiving the Sacrament is a sufficient Signification that they take us for their Pastors, and therefore they will do no more: I answer, 1. Many Strangers receive the Sacrament that are not of my Charge, and many that are Members of another Church, or no particular Church, do ordinarily come to our Assemblies. This therefore is no certain Sign. 2. And though it were a probable Sign heretofore, yet when we have called our Parishes to a plain discovery of their Minds, and they refuse to signify their Consent, so much as by a Word of their Mouths in Publick, then the former ceaseth to be any probable Sign of Consent. We had just Reason to call our People to express their Consent (which Reasons we printed in our Agreement to which I refer you) and we explained all to them, and told them over and over, that we must take those only for our special Charge that would express their Consent, and we waited now two Years to see whether they would do it: And if after all this they forbear or refuse, let the World judge whether this be not an open, plain disclaiming of our Oversight and their Membership. What would you have us do! can we know Mens Hearts that will not open them to us? Nay, shall the same Man so long refuse to tell us his Mind, and when he hath done, blame us because we understand it not? If indeed they consented, a Word speaking, or the writing of their Names is no great Cost or Labour to discover it. If they think it too much, we might better think our yearly Labour too much for them, Relation is the ground of the Duties which they bind to. I cannot enter these Relations but by consent; nor know them without the Expression of that Consent. No Man can be a Member of my Charge in despite of me; nor can I make any Man such against his Will. I can never marry a Woman that will say, you shall do the Office of a Husband to me, but I will not tell you whether I take you for my Husband, nor promise to be your Wife, &c. I will not have a Scholar in my School, or a Pupil that will say, Hither will I come, and you shall teach me, but I will not tell you whether I will be your Scholar, or take you for my Teacher: Nor will I have a Patient that will make me give him what Physick he desires, and will not say he will take me for his Physician. 3. Besides, the Office of a Pastor is not only to preach and administer the Sacrament, but also to admonish, rebuke, and exercise some Discipline for the Good of the Church: And he that will not profess his consent to these, doth not by his partial submitting to the rest shew his consent that I be his Pastor. I will be a Pastor to none that will not be under Discipline: That were to be a half Pastor, and indulge Men in an unruliness and contempt of the Ordinance of Christ: If I take more on me than is just or necessary, I will gladly hear of it, and recant. 4. Either they do indeed take us for their Pastors or not: If not, we do them no Wrong to take them for none of our Charge: And then why do they say that their coming to Church proveth it? But if they do take us for their Pastors, then they owe us more Obedience than the speaking of a Word comes to, and when we require them to profess themselves Members of the Church and of our Charge, they are bound to obey us unless they can prove it a Sin. But if they say we will not obey them in the speaking of such a Word, though indeed they did call us their Pastors, this were but to contradict themselves, and to deny the thing when they give us the Name. I desire no such Charge; much less such as will give us neither Name nor Thing and yet expect

their Wills of us. Sir, Pardon the Plainness, and accept the true Account of my Thoughts, from

Your Servant,

Feb. 2. 1655.

Richard Baxter.

§ 34. About the same time that we were thus associating in *Worcestershire*, it pleased God to stir up the Ministers of *Cumberland*, and *Westmorland* to the same Course; who though they knew not what we had done, yet fell upon the same way, and agreed on Articles to the same purpose and of the same Sense and Importance as ours were; of which Mr. Richard Gilpin (one of them, a worthy faithful Minister) sent me word, when he saw our Articles in Print; and they also printed theirs (to save the writing of many Copies, and to excite others to the same way) and they found the same readiness to Union among the Brethren as we had done.

Their Agreement you may find printed; our Letters were as followeth:

Dear Brethren,

WE salute you in the Lord: It was no small reviving to us to behold your Order and mutual Condescensions (expressed in your Book of Concord) to promote the Reformation of your People in ways of Peace. We unfeignedly rejoice on your behalf; and thought our selves bound to signify how grateful and helpful your Endeavours are to us. The Scorners of this Age have a long time bent their Tongue as a Bow, and dipt their Arrows in Gall, and sent forth bitter Accusations and Slanders against all the Ministers of the Gospel, calling them Disturbers, implacable, &c. as if the very Esse of a Minister were to contradict, and to be averse from Peace. Surely your earnest prosecution of Concord will be a standing Confutation of that Charge, at least so far as to cut off the Note of Universality from it: But that which most affects us is, that you are not willing to look upon the gasping Condition of the Church here, as idle Spectators, or as meer Witnesses of her Funeral without trying any Remedy at all, and that you do not apprehend your selves to have done all your Duty, when you have bewailed her Trouble, and complained of her Adversaries Cruelty. Sion indeed hath been thrown down to the Ground, and hath been covered with a Cloud in the Day of the Lord's Anger, and her Adversaries are round about: In this Distress she hath spread forth her Hands, and hath looked upon her Lovers for Help, and that so long, that she is ready to say, that her Strength and her Hope is perished from the Lord: Now her Sons while they have been consulting how to relieve her have fallen out about the Cure, and because they have not been admitted to administer the Physick according to their Minds, have neglected to administer any at all; because they could not be suffered to do what they would, they have forgotten that it was their Duty to do what they might. Some have thrown all aside but preaching, as it were in a pettish Discontent; some have satisfied themselves with administering Cordials, without purging the noxious Humours, because they thought this necessary and safe though in an unpresbyterate Church. Others it may be have seen a necessity of making farther Progress, and have been grooping after it, but have been discouraged at the sight of the thwarting and inconsistent Principles, the Animosities and want of Condescension of different Parties. Others it may be have in their Thoughts overcome this Difficulty, and yet have stuck at one that is less, they have been afraid to be the first Propounders of their conceived Remedy, fearing the Entertainment and Success that their charitable Endeavours might find, being more willing to follow than to lead in such a doubtful and unbeaten Path. This Design which you have resolved on will (we hope) convince Men that though we cannot as yet expect that the Lord's House should be so finished that all shall cry, Grace, Grace unto it: Yet that the Building need not wholly to cease, you are the first that have in this publick way broken the Ice, and who knows how powerful your Example may be to call Men off from their Contentions and Strivings one against another, by a brotherly Combination to carry on the work of Christ as far as they can with one Shoulder.

Whatsoever Advantage others may reap by your Endeavours, we are sure the Advantage that we have by them is double. 1. We, before we had heard of your Book, had undertaken a Work of the like nature: Several of us meeting together to consult about managing the Lord's Work in our Hands, were convinced that for Reformation of our People, more ought to be done by us than bare Preaching, a brotherly Association of Ministers appeared

peared to be the likeliest course for the attainment of our Desires; and accordingly was resolved on: And because we knew that many of our Brethren in the Ministry differed from us, we resolved to draw up several Proposals wherein we and they by a mutual Condescension might agree as Brethren in Love and Peace to carry on the same Work, and therefore required nothing of them but what we proved by the Confessions of the Congregational Brethren (their own Party) to be of less Moment, and not of absolute Necessity. Wherein (we urged) they might and ought to yield for the Churches Peace: But our Endeavours to gain them were frustrated, they were so resolved that they would not so much as read our Proposals and Reasons. We therefore set about the Work our selves, and made some Progress in it; by this time we began to feel what we expected at the first setting out, viz. the Rage and Malice of wicked Men vented in Railings and Slanders on the one hand, and bitter Censures and Suspicions of the Brethren on the other. In the midst of all this we received your Book as a seasonable Refreshment: Our Hands were much strengthened by it; it was a great Encouragement to us, to see that other godly and learned Men had walked much what in the same Steps, and had pleaded our Cause almost by the same Arguments wherewith we endeavoured to strengthen it. But 2. we are hereby quickened up to carry our Design higher. Our Propositions for the Substance of them are near the same with yours; we agree in a great part of your Discipline, our Rules of Admission are competent Knowledge, Unblameableness of Conversation, and assent to the Covenant of Grace, the means to carry it on are, the Peoples Consent and Association of Ministers; and where we differ from you, 'tis not because we differ in Opinion, but because our People (whose Condition and Temper we were forced to set before us in framing our Agreement) differ from yours. Hence our Examination of the Peoples Knowledge is more general than yours, if we understand you right in Prop. 19. Reg 9. hence instead of your Parish Assistants we are forced to make use of one anothers help in private Examinations, and Determination of Fitness, as well as in more publick Debates and Consultations: Yet in two things we come short of your Agreement: 1. In that we have not as yet propounded to our People your height of Discipline; though we never thought secret and private Admonitions and Suspension from the Sacrament such a Measure of Discipline wherein we might comfortably satisfy our selves without farther Progress; yet (our Hands being much weakened by our Brethrens refusal to join with us, our People stubborn, and Suspension from the Supper being a piece of Discipline that hath not been here practised till of late, and therefore a matter of greater Shame till Custom shall make it more common) we resolved to propound and Practise this first as an Essay to try what Success and Entertainment a farther Discipline might find. For though the Fear of Peoples flying off and separating is not by us looked upon as a sufficient Discharge for the neglect and laying aside all endeavours to reform: Yet we look upon it as a sufficient Ground of proceeding warily. 2. Though we always required Peoples Consent to the Terms of the Covenant of Grace and Discipline, yet have we not been so full in this as you. That which kept us off was a fear of offending some of our Brethren, who being more likely to hear of our Practice than of the Grounds and Reasons of it, might easily mistake our meaning. But now the way of Discipline being made more smooth both by what we have put in Practice already and by what you have declared, we are encouraged in both these Respects to make a farther Addition to our former Proposals.

Some things there are wherein a farther Explication of your meaning would have been very grateful to us.

1. Whether the Infants of such as are suspended from the Lord's Supper and of such as delay or refuse Consent to your Discipline only from Dissatisfaction about the matter of its Management, are to be excluded from Baptism?

2. Why you resolve to exercise your Discipline upon those only which testify their Consent, seeing you acknowledge your present Parishes (before the exercise of this Discipline) true particular Organized Churches of Christ; if some of those whom you accounted Members should fly off, why may they not be Sharers in your Discipline, and upon their Refusal cast out, rather than silently left out?

3. Why (if you limit your publick Censures and Admonition to those only that give express Consent Prop. 18.) you resolve to censure the scandalous Sinner upon such an Offer of Consent as carrieth in the Front of it a plain Refusal of your Discipline? Prop. 19. Reg. 10. and how this will stand with the fourth and fifth Reasons of that Proposition in pag. 12. of the Explanation?

We know that you have of purpose left many things undetermined, and that which you have propounded is fitted to the Temper of Parishes in general, rather than to some of yours in particular, and therefore we do not mention these as an Accusation against your Proposals; but for our own Advantage and Satisfaction in case we should receive any Letters from you.

Brethren, pray for us : we dwell in the midst of Opposition, and as it will be our great Joy to hear that the Work doth prosper in your hands : so shall we be earnest with the Lord for a Blessing upon your Endeavours. Thus rest

Penrith, Cumberland,
Sept. 1. 1653.

Your unworthy Fellow Labourers
in the Work of the Gospel,

Ri. Gilpin Pastor at Graystock.
John Makmillane Pastor at Odenhall.
Roger Baldwin Minister of Penrith.
John Billingsley Minister of Addingham.
Elisha Bourne Minister at Skelton.
John Jackson Pastor of Hutton.
Thomas Turner Preacher of the Gospel.

For the Reverend our much esteemed Brother Mr. Richard Baxter,
and the rest of the Associated Ministers in the County of Worcester, These.

To this Letter we return'd the following Answer.

Reverend and Beloved Brethren ;

WE received your Letters, with love and gladness, as for their savour of Piety in general, so of Peaceableness and Zeal for Unity in special, which we have now learned to take, not as a separable Accident of true Religion, but as an Essential part. We have reverent Thoughts of many Brethren for their singular worth and work, who yet for their Activity in dividing ways, are the grief of our Souls : We further honour many as abhorring such ways, and being no Friends to any Dividing Principles, nor active either as Leaders or Followers in the promoting them, who yet are so passively and passionately unpeaceable, in an impatient Entertainment of every Dissenter, and making the lesser Errours of their Brethren to seem Heresies, if not Truths to seem Errours, and putting such odious Constructions on their Opinions and Practices, that they do thereby make their godly and peaceable Brethren seem Firebrands or Monsters to be avoided or contemned ; and so affright Men into disunion and disaffection. We yet more honour many who are more free both from active and passive unpeaceableness, who yet do satisfy their Consciences with this much ; but while they exclaim against Divisions, do little for the healing them. But too small is the number of such as you, who are up and doing in this healing work. Your Names, dear Brethren, are doubly precious to us, as are your Lives. We have many helpers in other Works of Piety ; but too few in this. Indeed, we are following on the Work as being conscious of our duty, but concerning the Success we are between hope and fear. Among our selves in this County, God hath strangely facilitated all, and satisfied most of those that seem faithful in his Work, on the Terms which we have published : We hear also that in many other Counties they are stirred up to Consultations for these Ends ; and we perceive that the Excellency and Necessity of Unity, Peace, and some Reformation, is a little more observed than it hath been heretofore : and that God begins to disgrace Divisions, and to put a zeal for Reconciliation into many of his Ministers. Also we have made some Attempts with some Brethren of another County, where are some Men of great Learning and Piety, that are of the Episcopal way ; and we found them not only much approving the Work, but forward to promote it with the rest of their Neighbour Ministers. Our godly people also through God's great mercy, are almost all very tractable to, yea and rejoice in the Work. These things give us hope, that God is about the Restoring of his People, and that he is kindling that Zeal for Unity and Reformation which shall overcome the Fire of Contention that hath been wasting us so long. And O that we were as sure that this Work should prosper, as we are that it is preceptively of God ! For our parts, we cannot think that God is building his Church, till we see him bring the Materials nearer together, and providing Cement for a settled Combination. Of which as we have these grounds of hope, so have we much cause of trouble and fear, both from the backwardness of Pastors and People to the Work. For we understand from other parts how heartless some are to such a Work ; and how averse those are that are deeply engaged already in Parties ! We hear not of those hearty inclinations to Peace, in the party whose aversness you mention, as we hoped to have done, when we came so near them as we do ; not crossing, that we know of, any of their Principles, (though

silencing

silencing some). They do in some neighbour Counties zealously preach against us, and cry down our way as formal and delusory; making the People believe that we make a Parish and a Church all one, and that to cast them out of the Church is to cast them out of the Parish; and that we take in all that will come, be they never so bad: Though we have fully told them that we are taking in none, but discerning who are in; and shall cast out all whom they can prove fit to be cast out. Some Brethren also of sounder Judgments, do stand at a distance, and will not come amongst us, to tell us the Reasons of it. Some in other Counties, that are zealous to promote the Work, do meet with so much opposition, tergiversation, and discouragement, that we hear it is like to hinder it with them. Also we find not that love and peaceable inclination in the exasperated part of the Episcopal Brethren, as might be expected from the Sons of Peace. But the greatest discouragement with us is from our People: for though through the mercy of God divers of us have encouragement, yet in most places the Multitude hold off, and will not own us. And though God so orders it, that the worst do generally keep off themselves, and few but Men seeming to fear God do joyn with us, yet some few of the most zealous of our People, in some places, do hold off, as disliking the broadness of our way. We find it is not only in Doctrinals, but Practicals, that most are for the Extreams, and the mean pleaseth few, but is censured of both. No Party will come to us, unless we will reject all other Parties, but them. It is in those disengaged Christians, that are truly Catholick, and are the Servants of Christ and not of Men, and that love their Brethren as Christians, and not chiefly as of their Party, that the great hope of our Success doth consist: Though smart Experience may possibly recover some of the rest. Our hopes depending in this doubtful state, we give thanks to God, that he addeth somewhat to our encouragement by you. We adventured not rashly on what we have done. It is near a year and half since we begun our Consultations. Our Profession was perused by Bishop Uther and others: Our Propositions scand by many far and near: and all was altered in them: that any of them were offended at. Yet it is far from our Expectations that all should joyn only on our Terms: Could we get them to Consultations for Unity and Reformation, and to hold on till they did succeed, we had our desire. But indeed we see such exceeding difference in Mens Apprehensions, and such addictedness to their Party in too many, and such a loathness in others to displease the People, or weaken their own Interest in them, and hazard part of their maintenance that comes from them; that we do expect this Work should go heavily on; and if it prove otherwise, we shall ascribe it to the meer good pleasure of God, and his extraordinary blessing: for no doubt but all the force will be raised against it, that the interest of Satan in the ungodly, the heretical Dividers, the dark imperfect Saints, can procure. But though our greatest Comforts would lye in the Success (because we work not for our selves, but for God and his Church) yet we find very much in our upright Endeavours. Indeed we have Experience of much sweetness in the Work: Our very Thoughts and Speeches and Consultations of Peace are sweet. That our Minds should be hereby occasioned to dwell so much on such a blessed Subject, we find a great advantage to our own Souls; it much composeth and calmeth our Minds, and killeth the contrary Corruptions, and disposeth us to love and tenderness to our Brethren: So that were we sure to have no other Success, we have a plentiful Reward. As our studies of Heaven, and preaching of it to our People, occasioneth such foretafts that are worth our labour a thousand fold, so do the studies and attempts for Peace. Brethren, our hearts desire is, that as the Lord hath let fall on you, some of the same Spirit of Peace, as on us his unworthy Servants, that you would joyn with us at the Throne of Grace in prosecution of this Design, and follow it hard with God and Men, and let us be minded of you in those your Addresses to God, not only as Christians, as you do others, but in special as Peace-makers, that we may prosper in this Work, and the Lord would call in the Spirit of Division, and command down those Winds and Waves that have threatned the ruine of his distressed Church; and we hope the Lord will help us to be mindful also of you. Truly, it is sweeter treating with God than with Men. Yet both must be done. And as we desire to resist all Temptations to Despondency, so we hope that the Lord will enable you to break over discouraging Oppositions, with such fixed victorious Resolution as becomes Men that are engaged in so sweet a Work, and honoured to be Leaders under so faithful, omnipotent, and victorious a General. You love not the Work of Piety in general ever the worse for opposition; nor would you surcease as discouraged though you had met with more. Let it be so also in particular for Unity and Reformation.

We shall next give you our Answer to your three Questions. 1. As we did purposely leave the first Question unresolved, so we are loth to put the Question to any one Association, much less to all; lest we either agree not, or agree in Points that may hinder the Work, when we foresee the certain disagreement of others.

2. To your second we say, Its true that we take our Parishes for true Political Churches; and we take it as probable (and so to be judged by us and others) that all those that constantly submit to the Ordinances and Ministerial Offices, are true visible Members, and take themselves for such; except they do otherwise discover their dissent. But because where Professions are but implicit, or less express, we have but a probability, and not a full certainty, that all such Persons do take themselves indeed for Members, and because when we call them to acquaint us expressly, whether they take themselves for Members, or not, they deny it, or refuse to profess it, and so disclaim it, we now first discern that they are no Members; either not intending to be such all this while, or voluntarily departing now. We have more assurance of the Truth of our particular visible Churches, than we have of each Man's membership particularly. For some do plainly profess themselves Members, and most others do that which amounts to a more obscure Profession, and which makes them guilty of Hypocrisie, if they intend not what they seem to profess: But yet when they contradict the seeming darker Profession by an open disclaiming it, then they undeceive us, and cease that dissembling: And Multitudes do openly profess in many places, long ago, that it is their liberty to hear all Men, but they take us for no Churches, or at least they take not themselves as Members. Besides, when they disclaim our Power over them, they will not come near us to be questioned, or give any account of their ways, but tell us, We have no more to do with them, than others have whose Charge they are not under. Moreover, when they have cast out themselves, they are not capable of the same Casting out by us, as those that are in; for it cannot be wholly ab eodem termino. Yet we do not, as you say, resolve to exercise our Discipline on those only that testify Consent; but only agree on no more, leaving the rest to be done as above, and beyond this Agreement.

But that's your third Question, to which we say, That we do not Prop. 18. limit our Publick Censures to those only that express Consent, as excluding all others, or resolving not to do it on any others: but only resolving here to do it. Indeed our Judgment is, that so far as a scandalous Christian hath Communion with us, so far he may be cast out (not breaking Natural and Civil Bonds). If some have the Communion of particular Church-Members with us, and others have but the Communion of Christians in Neighbourhood, and ordinary converse wherein we have occasion to manifest familiarity, we may and ought to cast the former (on just cause) out of Church-Communion, and the later, out of familiar Society, or Communion in any Ordinance that intimates Familiarity; but out of that Church we cannot cast him, when he is not in it. Yet for many Reasons we judged it unmeet to put this last into our Agreement. 2. You do mistake our Reg. 10. of Prop. 19. in supposing that the Profession of Consent there mentioned, doth carry in the front of it, a plain refusal of our Discipline. For if he profess Consent, we must take him as a Member, and use him accordingly; and by that Profession, he manifesteth Consent to our Guidance and Discipline in general; and the thing that he refuseth is only Actual Obedience to a particular Act of Discipline, and that after the discovery of Consent; which any corrupt Member may do.

As for the two Points before mentioned by you, wherein you went not so far as we, this much we briefly say, 1. Our 19th Prop. Reg. 9. speaks of no Ignorance but what was before expressed, viz. of Fundamentals, and that only where we have just ground of Suspicion of it. 2. We dare not dissuade your mutual Assistance in Pastoral Offices to particular Congregations, where there is no offence taken at it. But if the Congregational Brethren should take it as a making your many Churches to be but one particular Church, or a giving the Pastor of one Church a true Pastoral Power, and consequently Charge and Duty over other Churches, (which you know Mr. Burroughs in his *Iranic*. makes their great Offence), then for Unity and Peace sake, we could wish you did forbear it.

Brethren, Our hearty prayer is that the Lord would guide; quicken, encourage, and succeed you, in this blessed Work. But the more excellent it is, the more Opposition expect from Men and Devils, and your own Corruption: But the dearer it costeth you, and the more unreservedly you devote your selves and resign all you have to God, for the faithful performance of it, the more Comfort may you expect from God, and the sweeter will be your reviews of it at a dying hour. Brethren, imitate your Lord: Do the Work of him that sent you while it is day; for the night cometh when none can work. Farewel:

Kidderminster, Octob.

1653.

Your Brethren

and fellow Servants,

Rich. Baxter,
Jarvis Bryan, in the Name
and at the Appointment of the rest.
Brethren

Brethren,

‘Because you Directed your Letter to me by Name, I am bold to tell you my private Resolution of your first Question. I will do by the Children of Refusers, as by Strangers (except I know that they refuse through meer licentiousness). I dare not refuse to Baptize the Child of a Stranger, as such: but I will first speak with one of the Parents, and be more fully satisfied of their Knowledge, and Reasons of Dissent, and enquire of their Lives: and on the same Terms I admit Dissenters also to the Lord’s Supper, viz. if there be no Charge against their Lives, and they come to me before hand, and satisfy me of their fitness. Still letting them know it is a dangerous case to live from under Order and Discipline, and that I do this to them but for a time till they can be satisfied, as I would do for a Stranger.

Your Brother,

Ri. Baxter.

To our Reverend and Beloved Brethren the Associated Ministers in the County of Cumberland.

§ 35. Upon the Publication of our Agreement, the Ministers in most Counties began to take the Business into consideration; and though some few of the ancient Presbyterians were against it, and thought it would bring the Presbyterian Government into Contempt, or hinder the Execution of it, when it had been agreed on by so grave a Synod at *Westminster*, and established by the Parliament, and therefore they rather desired a strict Execution of the Ordinance of Parliament, and an Agreement on those Terms) yet the most of the godly, faithful Ministers, as far as I could learn, were for it: For as we hindered no Man from following his own Judgment in his own Congregation, so we Evinc’d beyond denial that it would be but a partial dividing Agreement, to agree on the Terms of Presbyterians, Episcopal, or any one Party, because it would unavoidably shut out the other Parties; which was the principal thing which we endeavoured to avoid: it being not with Presbyterians only, but with all Orthodox, faithful Pastors and People, that we are bound to hold Communion, and to live in Christian Concord, so far as we have attained, *Phil.* 3. 15, 16.

§ 36. Hereupon many Counties began to Associate, as *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Hampshire*, *Essex*, and others: And some of them printed the Articles of their Agreement. In a word, a great desire of Concord began to possess all good People in the Land, and our Breaches seem’d ready to heal. And though some thought that so many Associations, and Forms of Agreement, did but tend to more Division, by shewing our diversity of Apprehensions, the contrary proved true by Experience: For we all agreed on the same Course, even to unite in the practice of so much of Discipline as the Episcopal, Presbyterians, and Independants are agreed in, and as crosseth none of their Principles: And they that thought the Expression of the Churches desires in various words of Prayer in Publick was better than a stinted Form for all Churches necessarily to use, should not think that the Expression of our Consent to the same things, is a dividing way, because it is done in various Expressions: for this Liberty greatly helped Unity: for many a one would have scrupled some particular words in such an imposed Form of Concord, who yet would accord in the Substance of the Work.

The *Essex* Agreement was printed; (to the same purpose with ours). The *Wiltshire* Ministers were so strictly held to it by the Independant Party, that they could get them but to these following preparatory Articles:

‘WE whose Names are Subscribed, Ministers of the Gospel in the County of *Wilts*, being humbly sensible of our many Failings in the Work of the Ministry by the Lord Christ committed to us, and of the great need wherein we stand of the mutual help of our Brethren for Advice, Encouragement and Strengthening herein: And sadly bawailing the Corruptions of the People in our several
‘Con-

‘ Congregations, the want of Christian Reformation, Love and Unity, and the
 ‘ Power of Godliness, the breaking in of destroying Errours, and the prevailing
 ‘ of Ignorance and Profaneness among them, have consented and resolved through
 ‘ God’s Grace, and in Expectation of his Blessing on our weak Endeavours, as fel-
 ‘ low Servants to the same Lord Jesus Christ the Great Shepherd of Souls, to ac-
 ‘ quaint our selves one with another, and to joyn together and assist each other to
 ‘ the uttermost in the promoting of Gospel Truth, Peace, Love, and the Power
 ‘ of Godliness, in our selves and all those that have the Name of Christ upon them,
 ‘ in the places wherein we live.

‘ For the Effecting whereof we desire and purpose, if God permit, to meet to-
 ‘ gether at *Sarum* on the 26th of *Octob.* 1653. for the end hereafter specified.

‘ First, In some publick Place on the same day, where any others, whose hearts
 ‘ are inclined thereunto, may joyn with us by Fasting and Prayer to seek unto God
 ‘ for pardon of our former Failings, and for Direction and Strength of his Spirit
 ‘ for the future Work of the Ministry which lyeth upon us, in the instructing and
 ‘ ordering of our severall Congregations according to the Word of God.

‘ Secondly, After the said Publick Duty discharged, to come together more pri-
 ‘ vately in some convenient place : And there

‘ First, Jointly and Solemnly, as in the presence of God, to testifie our sincere
 ‘ purpose of heart, for the time to come (in dependence upon the Lord’s Strength)
 ‘ to take heed unto our selves, and to our Doctrine, and to continue therein, that in
 ‘ doing this we may both save our selves and them that hear us.

‘ Secondly, To testifie to each other our Conscienceable readiness (as Servants and
 ‘ fellow Labourers) to afford and receive Assistance to and from each other in the
 ‘ Work of the Lord committed to us, as any occasion shall be offered to us in this
 ‘ kind ; and accordingly to advise together thereupon.

‘ Thirdly, To Promise and Engage to one another, according to our Duty, in
 ‘ all Humility, Tenderneſs and Brotherly Love. Yet faithfully to admonish one
 ‘ another of any Miscarriage or Neglect which we shall know or be daily inform-
 ‘ ed of, which in any of us bringeth Reproach upon the Name of God, and his
 ‘ Ways, upon the Gospel and the Administration of the same. And we shall all
 ‘ of us likewise seriously promise, humbly and thankfully to accept of such Admo-
 ‘ nition from any Brother, as a Fruit of Christian Love and Fidelity, and without
 ‘ Anger, Clamour or Recrimination, either to clear our selves to the Brother which
 ‘ Admonisheth us, being free from the Crime objected, or else endeavour Reforma-
 ‘ tion in what we have offended.

‘ Fourthly, At the same Publick Meeting to appoint some other fit time to meet
 ‘ together in the same manner, further to carry on the Work of mutual Brotherly
 ‘ Advice concerning such Courses as conduce to God’s Glory, the Good of the
 ‘ People, and the Discharge of our Duty in the place wherein God hath set us: And
 ‘ in this our Meeting we fully resolve through the help of our God.

‘ First, Not to meddle in word or deed with any Matter of Civil Government
 ‘ further than to stir up one another (if any just occasion be offered) conscienceably
 ‘ to maintain and exercise all Christian Obedience to Magistrates, as an Ordinance
 ‘ of God.

‘ Secondly, Not to foment any Breaches amongst Brethren, but to study to the
 ‘ uttermost of our power that all, who accord in the Fundamentals of Gospel
 ‘ Truth and Holiness, may be brought to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond
 ‘ of Peace.

‘ And for the more Christian and Orderly managing of this our Brotherly Agree-
 ‘ ment and Association, we do agree

‘ First, That every Man at his entering into this Society, tender us a Certificate
 ‘ of his Painfulness in the Ministry, and of his Godliness in Conversation under the
 ‘ Hands of two godly Ministers at least, not of the Society ; and of two or three
 ‘ godly Christians known to some of the Society : And that all the Certificates be
 ‘ brought into, and kept in the Hands of one of the Brethren that by common Con-
 ‘ sent shall be appointed thereunto.

‘ Secondly, That every Man that cometh into this Society and Agreement be
 ‘ desired to express his willingness, in case of any Miscarriage, whereby he shall
 ‘ give just occasion of Offence unto the Society, to submit unto the Reproof and
 ‘ Determination of the whole, or the major part of the Society ; so far forth as their
 ‘ Reproof and Determination shall be warranted by the Scripture.

‘ Thirdly,

‘ Thirdly, That our Meetings be constantly begun and ended with Prayer to be made by the Moderator *pro tempore*, who at the first Meeting is to be chosen for the Meeting next following, and so continually for the better ordering of our Meetings and Debates.

‘ Fourthly, That no private Matters be propounded in our General Meetings but by the Moderator, and that not while any Publick Business is in debate, without the leave and consent of the whole Society, or the major part.

‘ Fifthly, That any Brother that shall be willing to joyn hereafter into this Society, may upon the same Terms be freely accepted into this Brotherly Agreement.

The Independant Churches also in Ireland, led by Dr. Winter Pastor of their Church in Dublin, associated with the moderate Presbyterians there, upon these Provocations, and the Perswasions of Col. John Bridges (my Neighbour) : And they sent us together their Desires of Correspondency, with which our Answer is here subjoyned.

Honoured and Beloved Brethren in the Lord,

IT hath pleased the good hand of Heaven to bring into our Parts our much esteemed Friend Coll. Bridges, in much Mercy to us all; and by him, as also by several other hands to give us some acquaintance with the State of Christ's Affairs among you: which very much obliges us to Sympathise with you according to the several Administrations of Providence, as becomes the Relation of Fellow-members and Subjects in Christ's Kingdom. His Return into your Parts affords us an Opportunity to signify the same, and how much we desire to manifest it by real Demonstrations; through the good Will of him that dwelt in the Bush. In order thereunto, we thought fit to testify our Willingness to contribute our utmost through his Assistance, to the maintaining of a Christian Correspondency between us, that we may mutually receive and give the Right Hand of Fellowship, in a Season of so much need. Whilst the common Enemy is still labouring to divide and destroy the Friends of Christ in all parts, it concerns us nearly to be so much the more industrious and active in the promoting of Christ's Interest against his Power and Policy, the bitter Fruits of unchristian Divisions we have too much tasted of, and through the Lord's Goodness have reaped already some Benefit, from our brotherly Association, whereinto we entered not long ago. The present Condition of God's People in Foreign Parts, as among us, calls a loud for a more cordial Union and Communion among all such who desire to fear his Name. It's therefore our Hearts Desire, not to be wanting in our Faith and Prayers, Resolves and Endeavours to the fulfilling of those exceeding great and precious Truths do eminently centre in these latter Days, that Christ's Friends may receive one Mind and Heart, to serve him with one Lip and Shoulder. We are thereby much encouraged to request your Christian Assistance, and Brotherly Correspondency, that we may all be the better able in our several Stations and Relations to promote more vigorously the Interest of Christ and of his People. After the sad shakings of this Land, and his many turnings of things upside down, the Lord is pleased to promise us a little Reviving, and to open a Door of Hope, even in the Valley of Achor: Your favourable help is therefore earnestly craved, that Ireland may once more partake of the glad Tidings of Heaven, and the wants of many Thousand starving Souls may be seasonably supply'd with the Bread of Life. The particular of our Affairs Coll. Bridges will give you a more exact Account of, and will be ready to convey to us the Signification of your Christian Compliance with our longing Desire. To the Blessing of the most High we humbly recommend the care of the several Nurseries of Christ among you, that the Plants of his House may flourish in his Courts, through the Supplies of Christ's Spirit, in whom we cordially desire to be and appear

Dublin 5. M. 8. D. 1655.
July 5.

Your affectionate Brethren
in the Bonds of the Gospel,
to serve you through Grace,

Sam. Winter Pastor of the Church in Dublin.
Claudius Gilbert Pastor of the Church at Limerick.
Ed. Reynolds M.
J. Warren M.
Will. Markham.
Tho. Osmonton M.

In the Name of the associated Churches of Christ in Ireland.
These for the Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter, Pastor of the Church of Christ in Kidderminster, to be by him communicated to the several Churches of that Association.

Our Answer whereto was as follows :

Much honoured and beloved Brethren in the Lord,

WE received your welcome Lines from the Hand of our faithful and much honoured Friend Coll. John Bridges. It much rejoiceth us to hear of your brotherly Association, and the Success, and more, that your Hearts are enlarged with such Desires for the farther promoting of this healing Work; and that you thus breath after the Union of the Saints. It doth not only rejoice us on your own behalf, and on the behalf of that desolate Land where you abide, but also on the behalf of the Churches in general; because we seem to discern the gracious Thoughts of God unto his People, in sounding a Retreat to their unbrotherly Contentions, by sending forth that Spirit of Love and Peace, which we know must build us up if ever we are built: When God was pulling down and laying Waste, he withheld this Mercy, and let out upon his Churches a Spirit of Contention, Bitterness and Division, which hath gone on to demolish and break in pieces, and made our own Hands the Executioners of those heavy Judgments, which have laid us so long in Shame and Sorrow, and filled our Enemies Mouths with Scorn. While this evil Spirit that made desolate did prevail, Division seemed aimable, and dividing Principles seemed glorious Truths; and all Motions to Reconciliations were unsavoury things, and rejected as a Defection from Truth or Zeal, and as a carnal Compliance with the ways of Darknes; and even those that were zealous for Truth and Holiness were too many of them cold for Peace and Unity; reading those Scriptures which so earnestly press them, as if they read them not; never observing or laying to Heart the strict Commands of the Lord herein, as if there had been no such Passages in our Bibles. But, blessed be the Lord that beginneth mightily to awaken the Hearts of his Servants, and cause them to observe the Truths which they overlook'd, and at last to lay to heart the Duty so much neglected. We now hear from many Countries of this Nation, the Voice of the Spirit of Peace; our Brethren begin to get together and consult of the means of repairing our Breaches, and in many Places are associated; and though the Work be but beginning, and mightily resisted by the Enemies of Holiness and Peace, yet are we in great Hopes that these Beginnings do promise more, and that God hath not awakened us to this Work in vain. And now by the Tidings of your Concord, we have received an increase of these our Hopes and Consolations. Go on dear Brethren as One in the Centre of Unity; and prevail in the Strength of the great Reconciler: This is the way that will prevail at last; and however it be thought of by others will certainly be comfortable to our selves in the review; when dividing ways will be all disgraced, and look with another Face than now they do: He that is for Vanity and Love is likest to have his Approbation who is one, and who is Love. Our Hearts are with you and our Prayers shall be for you, that you may abundantly reap the Fruits of Concord, in the Conviction of Gain-sayers, and the farther Confirmation and Edification of your own. Your Motion for a Correspondency we gladly entertain, and shall rejoice in the Assistance of your Advice and Prayers, and willingly to that end communicate our Affairs. We are now upon a joint Agreement to bring all the ancient Persons in our Parishes (who will not do it in the Congregation) to our Houses on certain Days every Week, by turns, to be catechised or instructed as shall be most to their Edification: A Work that requireth so much unwearied Diligence, Self-denial, and holy Skill, and wherein we are like to meet with so much Resistance, and yet doth appear to us of great necessity and use, that we earnestly crave your Prayers for such Qualifications and Successes. The State of your Affairs we partly understand by the Information of Coll. Bridges: We heartily pray the Lord of the Harvest to send forth more Labourers among you; and could we contribute any thing to so good a Work, we should willingly do it: But able Ministers fit for the Work with you, are too few, and many of them so weak of Body, that they are unfit for Travel, and most of them so engaged to their Godly People, and the People so impatient of a Motion for their remove, that the Work will be very hard; but we hope to be faithful in our Endeavours whatever be the Success. Brethren we crave your Prayers to God that we may be faithful and Successful in his Work; as also that Brotherly Correspondency which you motion might abide; and we remain

Your Brethren

in the Faith of Christ,

Rich. Baxter, Teacher of the Church at Kidderminster.
Jarvis Bryan, Teacher of the Church at Old Swinford.

Henry

Henry Oasland, *Teacher of the Church at Bewdeley.*
 Andr. Tristram, *Teacher of the Church at Clent.*
 Tho. Baldwin, *Minister at Wolverly.*

In the Name of the associated Ministers meeting at Kidderminster.
 August 12. 1655.

To the Reverend our much honoured Brother Dr. Winter, Pastor of the Church at Dublin, to be communicated by him to the associated Churches in Ireland; These.

They wrote us also a Second Letter, which I here subjoin :

Reverend and much valued Brethren,

YOUR Affectionate Letter in Answer to ours, by that Honourable Person, we have received, and do desire that these Lines may testify our Thankfulness to you for your loving and free Acceptation of our Desires of a Brotherly Correspondency. Those Pantings of yours for the Peace and Union of the Saints, we doubt not will be to your Comfort at the great Day of your Account : God is not unjust to forget your Work and Labour of Love; Go on therefore, dear Brethren, in his Strength whose work it is, and of whose Power and Presence you have had so great Experience: We trust as our Hearts are with you, so our Prayers shall not be wanting for you at the Throne of Grace.

We thank you for your Joy at our Association and Success, and that we still breath after that happy Work. Surely if after our long Experiences of those woful Desolations that Divisions and Dissentions have involved the Saints in, our Hearts should not be enlarged after Union and Peace that must repair our Breaches, we should have Cause to suspect our Union with, and Love to our Head. We are not ignorant how much the Self-love and Pride of some, and the misguided Zeal of others of approved Sincerity, have advanced the Design of the grand Enemy by over eager and unbrotherly Bitterness; even in matters circumstantial: Neither are we altogether ignorant how subtilly that old Serpent and Deceiver hath laboured by a pretext of Love, to swallow up Truth; it being for a while the only Cry, Love, Love, yet not the least hint of Truth, which had most need of their Charity; being miserably torn and mangled. To which our Charity leads us to attribute the Praise of many of our Brethren, as being unwilling to buy Love with the Loss of Truth: It is the Apostles Advice that the Truth should be spoken in Love, and that we should contend earnestly for the Faith once delivered to the Saints.

But Thanks be to the Lord God of Truth that hath preserved his Darling from the Devourer, making the way of Love exceeding aimable because of Truth; so that we trust it will not lie untrodden by the Lord's People, through circumstantial Differences, whilst all hold the Form of wholesome Words, considering one another, and walking together in what they are agreed, and waiting upon the Lord for the revealing of that, wherein they differ; perfection being reserved for another World.

That there are any Beginnings, and that by you we hear of more, we earnestly desire our Hearts may be duly and thankfully affected therewith; praying the God of truth and Peace to uphold his Truth, and to shower down plentifully the Spirit of Love and Peace, that as the Lord is One, so his People may be One.

Your present Work, we are in some measure sensible of its Necessity and Weightiness: Wherefore our Prayers shall be for you, that the Lord whose Servants ye are, and whose work it is would be with you to counsel, encourage, strengthen and prosper you in it, as we crave your daily Prayers for these Infant Churches, that our God may vouchsafe his Spirit and Presence to us whose lot is cast in this Wilderness, having many Enemies to conflict withal from within as well as without; your Advice and brotherly Assistance we request, as we shall have Occasion and Opportunity to communicate our Affairs to you.

Lastly, the deep Sense we have of the extraordinary want of faithful and able Ministers to carry on the Lord's Work in this dark Land, together with the daily Cries from many Places of People that are perishing for want of Bread, presseth us to renew our former Request to you for Help in this Day of our Necessity; and we are somewhat the more emboldned thereto, by the Apprehension we find you to have of our Condition, however for the present you find not how to help us.

Your great Plenty together with your Association, and nearness of Habitations making your Pastors and People as one, besides the Universities are with you, which (blessed be God) are well replenished with many gracious Plants, to whom your Unanimity will doubtless be a very great Encouragement to settle amongst you; whereas our distance from them, together with those sad Reports which are cast upon this Land, render us hopeless of any considerable Supply that way. These things we humbly offer as Motives to you for sparing some that may be helpful to us in this Day of our Extream Necessity. And now, dear Brethren, most thankfully accepting your Love, we recommend your Persons, Labours and Flocks to the Care and Oversight of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls, whose Grace be with you. Amen.

Your Brethen, unfeignedly

Dublin, Jan. 16th.
1655.

loving you in the Lord,

Sam. Winter.

Tho. Hook,	} {	Elders of the Church
Ol. Hutchinson,		of Christ in Dublin,
William Markham,		whereof Dr. Samuel
John Price,		Winter is Pastor.

In the Name and by the Appointment of the rest of the Associated Churches in Ireland.

§ 37. About this time, Mr. Vines extolling the Judgment and Learning of Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, and advising me to chuse him as the fittest Man to treat with for Concord with the Diocesane Party, I wrote to him to that End, and sent with all some Terms of Concord. He returned me a very kind Letter, professing his Willingness to prosecute that Work, and withal an answer to my Proposals; which granted the main Matters which I desired, and would have united us all, if such terms had been granted when the King came in, and settled the Church Government; for he granted with Bishop Usher, that every Presbyter is, and must be a Governor as well as a Teacher of his own Flock; and that subordinate Assemblies like Rural Denaries might be set up in every Market Town, or in certain Divisions for the Performance hereof. But because I found him too tenacious of the titular Honours of the Bishops (which though I could have consented to my self, yet those times would not permit) I wrote to him no more, and seeing we were not like that way to attain our Ends, which was a present Union with that Party: But had I foreseen what since is come to pass, I would have prosecuted it farther, that I might have had more of his Confessions to testify against unpeaceable Men.

The Letter I wrote to him was as follows:

Most Reverend and much Honoured Sir!

‘**T**Hat I an utter Stranger to you should make this Address, I suppose will be no stranger matter to you, than that the Weak should seek for help unto the Strong, and that the Laws of Nature and of Grace should tye us to a mutual Communication according to our powers. So much of my own time being spent in such Paper Converse with Men whose Faces I never saw, hath somewhat hardened me to this Attempt: And I know, that as far as you excel me in true Wisdom and Humility, so far will you excel in Condescension to Inferiours, and in Readiness to do good; and therefore I have no doubt of your favourable Acceptance of this Address, if there be nothing in the Matter or Manner to hinder.

‘I shall take leave first to tell you my General Errand, with the Ground of it, and then my Particular one. Nature inclineth us to desire to know: and Grace to desire the right Knowledge of God and of his Will; from himself only, who is the Father of Lights, must we have this Light, and from him by his appointed Means and Revelations. If I learn not of those that God hath taught, but ex-

‘pest

pect all immediately from himself, I may live in Darknes. Where I hear of the greatest Revelation from Heaven, thither do I take it for my Duty to Address my self: and if there were inspired Prophets now as heretofore, I would go to them: But seeing God now taketh another way, I think I ought to follow him, and to be a Learner (if possible) of those whom he hath any way most eminently illuminated. And though my Actions may be more ruled by many than by one, where they have more Authority, yet my Judgment may be better informed by one that excelleth in Light, than by many others. While I have made enquiry after these Divine Communications, the concurrent Vote of my most learned, sober, judicious Friends hath directed me first to you, as the Man who for clearness and soundness of *Judgment*, is the Oracle of this our Theological World. Though I may Learn of many hundreds, yet did I know where so well to profit, and were so *strong a Judgment* as common as many other excellent Qualifications, in learned Men, I should have taken up nearer home, and not presumed to have invited you to any trouble. My first Question therefore is in general, Whether your Mind and Leisure will vouchsafe me the Liberty now and then to intrude for the Resolution of some Difficulties; not frequently nor contentiously, but seldom and as a meer Learner. If you are unwilling, or not vacant, say so, and rid your self of this Trouble in a word.

And though the greatest Matters that I would enquire about are Points of Faith (wherein if you have taken notice that I have wronged the Church by any of my crude and hasty Writings, your Check would tend to a Reformation and be welcome), yet the particular that at present I shall try your willingness in, is in Point of Discipline. I have long been very sensible of the sad Divisions of the Reformed Churches hereabouts, and especially in *England*; and longed to see the day that some wise compassionate Hand would rightly attempt the Cure. As ignorant Men know not so much as the Difficulty of things, so I have thought that if there were no greater Hinderance in Mens Affections, than in their Principles, it would be an easie matter speedily to Reconcile the moderate Episcopal and Presbyterian Divines. My earnest Request to you is, that you will be pleased freely to tell me your Thoughts, how far this Accommodation following may tend to a closure.

1. In every Parish, where there are more Presbyters than one, let one be the Chief, and his Consent chiefly taken in the Guidance of the Church.

2. Let many such Churches be associated (call it a *Classis* or what you will): and let the fittest Man be your President as long as he is fit, that is, during Life, unless he deserve a Removal.

3. Let divers of these Classes meet once or twice a year in a Provincial Assembly, and let the fittest Man in the Province be their standing President: Hitherto there is no Concession on the Presbyterian side, but that the President *pro tempore*, be turned to a standing President; nor any on the Episcopal side, but that (most necessary one) that every Presbyter be acknowledged a Church Guide; and not a meer Preacher.

4. Let it be left to each Man's Conscience, whether the President be called by the Name of Bishop, President, Superintendent, Moderator, &c. seeing a Name is no meet Reason of a Breach.

5. Let no Man be forced to express his Judgment *de Jure*, whether the President have a Negative Voice in Ordination or Excommunication, nor whether he be distinct in order, or only in degree, seeing it is not the *unanimous and right belief* concerning these things that is of Necessity (for then they must have been in our Creed) but the unanimous and right *practice*: But let all agree that they will joyn in these Classical and Provincial Assemblies, and *then only* Ordain, and that they will not Ordain but when the President is one, unless in case of flat necessity, which is never like to befall us if this way be taken.

My Question now is, Whether the godly, moderate Episcopal and Presbyterian Divines, on supposition that they can at present come no nearer to each other, may not and ought not thus far to close; and thus live in Christian Love and Unity; seeing that we are bound to Concord in Practice so far as we agree in Judgment: and seeing that if any nearer Closure be yet necessary, in such United Bodies, and Amicable Associations, Assemblies, and Correspondencies, its most likely to be attained this way; and indeed no other that I can as yet discern.

‘ These Terms I once propounded to one most Reverend Prelate now near you, who told me, That with moderate Men they might suffice for an Union. If you are of the same Judgment I should have the stronger hopes ; and if you are not, I shall the sooner let them fall.

‘ Were your leisure such as to admit of further trouble, I would crave a word for the Resolution of my own Judgment in these Points :

‘ 1. I am satisfied that the Apostles have Successors in all those Works that are of standing Necessity, and that Church-Government is one of those Works, and that its improbable that Christ should settle one Species of Church-Government in the Apostles Hands for an Age, and then change it for ever after, and that they that affirm such a Change must prove it ; and this Argument sticks close. But then I would crave one of your strongest Arguments to prove (though I know that the Presbyterians grant it) that indeed the Apostles had a power by Office to Govern the Seventy, or the Presbyters as inferiour Officers, besides the power that they had by the meer interest of their Gifts, and priviledge of being Eye-witnesses of the Works of Christ, and Ear-witnesses of his Word.

‘ 2. If the Apostles Examples will prove the Right of an unfixed Ambulatory Episcopacy, yet I would see how it appears that ever they were fixed to particular Churches, or ever any of them had a distinct and limited Diocess, where the rest had not Charge as well as they.

‘ 3. I am satisfied that very early after the Apostles the common Government of each Church was by a Bishop and Presbytery : but I can yet see no Evidence that this Church for 150 or 200 Years was any more than one Congregation ; like one of our Parishes for number of People : which was Congregate in a City, and from the Circumjacent Villages, (as our Independant, or Anabaptist Churches now are) ; while the Multitude were Infidels. I would therefore crave one clear Proof that the first fixed Bishops ruled any more standing Congregations (having ordinary Assemblies and Communion in the Lord’s Supper) than one only. And whether the multiplying of Believers did not make a real Change of the former Species of Government, while the Bishop of the City took on him the Government of many Particular Churches, who had but one before ; and when Bishops should have been multiplied as fast as Churches were, and as Presbyters were : Some Passages in the eldest Writers incline me to these Thoughts, of which if they be wrong, your Correction will be most acceptable. May I crave, if not your Solution of all these Doubts, yet at least your Advice in the first Case of Practice, and your Pardon of my Boldness, I shall under great Obligations remain

Kidderminster in Worcestershire
June 8. 1655.

A humble Reverencer

of your great Abilities

and Dignity,

Rich. Baxter.

‘ If you return any thing, Mr. Underhill at the Anchor and Bible in Paul’s Church-yard will convey it me.

To the very Reverend, and much Honoured, Dr. Brownrigg Bishop of Exeter, These.

Whereto the Bishop made this short Reply :

Worthy Sir,

I Have received your kind and courteous Letter, the Evidence of your very pious and peaceable Spirit, which I heartily desire may be a Provocation to others to lead them into the ways of Peace.

Sir, Your Esteem of me and of my Abilities is the Errour of your Love, and of those that have represented me to you in too great a Character, (quod non humiliter tantum sed & veraciter dico) only I shall desire to be serviceable to God and his Church in what I am able.

Your

Your Letter came to my hands at the time of my removal from Highgate into the Country, here I have continued many Months suffering the trouble and pain of the Stone, which which hath put me into a long and tedious Course of Physick. Now I am upon my Journey homewards, from whence, God willing, I will write to you; being truly sensible of your Religious Endeavours for so good a Work as the Composing of those woful Rents made in this Church.

The God of Truth and Peace guide us into the Ways of Truth and Peace, to whose Grace and Blessing I do heartily recommend you, resting,

SIR,

Highgate, July 3.
1655.

Your very respectful Friend (who

embraceth your Love, and returns

his to you very heartily,

Ra. Exon.

And not long after I received this Answer:

Worthy Sir!

I Am indebted to you for an Answer to your Inquiries which I received from you. It should have been more speedy, but in truth, I brought from London my crasse and ill-affected Body, which since my coming home hath bred me much pain of the Stone, and taken up my time in suffering those Distempers, and using the Remedies prescribed to me. I have now sent you my Thoughts, which I doubt not but you will receive as candidly as I impart them to you. The Age is quarrelsome, but I apprehend you as one of a peaceable Spirit, aiming only at the Settlement of our unhappy Distractions. The God of Peace compose all our hearts to Peace, and make the Rents of our Church to be the Matter of our chief Compassion. *Charitas Ecclesiae omnes omnium Charitates in se complectitur.* Sir, I have sent you my Answer written with a more legible hand, and with some regard of ease to my self in transcribing; with my very hearty love recommended and assured to you, I commend you to the Grace and Blessing of Almighty God, resting,

Austie in Hartfordshire,
July 21. 1655.

Your very respectful Friend,

Ra. Exon.

Bishop Brownrigg's Answer about Government.

Prop. 1. **Y**Our first Proposal is, In every Parish where there are more Presbyters than one, let one be the Chief, and his Consent chiefly taken in the guidance of the Church.

Ans. 1. This Case is rarely to be found in the Parishes of England, nor can there be a sufficient Maintenance for a Plurality of Presbyters in our Parochial Congregations, yet if such be found, it may be a good means to preserve Order and Peace; that the ordering of Affairs, which shall be referred to them, be managed by him that hath the Praefecture of that Parish, I wish that in those Churches which beside the Incumbent have had Lecturers, this Rule had been observed.

Prop. 2. Let many such Churches be associated (call it a Classis or what you will) and let the fittest Man be their President, as long as he is fit, that is, during life, unless he deserve a removal.

Ans. 2. This Proposal looks like our Rural Deaneries, or Choriepiscopal Order, which hath been laid much aside, but for the reducing of it, and to make it profitable, I wish that it may be bounded with fit Canons, prescribing what they may do, and with intimation from the Bishop and his Inspection, and that such a Dean or President may be continued for Life, that being a means to breed Experience, if he do not deserve a removal.

Prop. 3.

Prop. 3. Let divers of these Classes meet once or twice a Year in a Provincial Assembly, and let the fittest Man in the Province be their standing President.

Ans. 3. This Course hath been by Law and Practice already used in our Church in the Archidiaconal Visitations and Synods, which may be more quickened and actuated by fit Canons for their Direction; what and who the President must be, may be provided for by Canons, and his Station continued; and that Presbyters having Cure of Souls should not be accounted meer Preachers but Church-Guides, and as they are already acknowledged Rectors of Churches.

Prop. 4. Let it be left to every Man's Conscience, Whether the President be called by the Name of Bishop, President, Superintendent, Moderator, &c. seeing that a Name is no meet Reason of a Breach, &c.

Ans. 4. If by President you understand him that must moderate the Half-year or yearly Synods under the Inspection of the Diocesan, as his Order may be newly framed, so his Name may be newly imposed; but that the Primitive Name of Bishop should be turned into a new Name, is, as you say, no meet Reason for a Breach; and we see Presbyters assume that Name to themselves, and to put a new Name upon an old Institution is, as *Augustine* speaks in the like Case, *Indoctis struere fallaciam doctis facere injuriam*.

Prop. 5. Let no Man be forced to Express his Judgment de Jure, Whether the President have a Negative Voice in Ordination or Excommunication; or whether he be distinct in Order or Degree, seeing it is not the unanimous and right Belief of these things that is of Necessity (for then they must have been in our Creed) but the unanimous and right Practice; but let them all agree that they will constantly joyn in these Classical and Provincial Assemblies, and then only Ordain; and that they will not Ordain but when the President is one; unless in Case of flat Necessity, which is never like to befall us if this may be taken.

Ans. 5. If by President you understand the Diocesan, then that the Bishop should be deprived of his Negative Voice in Ordination or Excommunication, and so I conceive in other Censures and Acts of Government, is, to make him a meer Shadow without any Authority, like our Scrutators in our University, to propound Graces, and collect Suffrages, and pronounce Sentence: Surely St. Paul invested Timothy and Titus with more Power and Authority, both for Ordination and Censures; but then to remedy the Inconveniencies of a wilful Negative, it's fit that an Appeal may be made to a Provincial Synod, that may examine, and if need be, rectifie what was amiss in the Negative.

That Church Busineses were Ordered by the Concurrence of more Presbyters besides the Bishop in Cyprian's time, was fit at that time; when the Government of Church Affairs was Arbitrary, and not Regulated by Law; in which Case it was safest for the Bishop to have the Consent of others with him: This is not our Case, we have express Canons and Laws laid upon Bishops, beyond which they cannot go, and so may well be intrusted with the Execution of the Sentence of the Law, the Sentence of the Judge being only *Declarativa & Executiva*, and if he transgress those Rules prefixed, he is liable to Censure. In our Church *plurimum legi, minimum Episcopo relinquatur*, as we see in Civil Matters, one Justice of Peace hath the Power of Executing the Sentence of a Law or Statute, but no Arbitrary Power granted to him.

That the Bishop be distinct from the Presbyter, whether *ordine* or *gradu*, is the Schoolmens Debate, and I conceive may have such accord as may not ingender strife.

That Ordination be by the Assistance of Presbyters is already required in our Form of Ordination, and if it be fixed to the Times of Synods it may be easily granted, and sure that Blame that hath been laid upon our Bishops for Ordaining of insufficient Men is most what an undue Charge: the Law of the Land hath set that lowness of sufficiency in Men to be ordained and instituted, that if a Bishop refuseth to give Orders or Institution to a Man presented by the Patron, he is punishable by the Judges: As I have heard, Archbishop Abbot was fined an Hundred pounds in case he did not admit a Clark so meanly qualified as the Law requires.

Some other Proposals are added in the End of your Letter.

Prop. 1. **I** Am satisfied that the Apostles have Successors in all those Works that are of standing Necessity, and that Church Government is one of those Works, and that it is improbable, that Christ should settle one Species of Church Government in the Apostles Hands for an Age, and then change it for ever after, and they that affirm such a Change must prove it.

Ans. 6. Supposing what the Apostles did in ordering of Church Government to be in the Name and by the Authority of Christ, this Assertion I conceive to be very true, and it doth infer a Subordination of all Officers and Members of the Church to the Apostles, and those that were their Successors.

Prop. 2. Whether the Apostles had a Power by Office to govern the LXX. and the Presbyters as inferior Officers, besides the Power that they had by the meer Interest of their Gifts, and Priviledge of being Eye Witnesses of the Works of Christ, and Ear Witnesses of his Words.

Ans. 7. The extraordinary Gifts of the Apostles, and the Priviledge of being Eye and Ear Witnesses to Christ, were Abilities which they had for the infallible Discharge of their Function, but they were not the Ground of their Power and Authority to govern the Church.

That the Seventy, and so other Presbyters were inferior to the Apostles, and under their Government, doth appear to me, though at their first sending by Christ, they were immediately subject to Christ, the Apostles not being then established in the Government of the Church, but when Christ authorised his Apostles with the Power of Government, *Potestas Clavium* was committed to them only, not to the Seventy; and so we must conceive that the Colledge of Apostles were invested with the Government of the Church, and the Seventy not having the Keys committed to them were under the Authority of the Apostles, and so were Presbyters to the Apostles Successors.

Prop. 3. If the Apostles Example will prove the right of an unfixed, ambulatory Episcopacy, yet I would see how it appears that ever they were fixed to particular Charges, or ever any of them had a distinct and limited Diocess, where the rest had not Charge as well as they.

Ans. 8. I conceive the Apostles as Apostles had an unlimited, and, as you call it, an unfixed, ambulatory Episcopacy, being sent into the whole World, and not by Christ's Institution confined to any one fixed Seat; but yet that hinders not, but that by Consent and Agreement among themselves, they might have a Distribution of their several Circuits, as it is seen in the Agreement between St. Peter and St. Paul, which as it did not exclude their original Power over all Churches, so it did accommodate them to a more opportune Discharge of their Function, and accordingly they settled their Successors in those Places, not committing to them an universal Jurisdiction which was a Personal Priviledge of their Apostleship.

Prop. 4. I am satisfied that very early after the Apostles, the common Government of each Church was by a Bishop and Presbytery; but yet I can see no Evidence that this Church for 150 or 200 Years was any more than one Congregation, like one of our Parishes for Number of People, which was congregated in a City, and from the circumjacent Villages; as our Independant or Anabaptist Churches now are, while the Multitude were Infidels; I would therefore crave any clear Proof, that the first fixed Bishops ruled any more standing Congregations, having ordinarily Assemblies and Communion in the Lord's Supper, than one only, and whether the multiplying of Believers did not make a real Change of the former Species of Government, while the Bishop of the City took on him the Government of many particular Churches, who had but one before, and whether Bishops should not have been multiplied as fast as Churches were, and Presbyters were.

Ans. 9. That the Government of the Churches was not only *Vicatum*, but *Regionatum*, appears by those Deputies and Successors which the Apostles constituted; in particular, *Titus* is authorised to ordain and govern not one Parish, but the many Churches in *Creta*. That those primitive Bishops did employ their ordinary Function of Preaching and administering the Sacrament in their City of Residence, may well be granted, which hinders not, but that they might have Inspection into the circumjacent Villages for ordaining of Presbyters, and other Administrations of Government, and what needed a Colledge of Presbyters residing in the City with the Bishop, if they were not sent out by him to officiate in those Villages adjacent, as the Number of Believers required; nor did the multi-

plying of Believers in the adjacent places require several Bishops in several Congregations, independent on the City Bishop, but the ordinary Discharge of those Places was committed to them in Subordination to the City-Bishop, and Presbyters there assembled as occasion required: In this Case it fared with the Church as in Philosophy they say, it is in the matter of Nutrition and Augmentation, where the form is not multiplied, but only extended *ad novam materiam*.

These Answers not changing my Judgment, I made the following Notes upon them.

Ad 1. Every Church *Primæ magnitudinis & speciei* should be as great and no greater, than is capable of PERSONAL Communion, as our greater Parishes; and every such Church had of old a Bishop. *One Altar and one Bishop* was Ignatius's Note of one Church; and such a one may maintain divers Ministers; and the Rich should not burden the Church for maintenance, but help freely.

Ad 2. This is a President of a Synod of Bishops.

Ad 3. I thank you for granting Presbyters to be Church-Rectors.

Ad 4. If he be but a President he is but a Bishop *Primi Ordinis* (of one Church) as the rest: But if he be the stated Rector of many Churches, he is really an Archbishop.

Ad 5. This was written when our Diocesane Frame was taken down, to reconcile them that were for, and them that were against such Bishops, *pro tempore*.

If you take liberty to cast off the Example of Cyprian's times, on pretence that the Case is altered by the Kings Laws, then you will never know where to rest while Laws are alterable. *Qu.* Whether the Practice of the Church till Cyprian's time be not a probable Notice to us what was the Apostolical instituted Government? If not, why use you the Argument of Antiquity for Episcopacy? If yea, *Qu.* Whether Rulers may alter the Apostolick Institution? and the Office and work of Presbyters may be changed on pretence that now Bishops can do it without them? He that ever tryed true Discipline will find one Parish big enough for one Man's or divers Mens right Performance of it, and Six hundred or a Thousand Parishes too many.

Alas! do you think it Lawful to ordain insufficient unmeet Men, if the Law of the Land so command you; what then are Christ's Laws for?

Ad 6. Here I granted you the major of your grand Argument for Episcopacy.

Ad 7. The Apostles Superiority of Power I deny not; but that the Power of the Keys was given to the Apostles only, I deny. If Christ immediately gave it to no other, yet by his Spirit he did, and by the Church-Law, which he left to be the Instrument of continued conveyance and Title, by which the Apostles were to invest others with that Power; which the Schoolmen ordinarily acknowledge to belong to Presbyters as such, who may use them to the People.

Ad 8. 1. *De facto* it is no where proved truly that the Twelve or Thirteen Apostles did by consent limit their Provinces; But contrarily, that they Officiated together at *Jerusalem*; and *Peter* (if at *Rome*, as some think he was) and *Paul* in the same Diocels at *Rome*, &c. and *Paul* and *John* at *Ephesus*, and *Timothy* also (as is said).

2. If they had, this had been no fixing any more Diocesses in the World than Twelve or Thirteen; and whoever since pretended to succeed them in those Twelve or Thirteen Diocesses?

3. And if following Bishops or Princes fixt Diocesses, that is no divine nor unalterable Law.

4. We never read that an Apostle claimed any Diocels as proper to him, or forbade any other to officiate in it, or blamed them for so doing.

5. It is certain that while they went themselves from Country to Country, they fixed Bishops to every Church or City, *Act. 14. 23. Tit. 1. 5, 6.*

Ad 9. 1. The Apostles fixed not Bishops of the lowest Rank, *Vicarium* nor *Regionarium*, but in every Church, which was then in every City where were Christians; even the same Church that had Deacons and Presbyters fixed.

2. Bishops preached to Infidels to whom they were not Bishops, but Preachers.

3. The Christians of neighbour Villages came to the City-Church; and when they had Oratories or Chappels there, it made them not another Parish; and excluded not such from personal Communion with the Bishops Church, nor extended

ed to such as by Distance or Numbers were incapable of such personal Communion.

4. *Titus* was either an ambulatory Evangelist, to go about as the Apostles, gathering and settling Churches (as I think); or if fixed, he was an Archbishop, who was to settle Bishops under him in every City (as Dr. Hammond judged). It followeth not that a meer Bishop may have a Multitude of Churches, because an Archbishop may, who hath many Bishops under him.

5. As the Magnitude of human Body, so also of a particular Church, hath its Limitation suited to its Ends: Communion by Delegates or Officers only, is the Case of many Churches associated: But *Personal* Communion in Doctrine, Worship, Conversation and Discipline is the End of each particular Church, and if you extend the Form to more than are capable of that End, even to many such Societies, by so doing the Species is changed.

§ 38. About this time a reverend learned Brother, Mr. *Martin Johnson*, being of the Judgment of Dr. *Hammond* and Dr. *Gunning*, and yet a Lover of all honest, peaceable Men, and constant at our Meetings, Lectures, and Disputations, was pleased to write to me about the Necessity of Episcopal Ordination: I maintained that it was not necessary *ad esse Ecclesiæ*, and that he might be a true Minister who was ordained by Presbyters, and that in Cases of *Necessity* it was a Duty to take Ordination from them: He opposed this (with Modesty and Judgment, being a very good Logician) till at last he yielded to the Truth. These Letters with their Answers are added in the Appendix.

§ 39. A little after this an Accident fell out that hindered our Concord with the Episcopal Party, and is pretended at this Day by many to justify the Silencing of all the Ministers that were afterward put out. *Oliver Cromwell*, who then usurped the Government, being desired by some to forbid all Ministers of all Parties whatsoever to officiate, who were notoriously insufficient or scandalous, taketh hence Occasion to put in with the rest all those that took part with the King against the Parliament, and so by offending them, hindered our Agreement with them; which provoked me then to protest against it, and publish my Judgment against the hindering of any Man to preach the Gospel upon the Ground of such Civil Controversies as those.

§ 40. And about the same time, Experience in my Pastoral Charge convinced me that publick Preaching is not all the ordinary Work of a faithful Minister, and that personal Conference with every one about the State of their own Souls, together with Catechising, is a Work of very great Necessity: For the Custom in *England* is only to catechise the younger sort, and that but by teaching them the Words of the Catechism in the Liturgy, which we thought (besides the Doctrine of the Sacrament) had little more explicatory than the Words themselves of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Decalogue: Therefore I propounded the Business to the Ministers, and they all (upon Debate) consented that I should turn our brief Confession into a Catechism, and draw up a Form of Agreement for the Practising of that Duty: I drew up the Catechism in Two leaves in 8vo. comprehending as much as is necessary to be believed, consented to and practised; in as narrow a room, and just a Method as I thought agreeable to the Peoples Understandings: And I proposed a Form of Agreement for the Practice, which might engage the more remiss to go through with the Work: And when I brought it in, it was consented to and subscribed; and many neighbouring Ministers of other Countries desired to join with us; and we printed the Catechism and Agreement together.

Pardon the tediousness of three or four Sections, which repeat some of that which was mentioned before, because it is here put in as part of my Pacificatory Endeavours only.

§ 41. Of all the Works that ever I attempted, this yielded me most Comfort in the practice of it. All Men thought that the People especially the ancients sort, would never have submitted to this Course, and so that it would have come to nothing: But God gave me a tractable willing People, and gave me also interest in them; and when I had begun, and my People had given a good Example to other Parishes and especially the Ministers so unanimously concurring, that none gained us, it prevailed much with the Parishes about: I set two Days a Week apart for this Employment; my (faithful unwearied) Assistant and my self, took fourteen Families every Week; those in the Town came to us to our Houses; those in the Parish my Assistant went to, to their Houses (besides what a Curate did at a Chappelry): First they recited the Catechism to us (a Family only being present at a time, and no Stranger admitted); after that I first helped them

to understand it, and next enquired modestly into the State of their Souls, and lastly, endeavoured to set all home to the convincing, awakening, and resolving of their Hearts according to their several Conditions; bestowing about an Hour (and the Labour of a Sermon) with every Family; and I found it so effectual through the Blessing of God, that few went away without some seeming Humiliation, Conviction, and Purpose and Promise for a holy Life, and except half a dozen or thereabouts of the most ignorant and senseless, all the Families in the Town came to me; and though the first time they came with Fear and Backwardness, after that they longed for their turn to come again: So that I hope God did good to many by it: And yet this was not all the Comfort I had in it.

§ 42. For my Brethren appointing me to preach to them about it, on a Day of Humiliation at *Worcester* when we set upon it, I printed the Sermon prepared for that use, with necessary Additions, containing Reasons and Directions for this Work, (in a Book called *The Reformed Pastor*) which excited so many others to take the Course that we had taken, that it was a far greater Addition to my Comfort, than the profiting of the Parish or County where we lived: Yea, a Reverend Pastor from *Switzerland* wrote me word, that it excited them to Thoughts of practising it there, though the dulness of some Pastors and the backwardness of the People were their great Discouragements.

Though the Conjunction of the matter caused me to speak together of these things, yet the matter of this Section and the following was for time about two or three Years after that which followeth.

§ 43. But all these Beginnings which so comfortably smil'd upon us from all parts of the Land, were clouded and obstructed by the proud Com-motions, and rebellious unquiet Humour of the Fanaticks; especially the Military Anabaptists; who thinking it lawful, because it seem'd to set up their Sect, did oppose the Ministry and trouble the Peace of the Nation, and raise Stirs against all settled Government, even against the Usurper whom they had themselves set up. And when *Cromwell* was dead they set up his Son, and pull'd him down again, and set up others, and pull'd down them, and never ceased rebelling and overturning all before them, till they had not left themselves a Bow to

stand upon. And *Harrison's* Party in the Conventicle called, The Little Parliament, as they cast out all the Ministers in *Wales* at once (who though very weak and bad enough for the most part, were better than none, or so few Itinerants which they set up) so they attempted and had almost accomplish'd the same in *England*: The Independants thought that the Parishes were no true Churches, and the Anabaptists thought that those baptised only in their Infancy, were no Christians; and so that they might have true Churches and Christians, many Independants secretly, and the Anabaptists openly promoted the Ejection of all the Parish ministers in *England* at one Vote, that so they might set up the best of them again in an other way, to make Men Christians, and gather New Churches, which they thought was better than to reform the old.

In Jan. 1659. the Committee of Parliament (the Rump as they were called) Voted Liberty of Religion for all, not excepting Papists.

§ 44. These Endeavours having been on foot all the time of *Oliver's* Usurpation and before, promoted the Generation of Seekers, Ranters, Quakers, and such others, who sent forth many railing Words and Pamphlets, and the Scope of all was against the Ministry (which yet got ground even in these licentious times, and prevailed against them, and carried on their Work): This was some Diversion to us, while I and others were fain to dispute against Anabaptists, and Quakers, and Seekers, and to answer their railing Invectives, and to build with our Weapons in our Hands: So that (besides my Writings against them) I seldom preached a Lecture but going and coming I was railed at by a Quaker in the Market-place in the way, and frequently in the Congregation bawled at by the Names of [Hireling, Deceiver, false Prophet, Dog,] and such like Language: But all this in the Issue furthered our Work.

§ 45. Before this there were two very sober Men in *London* (Mr. *Lamb* and Mr. *Allen*) who were Pastors of an Anabaptist separated Church: The Wife of one of them (an extraordinary intelligent Woman) wrote me a Letter that her Husband was in troubled Thoughts (not about Anabaptistry, but) about Separation upon that account, and that if I would write to him now, it might do him good; which I did, and gave him many Arguments to prove that though he should continue in his Opinion against Infant-Baptism, yet he ought not to make it a Reason of denying Communion with his Brethren of another Mind. These Arguments met with Thoughts of his own that tended the same way, and in conclusion

sion he was satisfied : Afterwards the same Woman perswaded me to try with Mr. Allen also ; who in conclusion was satisfied : And they dissolved their Church. When this was done, the Men being of extraordinary Sincerity and Understanding, were very zealous for the reduction of their Brethren of the Anabaptists way : And to that end they had a Meeting with divers of the most moderate Pastors of the Rebaptized Churches : And they desired my Proposals or Terms on which we might hold Peace and Communion with them. I sent them these Terms, and they entered into Consultation of them, and were in a very hopeful way of Agreement (I saw no likelyhood of the contrary) : And suddenly the Broils of the Army, pulling down *Richard Cromwell*, and setting up I know not what, and keeping all in Confusion, broke off all our Consultations, till the King came in : And since then Men dare not prosecute the Agreement, lest they be taken as Conspirators, that do it in preparation to a Plot ; so unhappily are the Affairs of the Church crossed, by Secular Interests and Divisions in the World. But these two Brethren at last cast off their Anabaptistry also, and are now more zealous than other Men against Independency and Separation, by how much the more they smarted by it. The Terms of Agreement here ensue, with a short Disputation preparatory thereto. The Letters that pass't on this Occasion betwixt Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Lamb and Mr. Allen, are inserted in the Appendix.

Whether it be our Duty to seek Peace with the Anabaptists?

Feb. 28.

1658.

Because I conceive it no very difficult matter to resolve this Question, I shall the more briefly dispatch it. Only two Terms do need some Explication :

1. What we mean by *Anabaptists*? We do not here use the word with an intention of Reproach ; for that doth less besse'n a Disputation of Peace ; but we are fain to make use of it, as that Name by which that sort of Men are already commonly known, and distinguished from all others ; as not knowing otherwise how to speak intelligibly of them, without using Descriptions and Circumlocutions instead of well-known Names or Titles, which would be contrary to the Common Rules of Discourse.

The Persons called by that Name in General, are all that are for the Baptizing of those who were baptized in Infancy, as supposing it null or unlawful. Of these there are more Subdivisions than I will undertake to enumerate : As to our present purpose it may suffice us to take distinct notice of these four sorts of them ; 1. Those that only deny Infant Baptism, and are for the Necessity of Re-baptizing. 2. Those that upon this account do also gather Separated Churches, withdrawing from the Churches whereof they were Members, and receiving none into Communion but the Re-baptized. 3. Those that with the two former do hold many dangerous Errors, either *Pelagian* or *Antinomian*, or any other, which yet do not so overthrow the Foundation, but that the Persons holding them may be saved. 4. Those that had such Errors as are inconsistent with a true Belief of the Fundamentals, and consequently with Salvation. And among the three former sorts, we must distinguish between those that are peaceable, temperate, and willing of Communion with us, and that endeavour not the ruine of the Church in their practice : and those that are unpeaceable, and refuse our Communion, and set themselves to root out the Ministry, or to destroy the Faith or Church of Christ.

2. The word *Peace* signifieth several things, according to the several sorts of Men that we are related to, with whom we must seek it ; 1. There is a Peace of bosom Friendship ; and this we owe not to many of the Saints themselves : For of bosom Friends we must have but few. 2. There is a Peace of Actual Communion in the Worship of God, as Members of the same particular Church : Thus we owe not to every Christian ; though sincere in the main. 3. There is a Peace which is among the Members of all particular Political Churches in the World, as related to each other, and obliged to hold Communion as far as is necessary for the Common Good. 4. There is a Peace which is common to all professed Christians, Members of the Universal Church, though perhaps of no particular Political Church. 5. There is a Peace to be kept with sober Heathens or Infidels. 6. And there is a Peace to be kept with Enemies, both of us and the Gospel, as far as we can.

I shall give you my Thoughts about the present Question, in these following Propositions : Premising that 1. It is not the Peace of bosom Friendship that the Question intendeth ; and *Ergo*, we need not stand on that. 2. Nor is it the Peace that is due to Enemies, or that is due to Infidels and those without ; but it is the other sorts due to the several sorts of Christians.

Prop. 1.

Prop. 1. We may not have that Peace which is proper to Christians, much less that which is proper to Christians in Church-Order, with any that deny the Essentials of Christianity.

Prop. 2. As for those Anabaptists that in zeal for their Opinion do endeavour the Extirpation of the Ministry, or of those of them that are against their Opinions, or any other way do attempt that which would tend to the ruine or great damage of the Church, we may not have that Peace and Communion with them as with inoffensive Brethren, but must admonish them as scandalous and gross Sinners, and avoid them, if after due admonition they desist not, and repent not.

Prop. 3. Those that deny the Divine Institution, or present Existence of Ministry, or Worship and Ordinances, or governed Churches, are incapable of being Members of any true Political Church, and Ergo, we cannot have such Church-Communion with them; and because their Doctrine is of heinous Consequence, as tending to the destruction of all Church-Order, Worship and Communion, we must reject them, if they shall teach it after due Admonition.

Prop. 4. As for them that think it unlawful to have Communion with us, unless we will renounce our Infant Baptism, and be rebaptized, we cannot have Communion with them, in that Case, though we would; because they refuse it with us.

Prop. 5. We cannot lawfully disown the Truth of God, nor own their Errors for Communion with them; nor may we yield for any such Ends to be rebaptized.

Prop. 6. We may not lawfully be Members of a Church of Anabaptists, separated on that Account from others, (nor of any other unlawfully separated Church,) nor ordinarily Communicate with them in their way of Separation, though we might be admitted to it without any other disowning the Truth or owning their Mistakes. Except it were in a case of Necessity, (as if such a Church were removed among Infidels or gross Hereticks) where we could have no better Communion in worshipping God.

Prop. 7. If any one that Erreth but in the bare Point of Infant Baptism, or other Errors that subvert not the Christian Faith, shall yet take it to be his duty to propagate those Errors, it will be the duty of every Orthodox Minister, when he hath a Call and findeth it Necessary, to defend the Truth of such Errors, and to endeavour the establishing of the Minds of the People, and not to let them go on without Contrall or Contradiction, lest he be guilty of betraying the Truth and Peace of the Church, and the Souls of the People who are usually sorely endangered hereby: The like must be done by Private Christians privately, or according to their Places and Capacities.

So much for the Negative: The Affirmatives follow.

Prop. 1. The Common Love which is due to all Men, and the Common Peace which must be endeavoured with all, must be held or endeavoured as to them that deny the Essentials of Christianity. But, as is before said, this is not it that the Question doth intend.

Prop. 2. It is our Duty to do the best we can to reclaim any Erroneous or Ungodly Person from his Error or Inpiety, that so they may be capable of that further Love and Peace and Communion with us, which in their present state they are incapable of.

Prop. 3. Those that believe not some Points that are necessary to the Constitution or Communion of Political Churches, if yet they believe in Christ, and worship God so far as they know his Will, and live uprightly, may be true Christians, and so to be esteemed, even when they make themselves incapable of being Members of any Political Church.

Prop. 4. Some Anabaptists and others that make themselves incapable of being Members of the same particular Churches with us, or of local Communion in God's Worship, may yet be acknowledged to be Christian Societies, or truly particular Political Churches, though in tantum corrupt, and sinfully separated. I mean this of all those that differ not from us in any Article of our Creed or Fundamental of Christian Religion, nor yet in any Fundamental of Church Policy: As e. g. those that only re-baptize and deny Infant Baptism, or also hold some of the less dangerous Points of Antinomianism or Pelagianism; but withhold all the Fundamentals necessary to Salvation, and Church Policy or Communion.

Prop. 5. If any Person disclaim his Infant Baptism, and be Re-baptized, and then having so satisfied his Conscience, shall continue his Communion with the Church where he was a Member, and not separate from them, and shall profess his willingness to embrace the Truth as soon as he can discern the Evidence of it, and shall live peaceably and inoffensively under the Oversight of the Church-Guides, we may not Exclude such a one from our Communion, but must continue him a Member of that particular Church, and live with him in that love and peace as is due to such.

Prop. 6.

Prop. 6. If such an one should also mistake it to be his Duty, publicly to enter his Dissent to the Doctrine of Infant Baptism, and so to acquiesce, and live quietly under the oversight of the Ministry, and in the Communion of that Church, he ought not to be rejected.

Prop. 7. It is our Duty to invite those called Anabaptists now among us, to loving familiar Conferences; of purpose 1. To narrow our Differences as far as is possible, by a true stating of them, that they seem not greater than they are: 2. And to endeavour, if possible yet to come nearer, by rectifying of Mistakes: 3. And to consult how to improve the Principles that we are all agreed in, to the Common Good, and to manage our remaining Differences in the most peaceable manner, and to the least disturbance or hurt of the Church.

Here come in two more Questions to be resolved: 1. How should such an Attempt be managed? 2. What hope is there of Success?

For the first, I shall briefly give in my Thoughts in some Directions.

Direct. 1. Let the Attempt be made with none that deny the Principles of Christianity or Church-Communion; but with those only that Err; and have such Errors as are tolerable.

2. Let only the most Sober and Judicious be the Agents in this Attempt, who do manifest some esteem for the Honour of God and the Common Good, and a willingness to prefer these before any private Interests of their own or any others.

3. Let prudent hands draw up all those Points wherein we are agreed (leaving the Difference no wider than it is), and let these be all subscribed to by each Party.

4. Let all these Points wherein we are agreed be published in our several Congregations, that the People may not, by our disagreement in other things, be staggered in these, nor make that their pretence for any ungodly Principles or Practices; but may be the more ashamed of them, when they see they are condemned by us all.

5. Let us next agree to make these Common Truths the common and ordinary Matter of our Preaching, and endeavour with our first and greatest diligence to promote them, and to persuade all our hearers to do the like.

6. Let each Party openly disown all those that reject the great and common Truths, though they may agree with us in those Particulars wherein we oppose each other. And if they be intolerable Errors which they Err in, let us renounce their Communion.

7. Let us next draw up the State of our Difference as clearly, and in as narrow room as is possible.

8. Let us agree upon some necessary Rules for the most harmless managing of these Differences; that the Common Truths and the Souls of Men may be as little hazarded by them as may be, and the known and necessary Duties of Christian Love and Communion, as little hindered.

E. g. The moderate Anabaptists that take not their Opinions to be a sufficient ground for Separation from our Churches, may agree on such Terms as these following.

1. Let there be no withdrawing from the Ministry and Church of that Place upon the meer ground of Baptism. If the Minister be an Anabaptist, let not us withdraw from him on that ground, and if he be a Pædobaptist, let not them withdraw from us.

2. If the Pastor be for or against Infant Baptism, and think he have a Call to deliver his Judgment, let not the private Member think he is still bound to contradict him, or withdraw; but having once publicly entered his dissent to that Doctrine, and protested that his Presence and Patience doth not signify an Owning of it (if his Conscience urge him to go so far), let him afterward acquiesce and walk respectfully, lovingly and obediently to the Pastors in all lawful things.

3. Those that are so moderate as to take Infants for Church Members, though not to be Baptized, let them openly make profession of it.

4. Those that do not take them for Members, if yet they have any more hope of them than of Heathen Children, or think it a Duty in any sort to dedicate them to God, let them bring them to the Congregation, and there in general profess their hopes and the grounds of them, and either dedicate them to God, or profess their willingness to do it to the utmost of their Interest and Capacity, and desire God to accept them and bless them.

5. Let

5. Let those that are for Infant Baptism profess that a Personal Faith and Repentance is of Necessity to the Salvation of all that live to years of Discretion, and Baptism without it will not serve the turn.

6. Let all that are Baptized in Infancy, publickly own and renew that Covenant when they come to years of Discretion, before they are admitted to the Lord's Supper.

Thus far in Consistency with the Principles of the Moderate, we may yield to each other, and so hold Communion in the same Congregations : and the practice of this doth belong most to the People.

But for those that joyn Separation to Anabaptism, yet if they be any thing moderate (though they go much further from us than the rest) we may agree on these following Terms with them, to manage our Differences to the least wrong to the Church and Common Truths.

R. 1. Let us promise to go no further from each others Communion, than after serious Consideration, our Consciences shall tell us it is our Duty to do.

2. Let us declare that though one part be confident that Infant Baptism is a Duty, and the other that it is a Sin, yet we judge that they that Err here, while they sincerely desire to know the Truth, may be saved, notwithstanding that Error. (What it will prove to the Children, if the Parent accept not the Covenant for them, and devote them not to God, will be a hard dispute) which I shall not now presume to meddle in).

3. Let it be declared that we take each other for Christians, and Churches of Christ.

4. Let it be declared that we take the rightly called Ministry of each Church for true Ministers.

5. If any of each others Flock shall reproach or disown their Ministers and the Churches they are of, meerly because of their Judgment about Infant Baptism, let the contrary part, having opportunity, reprove them sharply, and help to humble them, and bring them to the Confession of their Sin, and to Reformation; that so proud, unruly, ungodly People may not take shelter under either Party by the means of any factiousness or partiality of ours.

6. Let us never intrude into each others Charge without the Pastors Consent.

7. Let us agree that we will not preach for or against Infant Baptism, when our Consciences tell us that the Peoples ignorance of greater Truths, or their Ungodliness doth require us to deal with them on more weighty Points.

8. Let us preach as seldom for or against Infant Baptism, as Conscience will permit; and particularly let that which herein we account the Truth, have but its due proportion of our Time, compared with the multitude and greatness of other Truths.

9. Let these Points also have but an answerable proportion of our Zeal, that we make not People believe that they are greater Matters than they are.

10. Let us not endeavour to reproach one another when we think we are bound to speak for our Opinions; that we make not each other incapable of doing the People good.

2. As to the second Question, *What hope of Success?* I shall not presume to determine it: Let every Man conjecture as he seeth Cause; for my own part, I am not quite out of hope, of some measure of Success with some few particular Persons; but my hopes are very low as to the generality.

Object. 1. *It is not our Duty to attempt a Work where there is no hope of Success.*
Answ. The Case is not so desperate as to excuse us from the Duty: A possibility with the least probability may serve to oblige us.

Object. 2. *What! shall we consent to the Exclusion of Infants from their Churches?*
Answ. No; but consent to improve the common Truths, and perform our Duties even to such as differ from us in this.

Object. 3. *There is not one of an hundred of them that will consent to these Terms.*
Answ. If they will not, who can help it? when we have tried them, we have done our Duty, and left them without Excuse.

Object. 4. *Shall we confess a Schismatical Church for a true Church?*
Answ. Every Schism nulleth not the Church or Ministry that is guilty of it: else most of the Churches in the World were nulled: If they reject the Essentials of a Church they are none.

Object. 5.

Object. 5. *Baptism is Essential to a Church: The Apostle, Heb. 6. 1. putteth it among the Principles.*

Ans^w. 1. It is only the thing signified by Baptism that is Essential. 2. The Apostle calls it a Principle, because it is one of the first things taught; but not because it is Essential to a Church. 3. The Anabaptists have Baptism in their Churches, though not of Infants.

Object. 6. *To make a League with Schismatics, is to be guilty of their Schism.*

Ans^w. True, If by that League you own, approve, or consent to their Schism: But not by agreeing with them to perform Common Duties.

Object. 7. *They are undermining the Church and Ministry, and shall we seek peace with such?*

Ans^w. 1. Those that we speak of are not such. 2. If they were, yet it is our Duty to hinder them, by agreeing to moderate Ways, and Common Duties.

Object. 8. *They are guilty of their Infants' Damnation, as much as in them lyeth, by not believing their part in the Covenant, nor dedicating them to God.*

Ans^w. They virtually consent for their Infants, in that they would actually do it, if they knew the Promise.

Object. 9. *They are under God's visible Displeasure. Ergo, &c.*

Ans^w. So far as God disowneth them, we must do so, but no further.

Object. 10. *We shall be reproached as complying with them.*

Ans^w. Slandrous Tongues cannot excuse us from plain Duties.

Object. 11. *Those whom we should Excommunicate we may not have Communion with: But the Anabaptists should be Excommunicated; Ergo, &c.*

Ans^w. I deny the Minor taken of such Anabaptists as we have now in question.

Object. 12. *It is a scandalous Sin unrepented of.*

Ans^w. 1. So is many a greater Errour, which Men must not be Excommunicated for. 2. It is virtually repented of; seeing if they knew the Evil of it, they would repent.

Object. 13. *You would have a looser Discipline than the Prelates or Papists: for they would not Communicate with Anabaptists.*

Ans^w. 1. I only avoid dividing rigour and cruelty. 2. They have Multitudes in their Communion that know not what Baptism is, nor to what use, nor who Christ is, whether God or Man? nor many other Fundamentals. Ergo, Their Discipline is far looser than I desire; but too partial also.

The Anabaptists object; *We are bound to propagate the Truth, and if you will have Communion with us, you must be baptized.*

Ans^w. 1. You are bound to propagate first the greatest Truths, that Salvation lyeth on, and to do nothing that may hinder this, by promoting your own Opinions.

2. If you reject Communion with all but Anabaptists, you reject all the Church through most Ages of the World. And no Church no Christ: and no Christ no Christians, nor any Salvation.

3. Blame us not, if we be not easily brought to your Opinion, if we had but these Reasons.

1. You confess (no thanks to you) that Infants were once Church-Members by God's appointment: and have never yet proved that he cast them out again. And we must have good proof of that before we can be satisfied with your way.

2. We cannot be hasty to believe an Evil; and we know that it is a sad Penal Evil for Infants to be put out of the Church: And Ergo we will have proof of it, before we believe it.

3. It must be no easie matter with us to believe, that the Head and Shepherd of the Church hath *de facto* had a Church of a false Constitution, as to the very Materials, and Enterance, from the beginning to this day, except a few within this twenty years that troubled it in a Corner of the World; and that now in the end of the World, we must expect a right Constitution, as if Christ had slept, or regarded not his Church, or been the Head of a Body which he disowned: We cannot hastily believe such things. I say again, No Church, no Christ; for No Body, no Head: And if no Christ then, there is no Christ now. Take heed therefore how you un-Church, or disown the whole Church of Christ in the very frame, for to many Ages.

An Offer of Christian fraternal Communion to the Brethren that are against, or doubtful about, Baptizing Infants of Believers.

IT is our exceeding Joy that we have all one God, one Saviour, one Spirit, one Faith, and one Baptismal Covenant, one Rule of Faith and Life, one End and Hope, and are Members of one Catholick Church, and agree about God's Worship in the most and greatest parts: And it is our Grief, and the Matter of our great Humiliation, that we can come no nearer, and that by the Remnants of our Differences, the Wicked are so hardened, the Weak offended, our Charity hindered, our holy Communion and mutual Edification disturbed, our Minds discomposed, and the Gospel, the Catholick Church, and our Saviour dishonoured. Lamenting this with the rest of our Unhappiness while we are in the Flesh, and absent from the Lord the Centre of Perfect Unity and Concord, and knowing it to be our Duty to walk by the same Rule, and mind the same things so far as we have attained, and being taught of God to love one another, and observing how frequently and urgently Brotherly Love, and Forbearance, and the Unity and Concord of Christians, is preſt in the holy Scriptures, and Uncharitableness and Divisions condemned, that as far as may be, we may promote our Common Ends of Christianity, and with one Mind and Mouth may glorifie God, We whole Names are under-written do make this following Offer of Communion.

1. To all those that joyn with us in the foregoing Profession of the Christian Faith, and have been Baptized since their Infant-Baptism, as thinking it unlawful or insufficient, we offer free Communion in our particular Churches, with leave to Enter your dissent from our Infant-Baptism into the Church Register or Records, so be it you will thenceforth walk in that Love and Holiness, and that Obedience to the faithful Overseers of the Flock, and that Concord and Brotherly Communion with the Church, as is required in the holy Scriptures (according to your power), and will resist Uncharitableness, Discord and Divisions, and joyn with us in our Common Work for the Common Ends.

2. To all those that joyn with us in the foregoing Profession of Faith, though they have been baptized since their Infant-Baptism, or think that Baptism unlawful, and dare not hold Local Communion with us in our particular Churches, we yet offer, that we may at that distance that our Infirmities have set us, maintain unfeigned Brotherly Love, and acknowledge our several Churches for Christian Congregations, and hold a Correspondency by Delegates or other convenient Means, for the strengthening of each other; and observe the Rules expressed in the following Offer.

3. To all those that joyn with us in the foregoing Profession of Christianity, and yet, through their dissent from our Baptizing the Infants of Believers, dare not hold Local Communion with us, nor yet acknowledge our Churches to be true Instituted Particular Churches, we yet offer, 1. That we may acknowledge each other for Members of Christ, (supposing the foresaid Profession of Christianity to be solemnly and credibly made) and Members of the Church Universal. 2. And that we may converse in the World together in a faithful Observance of these following Rules.

1. That we addict our selves heartily to the promoting and exercising of Brotherly Love towards one another, and take heed of all things contrary thereto in Word and Deed.

2. That we addict our selves to preserve the Unity of the Church Catholick, and Concord of true Christians, and the Common Interest of the Godly, and to farther the Cause of Christ in the World, and take heed of so managing our different Opinions as may be a hinderance to these.

3. That we study and addict our selves to promote the Conversion of ignorant ungodly People, and the building up of the Weak, and that we take great heed, lest in the managing of our different Opinions, or opposing one another, we should hinder these Works, hardening the Wicked, and offending the Weak.

4. That

4. That we always in our esteem and industry prefer the greater common Truths that we are all agreed in, before the lesser Points that we differ in : And that we take heed of so managing our Differences, publicly or privately, as may tend to hinder the Reception or Success of those greater common Truths in which we are agreed.

5. That we publish our Agreements, and profess our Christian Love, and Resolutions for Peace in our several Congregations, and profess there our joynt disowning and detestation of all Errours, Heresies, and Ungodliness, contrary to the Profession wherein we are agreed.

6. That we will not preach publicly for our differing Opinions in each others Congregations without the Pastor's consent, nor privately to speak for them, as is like to tend to the hinderance of God's greater Work in that Place, nor hold any private Assemblies in one anothers Parishes, which shall be more to the distracting of each others Societies, than for common Christian Edification.

7. That in our Preaching and Conference, we will allow the greater and common Truths such a proportion of our Time and Zeal and Speech, as the Nature, Necessity, and Number doth require, and not lay out inordinately such an undue proportion of Zeal and Time and Speech for our different Opinions, as shall be injurious to those Truths.

8. That we will avoid in Publick and Private all unbrotherly, scornful, reproachful Speeches of each other ; especially before ungodly People : And that we will not to them dishonour one anothers Ministry, so as may hinder their profiting by it, but will rebuke all such ungodly Persons that we hear reproaching the Ministers or Brethren of either part.

9. That we will not receive into any of our Churches, any Scandalous Persons, that fly from the Discipline of other Churches, and pretend a Change of Opinion to cloak their Scandals, but will impartially hear what Accusations shall be sent in against them, and proceed accordingly.

10. That we will upon any Defamations, or Accusations, or Rumours of Injury against one another, or of violating our Profession by contrary Doctrine, or breaking this Agreement, be responsible to each other as Brethren, and will forbear divulging private or uncertain Faults, or censuring or reproaching one another, till we have either conferred together to give and receive Satisfaction, and duly admonished each other, or tendered such Conferences and Admonitions seasonably, till we see they are wilfully rejected.

OFFERERS,

Richard Baxter Pastor of the Church at *Kidderminster.*

&c. &c. &c.

WE whose Names are Subscribed, dissenting from Infant-Baptism, heartily accept this Offered Agreement, as followeth :

In the first Rank.

In the second Rank.

In the third Rank.

Optatus Adv. Parm. l. 3. p. 75.

EUM qui ad Deum se conversum esse professus est, Paganum vocas ? — Paganum vocas eum qui Deum Patrem per filium ejus ante eam rogaverit ? Quicumque enim crediderit, in nomine Patris, Filii & Spiritus Sancti, credidit : Et tu eum Paganum vocas post confessionem Fidei. Si aliquid Christianus (quod absit) unusquisque delinquerit, peccator dici potest : Paganus iterum esse non potest. Sed hæc omnia vultis nullius esse momenti. At si tibi ipsi consenserit quem seducis ; unus consensus, & manus tue porrectio & pauca Verba, jam tibi Christianum faciunt de Christiano : Et ille vobis videbitur Christianus, qui quod vultis fecerit, non quem fides adduxerit.

Lib. 5. p. 86. *Denique vos qui baptisma quasi libenter duplicare contenditis, si datis alterum baptisma, date alteram fidem; si datis alteram Fidem, & alterum Christum: Si datis alternum Christum date alterum Deum. Deus Unus est: De Uno Deo Unus est Christus: Qui rebaptizatur jam Christianus fuerat: Quomodo dici potest iterum Christianus?*

Lib. 4. p. 76. *Si tu non vis esse Frater, ego esse incipio Impius, si de nomine isto tacuero.*

Vid. Lib. 1. Fol. 1.

§ 46. Before this I had occasion to make a more particular tryal for Union with the Independent Brethren. I knew Mr. Phil. Nye had very great power with them, and he being in the Country, I desired him to give me in Writing all those things which of necessity must be granted them by the Presbyterians, in order to Concord and Conjunction in the same Associations and Communion: He referred me to the Debates in the Assembly at *Westminster* which are in print: I urged him to give them me under his Hand, which at that time he did not, but the next Year I prevailed with him, and he wrote down these two as sufficient Concessions to our desired End: [The first was, that they might have Liberty to take Church-Members out of other Parishes. And the second, that they might have all Church-Power within themselves, in their several Congregations.] I asked him, if I accommodated them in both these, whether really they would unite with us as aforesaid. And he told me that they would: Whereupon I drew up this Form of Agreement following, which I thought granted them both these: But so as that they should be Members of constant Associations, and meet with us in our Synods; and that they should do this not as subject to the Government of those Synods, but as using them for Concord between the Churches, and so take their Resolutions not as Laws, but as Agreements: And that before they took any Member out of any other Parish, it should be debated in such Assemblies or Synods, and there it should be tryed whether the Person had sufficient Cause to withdraw his Communion from the Parish of which he was a Member: And if the Cause were just he might be allowed; but if the Cause were heretical or truly Schismatical they should hear what the Synod could say against it: and if they judg'd the Error *tollerable* they would tolerate it, if their Reasons could not satisfy; if they judged it *intollerable*, the worse could be but our disowning the Fact, and again receding from their Communion. He told me that it would cast a Slurr on them to be as it were excommunicated by us, that were the greater Number. I told him, 1. That it was not likely that Men who so much desired their Communion, would excommunicate them for the very same things, which we knew they held before we desired it. 2. That whether they associated with us or not, we could publish and practice Non-communication with them on the same Causes: And it was likelier to be avoided if they would be present with us, and plead their own Cause. 3. That a stated Alienation or Division should not be kept up, for fear of a possible removal again of some one Person.

Next he told me that the Point of *Ordination* was not yet accommodated, which he comprised under [Church-Power]. I offered him that if any of their Pastors died or removed, if the succeeding Pastor were ordained either by any remaining Pastor of that Church, or by any Pastors of other Churches, of their own Party or the other, we would hold Communion with them as Pastors. He denied to yield to this, and required, that if neither any Pastor of their own Church, or any other ordained them they might be held as Pastors. I told him, 1. He knew that was against the Judgment of those that they were to agree with. 2. That Mr. Norton and others of their own way confess, that it is lawful for Pastors of another Church to lay on Hands in their Ordination; and why should he not yield for Peace in a Point, which they confessed lawful; as long as they are not obliged thereby to acknowledge any *Subjection* to any other Church, but might receive it on their own Grounds. 3. Or if they would not yield to this at all, we might have Communion with them as *Christians*, without acknowledging them for Pastors. But upon this he receded, and came no nearer to any Agreement with us.

In this Interval I wrote to him the following Letter.

Reverend Sir,

I Have adventured, according to my Promise, to send your my Thoughts of the ready way of Agreement, between the Honest and Moderate of the Presbyterian, Congregational, yea, and Episcopal way. I purposely avoid the wording of a Form of Agreement, it being none of my Task, and such an Anticipation may do hurt; and therefore I shall give you only the Materials unpolished.

Prop. 1. About the Matter of particular Churches, as you express no Disagreement, so I find none in the printed Debates; and therefore take it for granted, that we are at one: That *cohabiting Christians* are the fit matter of such Churches; or *visible Believers, visible Saints, professing Believers and Saints, &c.* which come all to one. As to the Execution there will be a Difference even among Congregational Men, or Presbyterians themselves; according to their several Tempers, some more Charitable, some more Censorious, some more Strict, and some more Remiss.

With the Anabaptists we are agreed of the Matter as to the *Membra perfecta*, (except with them that make re-baptising essential) but not as to Infants, who are *Membra imperfecta*.

2. We are agreed that every Christian (where such a Benefit may be had) should be or seek to be a Member of some particular Church, and know his own Overseers, and every overseer should endeavour to know all his Flock.

3. We are agreed that as some Discovery of Consent on both Parts (the Pastors and People) is necessary to the being of the Members of a political particular Church: So that the most express Declaration of that Consent, is the most plain and satisfactory Dealing, and most obliging, and likeliest to attain the Ends; and therefore *ceteris paribus*, where it may be had, is the best.

4. We are agreed that all fit means should be used, even in the Determination of Circumstances, to preserve the Union and Peace of Christians and Churches, and that ordinarily the bounding of Churches as to Habitation, is a meet means to these Ends, and that ordinarily Parishes are fit Bounds: Or at least we are agreed that these shall be ordinarily taken for the Bounds to avoid Inconveniences; not including all in the Parishes, but confining Churches to those Circuits ordinarily. Yet we agree that this ordinary Rule hath its Exceptions; as for Example, 1. If Parishes be so spacious that all the People are not Co-habitants capable of the Ends of Communion. 2. If the Parish be so populous (of fit Persons) as that there are more than are fit for a Particular Church. 3. If the Parish be so small or bad, that there are not enough to be Materials of a Church, it may be joined by consent to the next. 4. If there be no Pastor, or none fit to be owned. 5. If any Ordinance be statedly wanting which may be had elsewhere, and is needful to the Person's Edification, and if he cannot procure it in the Church where he is, and yet cannot remove his Habitation to another, without more loss to himself and to the Christian Interest, then it is like to receive by his joining to another without Removal. 6. If he cannot have personal Communion with them without his own actual Sin, and yet cannot remove his Dwelling but as aforesaid. 7. If Difference in some small Opinion ill managed shall make him burdensome to the Church where he is, who yet may live peaceably with a Neighbour-Church of his Opinion and cannot remove out as aforesaid. 8. To comprehend all in this General, we are agreed that no Man that is a Member of another Parish, should be received into our Churches, where it can be proved that it is to the Wrong of the common Good or Christian Interest, especially when he is a Member of another Church as well as another Parish. The Sum is, Parishes shall be the ordinary Bounds, but in necessary Cases and no other, you shall except and be free from them.

5. Whereas the Presbyterians say, that the *Ecclesia prima particularis politica*, may consist of one only Congregation; and the Congregational say, it must consist of one only Congregation: The *licet* shall yield to the *opportet*, and it will be agreed that *de facto*, our particular political Churches shall consist but of one Congregation ordinarily; allowing the Liberty either of Chappels or private Meetings for those of the Church, that by reason of Age, Weakness, or other Impediments cannot alway come so far as the common Meeting of the Church. And consequently we shall agree that the Number of a particular Church exceed not so many as are ordinarily

ordinarily capable of personal local Communion in God's Worship, which is a chief end of their Conjunction.

6. We are agreed that these particular political Churches should consist of two parts, Officers and their Flock, the ruling part and the ruled part; and all the great Controversies that have troubled us about the Peoples Power of Government, shall be thus agreed; confess but this [that Pastors are the Overseers, Teachers, Guides, or Rulers of their Flocks, and are over the People in the Lord, and that the People are bound to obey those that rule over them, that watch for their Souls] and let all the rest be silenced.

7. We are agreed that it is meet that in every particular Church there be usual Meetings of the Officers and Delegates (if the Church see cause) or other persons that shall desire to be present for the hearing and trying causes, before they are brought to the open Assembly. And therefore where they can be had, there should be many Officers in a Church.

8. Whereas there be three Opinions about assisting Elders: 1. That they should be Men of the same Office with the Pastors, Ordained and Authorized to Administer Sacraments, and Preach when it is necessary, though they may divide their Work in the Execution. 2. That they should be a distinct Office unordained, and not authorized to Preach or Administer Sacraments. 3. That they should be unordained and no Officers, but the meer Trustees of the People, deputed by them to do that only which private Members may do, let this Controversie be wholly laid aside, and all left to their liberty in this matter.

9. These particular Churches shall have power to govern within themselves (being once Constituted) Excommunication it self not excepted. Only their Constitution and Ordination of their Pastors must be agreed on as followeth.

10. It is the Judgment of the Presbyterians that Ordination by Overseers or Pastors is of Necessity to the Being of an Overseer or Pastor, where it may be had; and that some Ruling Officer is an Essential part of a Political Church (though not of a meer Community); and that Imposition of Hands is a fit Ceremony, and to be used as of Divine Appointment, though not Essential to Ordination. It is the Judgment of the Congregational that Ordination by such Teaching Elders is lawful, if not of necessity; and that Imposition of Hands is lawful: In all this therefore let the licet stoop to the oportet. Agree that you will not de facto establish any Pastor or Teacher over a particular Church without Ordination by teaching Elders, leaving the point of necessity undetermined, (except in case of necessity when such Ordination cannot be had). And also that you will submit to Imposition of Hands, as a thing lawful: Only for those that think Imposition to be unlawful, agreeing in other things, an Ordination without Imposition (as an extraordinary Indulgence to a tender Conscience) may be tolerated.

11. As a local personal Communion of individual Christians is necessary in particular Churches to a Concatination, or Union and Communion of these Churches, by Officers, Delegates, as the Joints and Ligaments, is a great Duty and desirable Mercy, which I hope we are all agreed to value, seek and maintain.

12. For this end it is agreed by us, that there shall be known times and places of meeting agreed on, which all the Pastors shall frequent as oft as they well can, not forbidding any of our People that are desirous to be with us.

13. None shall be taken into these Associations, but approved Men for Godliness and Ability, and that by consent of the associated Ministers, and none refused that are fit for our Communion.

14. The Works of these Assemblies shall not be to make Laws, to the Churches or any of their Brethren, to bind them *ex autoritate Imperantis*, as if they were to exercise a proper Legislative Power: Nor yet by Agreement to determine of any unnecessary things, and make those to be Duties which are not so in themselves; much less to lay the Union of the Churches on such unnecessary determinations; nor yet to exercise any coercive Power by bodily Penalties or Mulcts, and least of all to bind Men to sin against God: But it shall be to agree upon the unanimous Discharge of our Duties which God hath imposed to maintain Love and Concord, and remove all Offences and Strangeness and other Occasions of Division; to encourage and strengthen one another by Exhortation and Prayer, to know who are cast out of the several Churches, that we may concur in avoiding those that are to be avoided; to discern to whom our Communion should extend; to increase the Reputation of God's Work in our Hands, both to those within our Communion and those without it, by our Concord and

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‘Unanimity ; and so to further the Success of our Labours ; to help the younger Ministers by some profitable Exercises, and to help one another by common Advice, especially in cases of great difficulty. In general it shall be for *Union* and *Communion of Churches* and *Pastors*, and for the *Benefits* that come by both.

‘Being all agreed on this much, if any think that such Synods are also for *Direct Government* of particular *Pastors* and *Churches*, as a higher governing Order or Power, such shall keep that Opinion to themselves, and not impose it on others as necessary to our Agreement or Communion. Or if those that hold Synods to have a direct ruling Power over particular *Pastors* and *Churches*, and those that hold them to have only an *agreeing* Power in order to Communion : Or any of these shall think that they are bound in Conscience to declare their Principles in associating and assembling, they shall all have Liberty to declare and register it, so they will after go peaceably on in their Association ; though we desire rather that the Principles were silenced.

‘15. But as we are agreed that it belongeth to these Conventions to discern and judge what particular Churches, Ministers, or other Persons are fit or unfit for their common Communion when the Cognizance of it is necessary, and this extended Communion is a thing to be valued and sought, so consequently in order to such Ends, it is the Duty of particular Churches, Pastors, or other Persons to render an account of their Doctrines and Practices to these Assemblies, when upon considerable Accusations, or other just Cause it is desired.

‘16. If these Assemblies in order to Unity or the Progress of Religion, shall agree in the Determination of some Circumstance, not expressly determined in Scripture, supposing that the Determination is needful and agreeable to the general Rules of Scripture, every Church and Pastor ought to stand to this Agreement, for the sake of Concord, if they do not judge it to be a Sin that is agreed to, though they see not the necessity. *E. g.* The Time and Place of their Convention must be agreed on by them, and the lesser part must yield to the greater ; or else by dissent, no time or place may ever be agreed on : So that if the greater part agree on one Translation of the Bible, to be used in all the associated Churches or on one Version of the Singing Psalms, it will tend much to Edification, and agrees with the Scripture Commands of Unity. If therefore that which they agree on seem to a particular Church or Pastor no better than another Version, or scarce so good ; yet for Unity (if it be not unlawful, or like to be more hurtful than the Diversity will be) they ought to concur. But still be it remembered that the Churches Peace or Unity should be laid by Agreements on nothing unnecessary. And therefore all agreements may not be seconded with an avoiding all Dissenters.

‘17. Because in the great Case [of taking Members from other Churches or Parishes] the Exception from the general Rule (of Parish Limits) cannot be so enumerated as punctually to resolve each Doubt that may occur, let us first lay down what Rules or Exceptions we can agree on ; at least this general, that we will take no such Person into our Churches, when it tendeth more to the hurt than the furtherance of the common Good and Christian Cause : And therefore that we will first bring the particular case to the Association, or at least be there responsible concerning it, as we are about other Church Affairs. Accordingly when any is actually offended, that another hath taken a Member out of his or another’s Church or Parish, let the Association hear the case on both sides ; and if they justify the accused there is an End ; if not, they are to convince him or them that they go against some Rule of Scripture or Nature, *e. g.* against the Honour of Christ, and good of the Churches or christian Cause. And if neither he nor they can be convinced nor brought to reform after sufficient Admonition, it must be considered whether the case be small and tollerable, or great and intollerable : If the former, we must bear with it, yet professing our Judgment against it ; if intollerable, we must proceed to disclaim Communion with the guilty, and so to exclude them from the Association and common Communion, which yet must not be done but in heinous cases. And thus the particular cases must be tryed and concluded as they fall out, for there is no laying down any Rule beforehand that will fit all cases particularly.

‘18. Those *first Associations* being composed of such Pastors and Churches as are near and within a capacity of such Communion (as aforesaid) voluntarily combined, should also hold correspondence with *Neighbour Associations*, either by Delegates in some more general Meetings (as in each County one) ; or at least,

by

‘ by Letters and Messengers; which Communion is to be extended, even as far as
 ‘ our Natural Capacity extendeth, and the Edification or Preservation of the
 ‘ Churches shall require it.

‘ And thus the Presbyterians and Congregational Men are agreed, if they are
 ‘ willing. If all will not, let those agree that have hearts, and not stay for the
 ‘ rest.

‘ And here you see a Satisfaction to your two Demands. My Question was;
 ‘ *What are the things that the Congregational must have, and will insist on, the denial*
 ‘ *whereof doth hinder our Unity and Agreement.* Your Answer was in these words,
 ‘ [*To manage all Church Affairs by the Elders and Brethren within themselves, and with-*
 ‘ *out dependance, unless for Advice, on any other Ecclesiastical Power. 2. To take in such*
 ‘ *as are qualified and freely offer themselves to joyn, though of other Parishes. Yet so, as if*
 ‘ *a particular Church in that Parish, which for the Substance is gathered, according to the*
 ‘ *Order of the Gospel, and the Party a Member thereof, an account is to be given to the*
 ‘ *Church or the Elders of it, of the Cause of his removal, that it may be, if possible, with*
 ‘ *consent.*] And this is all that hinders our Agreement it seems. Alas, 1. For the
 ‘ first, it is granted you *in terminis*, only in point of Ordination: yield but to be
 ‘ Ordained by Teaching Elders, which you *confess* lawful, and others think neces-
 ‘ sary. And remember, 1. That to depend on other Ecclesiastical Power, even for
 ‘ Advice, is a great dependance. 2. That to depend on them, not as a Superiour
 ‘ Power, but as a Link upon the Chain, for Union and Communion, we can ne-
 ‘ ver exempt you from, nor will you sure desire it. There is a fourfold Advice;
 ‘ 1. An Authoritative Advice of Governours (as Parents, Schoolmasters, Pastors,)
 ‘ to their Inferiours, who are bound to obey them, on a double account, *ratione*
 ‘ *materiae & autoritatis*. Thus the Pastors in a Synod advise their Flocks conjunctly.
 ‘ 2. The Authoritative Advice of one Officer to another. And so, as we preach to one
 ‘ another, I think as Christ’s Ministers, we must *advise* one another. 3. An Ad-
 ‘ vice of a Major part among Equals in Order to Union and Concord, and this is
 ‘ the Principal to be respected in these Conventions. 4. An Advice of a *private*
 ‘ Person, not authorized by Office, and this binds but *ratione materiae*, &c. 2. To
 ‘ your second, you will grant (as I hope by the printed Debates) that ordinarily
 ‘ Parish-bounds, shall be the Rule for Limitation (alter Parishes if they be amiss) :
 ‘ and that you’ll not swerve from this Rule, but upon necessary Cause, and not when
 ‘ it is to the apparent wrong of the Cause and Interest of Christ, and you will
 ‘ yield to be responsible to the Association which you are a Member of, concerning
 ‘ the Case, when you are questioned. And this shall agree us.

‘ And why should I not add two Propositions for Peace with the Episcopal? That
 ‘ way, or the Persons are not so contemptible (if you consider the Antiquity, the
 ‘ great Difficulty, their Number and Extent, and the Works of many of them) as
 ‘ to be refused our Communion, though on some Abatements to them.

‘ Prop. 19. Let therefore these Presbyteries of particular Churches have one to be
 ‘ the stated President, as long as he is found fittest, and let all the Associations (at
 ‘ least where Episcopal worthy Men require it) have such fixed Presidents, *quam*
 ‘ *diu bene se gesserint* (as your Assembly at Westminster had) by common Consent.
 ‘ Bishop Hall and Usher say, this will satisfy, but it will not without the next.

‘ Prop. 20. Seeing the Presbyterians and Congregational say, That (except in
 ‘ case of necessity) it’s lawful to forbear Ordination till the President be there, and
 ‘ One, and to take him with you; and the Episcopal say, That it’s of necessity; there-
 ‘ fore let the Case of Necessity and the Title be purposely silenced, and left to each
 ‘ Man’s Judgment; but *de facto*, let your *Licet* yield for Peace to their *Oportet*, at
 ‘ least for some years trial. And agree to Ordain none (but in necessity) with-
 ‘ out the President, as he shall Ordain none without the Consent of the Association,
 ‘ or at least the Elders of the Church where he is President, and where he Or-
 ‘ daineth (if there be any left). I suppose, as to a Parochial or Congregational
 ‘ President, in one Eldership, you will grant this! and why not to the President of
 ‘ the Association, for Peace? when he that is Ordained a Pastor of your particu-
 ‘ lar Church, is thereupon made an Officer in the Universal, therefore others should
 ‘ have some care of it, or else——— I’ll let Objections pass in silence, only
 ‘ desire you, if these two last dislike you, not therefore presently to reject the rest,
 ‘ but lay these by.

On these Terms, in the two last Propositions, Bishop *Usher*, when I propounded them to him, told me, That the Episcopal Party might well agree with us, and the moderate would, but the rest would not.

To my Reverend Brother Mr. Philip Nye.

§ 47. After this I was yet desirous to make a fuller Attempt for the reconciling of those Controversies, so far as that we might hold Communion together: And I drew up a larger Writing, instancing in about Ten Points of Difference between the Presbyterians and Independants, proving that the Differences were not such as should hinder Concord and Communion: The Writing being too large to be here inserted, you shall have with the rest at the end of the History *. Since Prelacy was restored there hath been no Opportunity to Debate these Matters, for the Reasons aforesaid, and many others: Only I put these Papers into Mr. G. Griffith's hand, who speaketh much for Reconciliation: And when I call'd for them about a year after, he had shewed them to none, nor made any use of them, which might tend to the desired Concord; and so I took them away, as expecting no more success.

* This Writing, being some how or other mislaid, cannot as yet be found.

§ 48. About the same time, the great Controversie that troubled all the Church being about the Qualification of Church-Members, I apprehended that the want of a due and solemn manner of Transition from the Number of Infant-Members into the Number of the Adult, was the cause both of Anabaptistry and Independency, and that the right performance of this (as *Calvin*, and our Rubrick in the Common Prayer would have Confirmation performed) would be the most excellent Expedient both for Reformation and Reconciliation (finding that the Independants themselves approved of it). I meditated how to get this way of rectified Confirmation restored and introduced: when in the mean time came forth a Treatise for this way of Confirmation by Mr. *Jonathan Hanmer*, very judiciously and piously written: And because it was sent me with a Request to write my Judgment of it, I put an Epistle before it, further to prove the desirableness of the thing! The Book was very well accepted when it came abroad: but some wrote to me, desiring me not only to shew the usefulness of it; but also to produce some fuller Scripture Proofs that it is a Duty: whereupon I wrote a little Treatise that is called, [Confirmation the way to Reformation and Reconciliation]: And in my own Congregation I began so much of the Practice of it, as is acknowledged to belong to Presbyters to do.

§ 49. And about the same time, while *Cromwell* professed to do all that he could for the equal promoting of Godliness and Peace, and the Magistrates Assistance greatly facilitating the Work of the Ministers, and many Ministers neglected their Duty because the Magistrate compelled not the People to submit to them, and some never administered the Lord's Supper, because they thought nothing but Constraint by the Magistrate would enable them to do it aright. And on the other Extream, *Cromwell* himself, and such others, commonly gave out that they could not understand what the Magistrate had to do in Matters of Religion; and they thought that all Men should be left to their own Consciences, and that the Magistrate could not interpose but he should be ensnared in the Guilt of Persecution; I say, while these Extreams prevailed, upon the Discourses of some Independants, I offered them a few Proposals suited to those Times, containing those few Duties by which a willing Magistrate might easily settle the Church in a safe and holy Peace, without incurring the guilt of Persecution or Profaneness or Licentiousness: but having no Correspondency with *Cromwell*, or any of his Council, they were never shewed, or made use of any further, than for the perusal of him to whom I gave them, (who being one of their Faction, I thought it possible he might have further improved them). The Paper was this which followeth:

By the Establishment of, what is contained in these Twelve Propositions or Articles following, the Churches in these Nations may have a Holy Communion, Peace and Concord, without any Wrong to the Consciences or Liberties of Presbyterians, Congregational, Episcopal, or any other Christians.

1. **F**Orasmuch as God hath appointed Magistracy and Ministry, as Functions of a different kind, but both necessary to the welfare of Mankind, and both for the Church and the Salvation of Men, and the maintaining of due Obedience to God : Therefore let not either of them invade the Function of the other. Let Ministers have no Power of Violence, by inflicting Corporal Penalties or Mulets ; nor be the Judges, (though in Cases of Heresie or Impiety) who is to be so punished, and who not : but let them not be denied to be the Ministers of Christ, and Guides of the Church : And therefore let the Word of God be their only Rule what they must Preach, and whom they must Baptize, and receive into the Church, and to whom they must Administer the Lord's Supper, and whom they must Reprove, Admonish, Reject or Absolve ; and so for the rest of their Ministerial Work. And let not Princes or Parliaments make them Rules, and tell them whom to admit or reject ; otherwise than from the Word of God ; for according to this Rule we are bound to proceed whatever we suffer for it. But yet as the Magistrate is by us to be instructed and guided according to the Word of God, so we are by him to be commanded and punished if we offend. And therefore we acknowledge it his Duty to command us to Teach and Govern the Churches according to the Word of God, and to punish us if we disobey, and we must submit to such commands and punishments. And therefore if the Parliament see cause to make any Laws, according to which their Judges and Officers shall proceed in punishing Ministers for Male-administration, we shall not disobey them, if agreeable to God's Word ; if not, we shall obey God, and patiently suffer from them.

2. Seeing there is very much difference between an Infant state of Church-Membership and an Adult ; one being but imperfect Members in comparison of the other ; and one being admitted on the Condition they be but the Seed of the Faithful, and the others Title having another Condition, even a Faith or Profession of their own ; and one having right only to Infant Priviledges, and not to the Lord's Supper and other parts of Communion proper to the Adult, because they are not capable of it. And seeing the great pollution of our Churches, and much of our Distraction in Matters of Church-Order is from the careless, unobserved, irregular Transition out of the state of *Infant Membership*, into the state of Adult Membership ; every ignorant Man almost taking himself for an *Adult Member*, because by Baptism he was made an Infant Member, and hath customarily been present at Publick Worship : Let the distinction therefore between Infant Members and Adult be more observed in every Parish ; and let the Transition out of the one state into the other be more solemn and regular under the Judgment of the Guides of the Church : That no Person may be admitted to be an Adult Member but by the Minister in the face of the Congregation (ordinarily) after a Solemn Profession of the Faith, Repentance, and Resolution for a Holy Life, of the Person admitted ; to which there must be the preparation of Catechising, and of a Conversation that contradicteth not the Profession so made. 1. This was the Course of the Ancient Churches, who catechized Children, and admitted them among the Confirmed Members by Imposition of Hands. 2. The Divines of the Reformed Churches commonly own it, and wish for it in their Writings. 3. The Episcopal Divines in the Rubrick of the Common Prayer, Ordained that none should be admitted to the Sacrament till after Catechising, and a Certificate under the Minister's or Curate's hand, he were confirmed by the Bishop, (though it was done to little purpose by them). 4. The Presbyterians Examination of Men before the Sacrament intimateth the like. 5. The Congregational Men's trial of particular Church-Members importeth their approbation of this. 6. The Anabaptists by going farther, do seem to be permitted of God, of purpose to awaken us to this Duty ; and I think they will continue to be our Scourge till this be done ; and this will half satisfy some among them that are moderate, and silence many Objections of the rest. 3. Let

3. Let the Ministers approved by the State, be constrained to Catechize, and personally instruct, and publicly preach to all the Persons in their Parishes (according to their strength and opportunity) in order to prepare such as are willing to learn, for an Adult state of Christianity, as the ancient Churches did their *Catechumens*. And let the young, and ignorant, and ungodly of this Rank, be compelled by some moderate Penalty to hear and confer with the Teachers, and be instructed and catechized by them. And let not any Ministers be suffered to administer the Lord's Supper to any that have not been admitted (as aforesaid upon a Profession of Faith and Holiness) into the number of Adult Members.

4. Seeing a particular Church must consist of [Christians cohabiting and consenting] let Parishes be the ordinary Bounds of Churches, so that all the Adult Members of the Universal Church (and no other at Age) within that Parish, who do consent, be Members of that particular Church (into which they are first admitted, or whether into both at once, we need not determine): And if any be taken out of other adjoining Parishes, let it be by exception from the common Rule. And seeing there are many Cases in which Members may be taken out of other Parishes, the Differences thereabout may be denied, as is after declared, Prop. 8. § 11.

5. The Pastors of particular Churches have power to Teach and Rule those Churches according to the Word of God, and the People are bound to esteem them, love them, honour them, and obey them, 1 Tim. 5. 17. 1 Theff. 5. 12. Heb. 13. 7, 17. Therefore let them use the Power of Administring all Congregational Worship, and the Keys for Binding and Loosing within their own Congregations: And let it be granted to them that desire it; at least for Peace and Concord sake, that they be not forced to Subjection to any pretending to a Superiour, Governing Power, besides the Magistrate.

6. As particular Christians must hold Communion in particular Churches, for the Worship of God and their mutual Edification; so particular Churches must all hold such a Correspondency and Communion with one another, so far as their Capacity extends, as most tendeth to the Edification, Strengthening, Peace and Concord of them all, and to the Publick Prosperity and the Success of the Gospel among them, and in the World. The whole Church being one Body, must maintain the Union and Communion of the Parts, and do God's Work in the greatest Concord that they can, and with the best Advantages.

7. This cannot be done well without Meetings to these Ends: nor those Meetings be improved to the best advantage, unless the Times and Places be fixed and commonly known: And as the use of them is ordinary, so the Assemblies should be ordinary, and not only seldom in some extraordinary Cases: Nor is any sort of Men so fit to manage them as Ministers, who have most Ability and Leisure, being wholly set apart to the Work of the Gospel. It is therefore meet that there be known Times and Places of Meeting, where Ministers, and as many more as the Churches shall think fit, may assemble; Every Minister (or Church) according to their conveniency, choosing of what Association they will be; which ordinarily they should frequent: and which should consist of such, and only such, as for Piety, Ability, and faithful Diligence are fit for the Ministry and such Communion.

8. If it be the Judgment of some that these Assemblies have a Superior governing Power over the particular Pastors, and of others, that they are only for Communion and mutual Assistance, they shall either keep their several Opinions to themselves, or at least, having professed and recorded them, shall continue their Presence and Assistance to those lower ends that all are agreed upon: Not to make new Laws for the Churches, or any of the Members of the Assemblies, to bind by a ruling Power; but to consult, and advise, and agree; nor yet to agree upon things unnecessary; nor lay the Churches Unity upon such; much less to exercise any magisterial coercive Power: But, 1. To open any occurrent difficult Cases in Doctrine or Practice, that beset any particular Church or Pastor, wherein they need their Brethrens Advice. 2. To agree upon the best and profitablest manner of managing the Work of God in regard of undetermined Circumstances, in cases where Uniformity will further the Work. As for Example, what Translation of Scripture to use, what Version of the Psalms to sing, &c. 3. To communicate those Affairs of the Churches that are of common concernment; to give notice of such as one Church hath excommunicated, that other Churches may avoid them, or else they may have Familiarity with all other Christians about them, and be entered among them as Members, and so Excommunication will lose its force and

miss of its Ends. 4. To maintain personal Unity among Ministers, by Familiarity and Correspondency, and to heal Divisions, and Dissentions, and Unstrangeness; and cherish Brotherly-love. 5. In case any be injuriously cast out of any Neighbour-church (as for professing sound Doctrine against some Errors of that Church, or the like) to consult of it, that we may not also injuriously exclude him from our common Communion. 6. In such cases of Error or Male-administration, to admonish Neighbour Ministers and Churches; as also in case of any Abuse of their Pastors, or choice of unsound, heretical or ungodly Pastors, or cherishing Seducers or ungodly Persons in their Churches, or neglecting Discipline, or falling to looseness, or in case of Scandals among them, or of Offences and Divisions among themselves, or between them and some Neighbour-church, or many the like cases, the Advice and Admonitions of the Neighbour associated Pastors should be directed to them for their Recovery; which cases single Ministers cannot so well be informed of, nor perform their Duty with so much Advantage as the Association may. 7. To concur in some Admonitions to the intractable and incorrigible of our several Parishes, that they that will not hear their own Teachers through any Prejudice, may be prevailed with by many; and to strengthen our Hands and the Reputation of our Doctrine and common Duties with the People, by our Unity and Concord. 8. To help one another, but especially the younger sort of Ministers, to whom it may be as an Academy by Conference, Disputations, and other profitable Exercises and preaching (they that ordinarily preach have need sometimes to hear, and to have a Communication from their Brethrens Gifts, as well as the People have from them). 9. Those Ministers that scruple censuring any Offender without the consent of other Ministers, may here take their consent; and young Ministers that are unskilful in managing such Works, may take Advice. 10. We may here agree upon the fittest manner, and season, and persons, and places, in our helping the Congregations that are ignorant, ill-provided, or unprovided of Ministers, or dangerously corrupted; and may advise any Neighbour Churches that send to us to help them to a fit Minister, or in the like cases. 11. Because it is impossible to enumerate punctually the cases in which it is lawful to take Members to a particular Church, out of another Church or Parish, all Churches and Pastors shall give an account of any such Action to these Associations, if any be offended with them: Where it shall be enquired, whether the Action be dishonourable to God, and injurious to the publick Good of the Churches; if it be not, the Offence is removed: If they find it be, the Parties offending are to be admonished; and if they give not Satisfaction, it is to be enquired whether there be any thing in the Principles and manner of the Action that makes it an intollerable Offence to the Churches: If there be, then after sufficient Admonition and waiting, the Guilty, if impenitent, are to be cast out of our common Communion, or the Churches to resolve to have no Christian Communion with them. But if there be no such heinous intollerable Ingredient, we must be content only to admonish them, and disown the Sin, and continue Communion with them. In like manner if any Scandal be raised of any Brother of the Association, or if any have an Accusation against him, we must hear them, and he must be responsible, and give account of his Ways; though not as to his Governors, yet as to his Brethren, to remove Offence, and to keep clear the way of holy Communion. 12. It will be most regular, and avoid the hurt of the Churches, if *Ordination of Ministers* be either performed by these *Assemblies*, or the Ministers to be ordained be here *tried* and *approved*, and the Ordination to be performed in the Church to which he is ordained by such as they appoint, or by the teaching Elders of that Church it self, after their Approbation of the Person. In these Twelve Particulars you may see what use there is of these Ministerial Associations and Assemblies, without meddling with a superior governing Power; and how great Reason there is that all sober, godly, peaceable Ministers should join in them; even for communion of Pastors and Churches, and the promoting of our common Work and Welfare.

9. Let these Associations chuse their Presidents or Moderators, (and any fit Name by which they will call him) and determine whether he shall be *pro tempore*, or how long, or fixed as long as he liveth and is the fittest, according to the Judgment of the Ministers: For this is not a case in which Men can be forced from their Liberty: And if any will so far make use of his Advice, as to be guided by him, as none can deny him that Liberty of his own Mind, so he must not seek to bind all others to the same Subjection; but those that bring themselves to it by the same Estimation have their Liberty as he.

10. Though

10. Though it be not of necessity, yet would it be of great conveniency and use, if the Magistrate would be with us, or appoint some Substitute to represent him in all our Assemblies, that he may be a Witness of our Proceedings, and see that we do no wrong to the Commonwealth, and avoid all Suspicions that may be occasioned by Rumors : But principally that he may see how far it is meet for him in any case to second us by his Power. For as in many cases the Power of the Magistrate ought to be used to second the Ministry (as to restrain Men from publishing damnable Heresies, from disturbing the Churches Peace, &c.) so we think it a vile abuse of Magistrates to require them, to be the meer Executioners of our Sentences, and to punish Men only because we have Excommunicated them, before he know the justness of the cause. As the Church or Ministers are Judges, when the Question is [whether such a Man is to be avoided, rejected, or excommunicated for Heresie or any Sin?] so the Magistrate only is Judge when the Question is, [whether he be to be corporally punished for Heresie or any Sin?] and therefore he must know the cause.

11. As those Neighbour-Ministers that live at convenient Distance for such Communion, should hold such Associations as aforesaid, so the Communion of Christians and Pastors in special being to be extended as far as natural and moral capacity will permit, it is meet that there be for more extensive Communion, some more general Assemblies of the Ministers, to be held by the Delegates of these Associations, for matters that are of more general Concernment; yea, and that by Messengers and Letters we hold such correspondency with the Churches of Christ abroad, as is necessary to promote the common Cause, and the Love and Communion of the Saints.

12. If these Associations should attempt any thing unjust and injurious to the Commonwealth, or a corrupt Majority should grow in time to countenance either Heresy or Ungodliness, or they should by Contentions among themselves disturb the Peace of the Churches, and divide them, and fall a railing at, or excommunicating personally one another; it is here the Magistrates Duty to interpose, and reprehend, and correct them, and displace the unworthy, and set all in joint again by Violence, and secure the Peace of Church and State. And neither Pope, Prelate, nor Council should take this Work upon them which is his. And therefore Magistrates should be Wise and Holy, and fit for so great a Charge as they undertake.

It must be still noted that all this was when Diocesanies were put down, and few saw any probability of restoring them, and many religious Persons dreaded such a Restoration.

§ 50. When Cromwell's Faction were making him Protector, they drew up a Thing which they called [The Government of England, &c.] Therein they determined that all should have Liberty or free Exercise of their Religion, who professed Faith in God by Jesus Christ]. After this he called a Parliament, which Examined this Instrument of Government; and when they came to those words, the Orthodox Party affirmed, That if they spake de re, and not de nomine [Faith in God by Jesus Christ] could contain no less than the Fundamentals of Religion: whereupon it was purposed that all should have a due measure of Liberty who professed the Fundamentals. Hereupon the Committee appointed to that Business were required to nominate certain Divines to draw up in terminis the Fundamentals of Religion; to be as a Test in this Toleration. The Committee being about Fourteen, named every one his Man: The Lord Broghill (after Earl of Orery, and Lord President of Munster, and one of his Majesty's Privy Council) named the Primate of Ireland, Archbishop Usher: When he (because of his Age and Unwillingness to wrangle with such Men as were to join with him) had refused the Service, the Lord Broghill nominated me in his Stead: Whereupon I was sent for up to London: But before I came the rest had begun their Work, and drawn up some few of the Propositions which they called Fundamentals: The Men that I found there were, Mr. Marshal, Mr. Reyner, Dr. Cheynell, Dr. Goodwin, Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sydrach Sympson, Mr. Vines, Mr. Manton, and Mr. Jacomb.

§ 51. I knew how ticklish a Business the Enumeration of Fundamentals was, and of what very ill Consequence it would be if it were ill done; and how unsatisfactorily that Question [What are your Fundamentals?] is usually answered to the Papists. My own Judgment was this, that we must distinguish between the Sense (or matter) and the Words; and that it's only the Sense that is primarily and properly

perly our *Fundamentals* : and the Words no further than as they are needful to express that Sense to others, or represent it to our own Conception : that the Word [*Fundamentals*] being Metaphorical and Ambiguous, the Word [*Essentials*] is much fitter ; it being nothing but what is *Essential*, or *Constitutive* of true Religion, which is understood by us usually when we speak of *Fundamentals* : that *quoad rem* there is no more *Essential* or *Fundamental* in Religion, but what is contained in our Baptismal Covenant, [*I believe in God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and give up my self in Covenant to him, renouncing the Flesh, the World and the Devil.*] He that doth this truly shall be saved ; or else *sincere* Covenanting could not entitle us to the Blessings of the Covenant : And therefore it is that the Ancient Church held that all that are Baptized duly are in a Justified State of Life ; because all that sincerely give up themselves in Covenant to God, as our God and Father, our Redeemer and Saviour, our Sanctifier and Comforter, have right to the Blessings of the Covenant. And *quoad verba*, I suppose that no particular Words in the World are *Essentials* of our Religion : Otherwise no Man could be saved without the Language which those Words belong to : He that understandeth not *Credo in Deum*, may be saved if he *believe in God* : Also I suppose that no particular Formula of Words in any or all Languages is *Essential* to our Religion : for he that expresseth his Faith in another form of words, of the same importance, professeth a Saving Faith. And as to the Use of a *Form of Words* to express our Belief of the *Essential*, it is various, and therefore the Form accordingly is variable. If it be to teach another what is the Essence of Religion, a dull hearer must have many Words, when a quick intelligent Person by few Words can understand the same thing. [*I believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,*] expresseth all the *Essentials* intelligibly, to him that hath learned truly to understand the meaning of these Words : But to an ignorant Man a large plain Catechism is short enough to express the same things. But as to the Use of *Publick Professions of Faith*, to satisfy the Church for the Admittance of Members, or to satisfy other Churches to hold Communion with any particular Church, a Form of Words which is neither obscure by too much Conciseness, nor Tedious or Tautological by a needless Multiplication of Words, I take to be the fittest. To which ends, and because the Ancient Churches had once a happy Union on those Terms, I think that this is all that should be required of any Church or Member (ordinarily) to be professed, [*In General I do believe all that is contained in the Sacred Canonical Scriptures, and particularly I believe all explicitly contained in the Ancient Creed, and I desire all that is contained in the Lord's Prayer, and I resolve upon Obedience to the Ten Commandments, and whatever else I can learn of the Will of God.*] And for all other Points, it is enough to preserve both Truth and Peace, that Men promise not to preach against them, or contradict them, though they Subscribe them not.

§ 52. Therefore I would have had the Brethren to have offered the Parliament the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Decalogue alone as our *Essentials* or *Fundamentals* ; which at least contain all that is necessary to Salvation, and hath been by all the Ancient Churches taken for the Sum of their Religion. And whereas they still said, [*A Socinian or a Papist will Subscribe all this*] I answered them, So much the better, and so much the fitter it is to be the Matter of our Concord : But if you are afraid of Communion with *Papists* and *Socinians*, it must not be avoided by making a new Rule or Test of Faith which they will not Subscribe to, or by forcing others to Subscribe to more than they can do, but by calling them to account whenever in Preaching or Writing they contradict or abuse the Truth to which they have Subscribed. This is the Work of Government : And we must not think to make *Laws* serve instead of *Judgment* and *Execution* ; nor must we make new *Laws* as oft as Hereticks will mis-interpret and subscribe the old : for when you have put in all the Words you can devise, some Hereticks will put their own Sense on them, and Subscribe them : And we must not blame God for not making a Law that no Man can misinterpret or break, and think to make such a one our selves, because God could not or would not. These Presumptions and Errours have divided and distracted the Christian Churches, and one would think Experience should save us from them.

§ 53. But the Brethren resolved that they would hold on the way which they had began : And though they were honest and competently judicious Men, yet those that managed the Business, did want the Judgment and Accurateness which such a Work required, (though they would think any Man supercilious that should tell them so) : And the tincture of Faction stuck so upon their Minds, that it hindered their Judgment. The great doer of all that worded the Articles was Dr. Owen :
Mr.

Mr. Nye, and Dr. Goodwin and Mr. Syd. Sympson were his Assistants; and Dr. Cheynell his Scribe: Mr. Marshall (a sober worthy Man) did something: the rest (sober Orthodox Men) said little, but suffered the Heat of the rest to carry all.

§ 54. When I saw they would not change their Method, I saw also that there was nothing for me and others of my Mind to do, but only to hinder them from doing harm, and trusting in their own Opinions or crude Conceits, among our Fundamentals. And presently Dr. Owen in extolling the Holy Scriptures, put in that [*That no Man could know God to Salvation by any other means*]: I told him, that this was neither a Fundamental nor a Truth: and that if among the Papists or any others a poor Christian should believe by the teaching of another, without ever knowing that there is a Scripture, he should be saved, because it is promised, that *whoever believed should be saved*. He said awhile, That there could be no other way of Saving Revelation of Jesus Christ: I told him that he was savingly revealed by Preaching many years before the New Testament was written. He told us that the Primitive Church was bound to believe no more from the Apostles but what was written before in the Old Testament, and proved thence: I told him that by that Assertion he subverted the Christian Church and Faith: 1. By overthrowing the *Material*, 2. and the *Formal Object* of our Faith, or the *medium* necessary thereto. 1. For the *Matter*, it is not in the Old Testament, [*That thus Jesus is the Christ; that he is already incarnate, conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, fulfilled the Law, suffered, was crucified, buried and rose again, ascended into Heaven, and is there at the right hand of God in our Nature, and therein intercedeth for the Church; that he hath instituted the Sacraments, sent his Apostles, given the Holy Ghost to them to direct them into all Truth, &c.*] with more of the like. 2. That if Christ and his Apostles were not to be believed for the Image of God appearing on their Doctrine, and the Divine Attestation of Miracles confirming it, then *Moses* and the Prophets were not for *those Reasons* to be believed: And consequently not to be believed at all; for there was no reason to believe them, which Christ also gave us not for the belief of him and his Apostles. After a deal of wrangling about these Things, because the Doctor was the hotter, and better betried in that Assembly, and I was then under great Weakness and Soporose or Scotomatical Illness of my Head, I asked their leave to give them the Reasons of my Opinion in Writing: which I brought in, and never received any Answer to it. And yet if Mr. Vines (who came but seldom) had not stuck to me when he was there, they would have made the World believe, (as some of them endeavoured) that I was Popish, and pleaded for the Sufficiency of Tradition, to Salvation, without the Scripture. But Bishop Usher was of the same mind with me, and told me, that he had said the same to the Jesuits Challenge, *Cap. de Tradit.*

§ 55. Many other such crude and unsound Passages (like the *Savoy Articles* of Justification after put into the *Independant Agreement*) had come into our New Fundamentals: And all because the over-Orthodox Doctors, Owen and Cheynell, took it to be their Duty in all their Fundamentals to put in those words, which (as they said) did obviate the Heresies and Errours of the Divines: Whenas I told them, they should make the Rule to look no way but strait forward, and put in their *Rejections* after (as the Synod of *Dort* doth), as being the *Contradictions* of the Rule. One merry passage I remember occasioned laughter: Mr. Sympson caused them to make this a Fundamental, That [*He that alloweth himself or others in any known sin, cannot be saved*]. I pleaded against the word [*allowed*]: and told them that many a Thousand lived in wilful sin, which they could not be said to [*allow themselves*] in, but confessed it to be sin; and went on against Conscience, and yet were impenitent, and in a state of Death: And that there seemed a little contradiction between [*known sin*] and [*allowed*]; so far as a Man *knoweth* that he sinneth, he doth not [*allow*], that is, approve it. Other Exceptions there were; but they would have their way, and my opposition to any thing did but heighten their Resolution: At last I told them, As stiff as they were in their opinion and way, I would force them with one word to change or blot out all that Fundamental. I urged them to take my wager; and they would not believe me, but marvelled what I meant: I told them that the Parliament took the *Independant* way of Separation to be a sin: and when this Article came before them, they would say, By our Brethrens own Judgment we are all damned Men, if we allow the Independants or any other Sectaries in their sin. They gave me no Answer, but they left out all that Fundamental. The Papers which I gave them in were these.

[With-

[Without the Knowledge of whom by the Revelation of Scripture, there is no Salvation.]

The Words [by the Revelation of the Scripture] I desired might be either here left out, or changed into [the Revelation of the Gospel; or, the Word of God.] To this you will not consent, because it would intimate that there may be another co-ordinate way of Revealing Christ, besides the written Word by which there may be Salvation. I cannot subscribe to the Article as it stands; of which when I have shewed the point of our Difference, I shall give you my Reasons:

1. Our Difference is not *de doctrina tradita*; but *de modo tradendi*: For I have fully acknowledged that there is no Salvation without the Knowledge of the Essentials of the Christian Faith. 2. And that the Light of Nature, and Book of the Creatures is insufficient hereunto: So far we are agreed as to the way of the Revelation. 3. Nor do I doubt of the full Perfection of the Scripture, but detest the Popish Doctrines of Traditions or unwritten Verities to supply what is supposed to be wanting in the Scripture, as if it were but a part of God's Word for the revealing of these supernatural things: I desired rather that you would more fully express the Scriptures Perfection and Infallability. 4. Nor is it any doubt between us whether Men should wait for farther objective Revelations or Additions to the written Word, or whether we should condemn the Errors of the Enthusiasts herein, we are agreed in all this. 5. Nor is the Question *de Officio*, whether it be the Duty of all Men to look out after the written Word, as far as they can, and rest in it. 6. Nor is the Question whether the Scripture only have the proper Nature of a Rule to Judge Controversies by. 7. Nor yet whether Scripture be of necessity to the Church in General. 8. Nor whether it be necessary as a means to the Salvation of all that have it. 9. Nor whether it be the only sufficient means of safe keeping and propagating the whole Truth of God, which is necessary to the Church. 10. But the Question is, of every particular Soul on Earth, whether we may thus assert that there is no Salvation for them, unless they know Christ by the Revelation of the Scripture: And I cannot assent to the Article for these Reasons; 1. It seems a Snare by the unmeet Expressions. 2. We cannot be certain of the Truth of it. 3. It is not of so great necessity as that all should be cast out of the Ministry, though in other things Orthodox, that will not own it. 4. Much less is it a Fundamental: Nor dare I judge all to Damnation, that are not herein of your Opinion. 5. It seems to me to be injurious to Christianity it self. 6. And to the present intended Reformation. 7. And to the Parliament. 8. And to our selves.

1. For the First of these Reasons; It is confessed by some here, that a Man may be converted by the Doctrine of the Scripture, before he know the Writings or their Authority, and that you intend not to assert that the divine Authority of the Scripture is that *primum credibile*, which must needs be believed before any Truth therein contained can be savingly believed. And it is thought by some that your Assertion is made good if it be but proved that all saving Revelation that is now in the World, is from Scripture originally, and subordinate to it, and not co-ordinate. But the obvious Sense of your Words will seem to many to be this, that the particular Knowledge of that Person who will be saved, must be by Scripture Revelation, as the objective Cause or Instrument, even under that Consideration either in the Mind of the Speaker or Hearer, or both. If it should be said that the Revelation which converted this or that Sinner did arise from the Scriptures a Thousand Years ago: But hath since been taken up as coming another way, and so there hath been an Intermision of ascribing it to the Scripture, as to those Men by whom it was carried down, this will not seem to agree with your Expressions. And seeing many others must be Judges of your Sense, who shall have Power to trie Ministers; hereby you enable them by your obscure Expressions, to wrong the Church, oppress their Brethren, and introduce Errors: And so it seems you frame a Snare. 2. And you will put every poor Christian in these Places where Christ's Faith is known to many but by Verbal Tradition, into an Impossibility of knowing that they have any true Faith, because they cannot know that it came from the Scriptures.

2. That we are not certain of the Truth of this Assertion, nor can I be Judge; 1. Because there was Salvation from Adam to Moses by Tradition, without the written Word; and there was a considerable space of time after Christ's Assention before the Scriptures of the New Testament were written: The first Christians

were

were savingly called, and the Churches gathered without these Writings, by the preaching of the Doctrine which is now contained in them : And though that be now necessary to the Safety of the Church and Truth, which was not so necessary when the Apostles were present, yet it is unproved that there is more necessary to the Salvation of every Soul now than was in those Days : And it is considerable, that it was not only the preaching of the Apostles, but of all other Publishers of the Gospel in those Times that was in (*suo genere*) sufficient for Conversion without Scripture : Yea, and to the Gentiles that knew not the Scriptures of the Old Testament. 2. If there be no Salvation but by a Scripture Revelation ; then, either because there is no other way of revealing the Marrow of the Gospel, or because it will not be saving in another way. But neither of these can be proved true : (*Ergo*) for the latter : 1. The Word of God and Doctrine of his Gospel may save if revealed (supposing other Necessaries in their Kinds) : For it sufficeth to the formal Object of Faith, that it be *veracitas revelantis* ; and to the material Object, that it be, *Hoc verum & bonum revelatum*, but it must be truly *revelatum*, though not by Scripture. *Ergo* 2. God hath promised Salvation to all that truly believe, and not to those that believe only by Scripture-Revelation ; nor hath he any where told us that he will annex his Spirits help to no other Revelation. 2. For the former, [*That there is now in the World no other way of revealing the Marrow of the Gospel but by Scripture or from it.*] 1. It cannot be proved by Scripture, as will appear when your Proofs are tried. 2. The contrary is defended by most learned Protestants.

1. *A Præcepto*, another collateral way of Revelation is commanded by God : *Ergo* there's another : 2. From certain History and Experience ; which speak of the Performance of those Commands ; and the Instances they give of both are these ; 1. Ministers are commanded to preach the Gospel to all Nations before it was written, and a Promise annexed that Christ would be with them to the end of the World : In Obedience whereunto, not only the Apostles, but Multitudes more did so preach ; which was by delivering the great Master-Verities which are now in the written Word : This Command is not reversed by the writing of the Word ; And therefore is still a Duty, as to deliver the Gospel Doctrine in and by the Scripture, so collaterally to preach the Substance of that Doctrine as delivered from the Mouth of Christ and his Apostles. 2. Christ commanded before the Gospel was written to baptize Men into the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost for the Pardon of Sin, upon repenting and believing ; and for the hope of everlasting Glory upon a holy Life. This was done accordingly both before and since the writing of the Gospel : And so the very Sum and Kernel of the Gospel, and indeed all the true Fundamentals and Essentials of the Christian Faith, have been most certainly and constantly delivered down by Baptism ; as a collateral way distinct from the written Word ; which is evident in the very Succession of Christians to this Day. 3. Another means hath been by Symbols, called Creeds and Catechising which was mostly by opening the Creeds : As Reverend Bishop Usher hath manifested that the Western Creed, now called the Apostles (wanting two or three Clauses that now are in it) was not only before the Nicene Creed ; but of such *farther* Antiquity, that no beginning of it below the Apostles Days can be found : So it is past doubt that in other Words the Churches had still a Symbol or Sum of their Belief, which was the Test of the Orthodox, and that which the Catechumens were to be instructed in. *Origen, Tertullian, Irenæus*, to speak of none of these below them, do mention and recite them : The Doctrine of this Creed they affirm themselves to have received from the Apostles by verbal Tradition, as well as by Writing. This then hath been a collateral way of delivering down the saving Truths of the Gospel ; though a far more imperfect way than by the Scriptures. 4. Another means hath been by Parents teaching these Principles to their Children, which as they were commanded to do, and did before the writing of the Gospel ; so did they successively continue it as a collateral way. 5. Another collateral means was in the constant use of the Lord's Supper, in Commemoration of Christ's Death till he come to receive us to Glory, where the very Sum and all the Fundamentals of our Religion are contained ; which hath been continued by uninterrupted Succession, even from the time that preceded the writing of the Scriptures, it is therefore conceived possible for some Souls to, *ht*, converted in darker parts of the World by these or some of these means, without the written Word. 3. The ancient Doctors of the Church affirmed that they had their Doctrine from the Apostles by verbal as well as by written Tradition ; Yea, and that if there were no Scripture, yet Tradition might resolve the Doubts against the Here-

ticks, and that (in those Days which were nearer the Spring-Head) Tradition was a better way than Scripture to confute Hereticks, as *Tertullian de Præscript* at large, and *Irenæus's* Words are well known. Whether in this they mistake or not, I don't determine ; yet certainly this may tell us that we cannot conclude that there was then no co-ordinate way of delivering down the Sum of Christian Verity. 4. He that will prove your negative Assertion must either know all the World, and that *de facto*, there is among them no such Tradition ; or else must have some Revelation from God, that there is not any such, nor shall be : But we have neither of these ; *Ergo* we cannot certainly conclude it. 5. We see by Experience that more in substance of other common Precepts and History can be delivered down to Posterity by other means, without formal Records : *Ergo*, so may these : For though they cannot have the golden Cabinet of Scripture, but from the Spirit ; nor without the Spirit can Men believe : Yet the Truths may be remembered and delivered as aforesaid. 6. God can deliver the Marrow of the Gospel by other means than the Writing ; and he hath not told us that he will not : *Ergo*, for ought we know he doth. 7. We ought not absolutely to exclude extraordinary means when God hath not tyed himself from them : It is a dangerous Sin of them that leave the ordinary means and look out for extraordinary, as Spirit of Prophecy, Angels, &c. But to conclude, that God will never reveal Christ by an Angel, to one that hath not the Scripture, is more than we may do : I know not therefore why it is that you would not be prevailed with so much as to add the Word [*ordinarily*] when yet it's by some affirmed to be your Sense ; and by all that it is your Duty to deliver your Sense as plain as you may : So much of my Reasons against the certainty of the Truth of your Assertion.

3. I next add, that it seems not a Point so weighty, as to cast out all that are different from us in this Opinion. My Reasons are, 1. From the Nature of the Thing. 1. It hath so much to be said against the very Truth of it, and so is doubtful. 2. There can no ill Consequences be manifested to rise from the contrary Opinion : Much less so ill as to deserve such a Censure : It is no wrong to Scripture that there is a more imperfect collateral way of delivering some part of the same Truths, no more than it is a wrong to Scripture that the Law of Nature delivers some other Part of them. 2. From the Persons that were of the Opinion contrary to your Assertion ; who were the ancient Doctors of the Churches, and many of the most learned, judicious, and godly of the Reformed Divines, as I undertake to manifest when I have Opportunity, and it is necessary. For my own part, if it were only my self that should be cast out by this Engine, I should say the less ; but as I know not how many Hundred may be of the same Mind, and as I think it to be the most common Judgment of Divines, so I know such here among us of that Mind, with whom I am not worthy to be named, who would not subscribe to this your Assertion : whereby it seems to me, to be more tollerable to dissent from you.

4. Seeing you have voted to lay down only Fundamentals to Salvation first : and upon that Vote have put this as one, you do not only damn all that believe any other way than by the written Word ; but you damn all those that will not damn them, by owning this condemning Article. Now, that it is not Fundamental appears ; 1. In that the Fathers and choicest reformed Divines were else no Christians. 2. No Creed of the ancient Churches did contain it. 3. It is not of necessity to our believing on Christ the Foundation : A Man may be brought himself by the Scripture to believe, that yet thinks another may believe by verbal Tradition. 4. No Scripture doth expressly (no not implicitly) deliver it ; much less as a Fundamental.

5. My next Reason was, that your Assertion and Reason are injurious to the Christian Cause. For 1. When Gospel Truth is delivered down by two Hands you wrong it when you cut off one ; when neither is needless. 2. We are able by other ways of Proof to confute those Infidels that deny the Authority of Scripture ; especially when they tell us, that we cannot prove that our Doctrine was delivered from Christ and his Apostles, and not since devised or corrupted by later Hands. Now you would force our Arguments out of our Hands, to the Advantage of the Enemy : Upon the Experience of some late Debates with subtil Apostates, now Infidels, I am anld with Submission to say, that I would not for all the World so wound the Christian Cause, as it is wounded by those who bereave the Scripture of the Advantage of other Tradition : And think that a Bible found by the way, by one that never heard of it hath the same Advantages to procure Belief, as Scripture and Scripture-Doctrine, and matters of Fact delivered to us by the Hand of certain Tradition.

Tradition. And 3. By the Reasonings that are brought against co-ordinate Tradition, you will invalidate subservient Tradition, which is necessary to convey the very Scriptures from the Apostles; and to assure us that these are all the same Writings; and not corrupt; and which is the Canonical; and that there were no more.

6. My sixth Reason against your Assertion is, That it seems injurious to the Work we have in hand: For 1. you will by any one Errour keep or cast out many godly Men from the Ministry. 2. You will harden the Libertines when they discern it. 3. And you will do more to introduce an Universal Toleration, than can be done by most other Means imaginable. For 1. One flaw found in your Work, may cause it to be cast by. 2. It will seem a potent Reason for such Toleration, when the choicest Enemies shall mistake in their very Fundamentals. 3. You will force us that are your Brethren to petition for Liberty, and then others will think that they may come in at the same Gap.

7. I added, It will be a dishonour to the Parliament. 1. When they shall send so hard a Work abroad, and establish such a crooked Rule; if they thus receive it from you: if they reject or correct it, it will be their grief to see our Division and Mistake.

8. Lastly, I added, That it will be much to our own dishonour. For, 1. The Parliament will exactly scan it; and no doubt discover the Mistake. And 2. many too curious Eyes will examine it, and what a reproach will it be to us to be the By-word of Gainfayers: and to hear that such chosen Enemies have erred in their very Fundamentals: and for the Papists to insult over us, and say we can agree in no Confession, and know not yet what Religion we are of: And withal, it may bring us under Jealousies with others, that indeed we are Friends to Universal Toleration, and made such flaws in our Work to *destroy* it, and intended to undo all by our overdoing or misdoing.

I should not have presumed to have put you to so much trouble, nor have made any stop in your Work, when the dispatch is so desirable, had not the Consequences of Silence seemed to me so intollerable.

I only add, 1. I dare not think but Scripture is sufficient both for Matter and Words to afford us Fundamentals, and to any thing which it speaks, I am ready to subscribe. 2. I dare not think that your late Reverend Assembly hath left out the very Fundamentals in their large Confession, to which in this Article I offered to subscribe. 3. I dare not undertake at the day of Judgment to justify that Man from the Charge of damnable Infidelity, who hath had only verbal Tradition of Gods Revelation, of the Sum of Christianity: as if this did *not* make his Infidelity inexcusable, because he had it not from Scripture. But I think that he shall be damned for his Infidelity, who believeth not in Christ, if he have all other Means besides the Scripture to help him to believe.

Ri. Baxter.

After this Paper they new worded the Article: which occasioned the following Paper.

The Article.

[*All the means of Revealing Jesus Christ are subordinate and subservient to the Holy Scriptures; and none of them co-ordinate.*]

It is no small trouble to me that I was necessitated to be the least delay to your Proceedings, by reason of my unsatisfiedness with the former Article: But that after our Endeavours for a Closure in that point, and when we thought that all had been brought to Agreement, the Matter of our Difference should be again received, by the Addition of this Article, is yet a greater trouble to me. Not so much for my own sake, as others: lest it should offend the Parliament, and open the Mouths of our Adversaries, that we cannot our selves agree in Fundamentals: and lest it prove an occasion for others to sue for an Universal Toleration.

I am unsatisfied in the last, that is, the Negative Clause of this Article, as I was in the former: 1. As to the Truth of it, and 2. As to the weight of it, as a Test for the Ministers that shall be allowed to preach. 3. And as to the Necessity of it to Salvation, as a Fundamental. Concerning the first, it must be remembered 1. That you speak of [*All means*] of revealing Christ, without any Exception,

Limitation or Restriction; no not so much as to [ordinary] means, nor restraining it to means [sufficient to Salvation]. 2. That you deny them to be [co-ordinate] absolutely also, without any distinction, exception or limitation. 3. I desire it may be observed, that I am not myself imposing any Terms on you, or offering the Terms [subordinate] or any other to be put into the Article, but only giving a Reason why I cannot subscribe it as it is; which I shall now render, having premised these Observations: 1. The word [co-ordinate] being comprehensive and ambiguous, I conceive doth among others contain these several Sences following: 1. As the *Species* is subordinate to the *Genus*. 2. As the nearer Causes in the same rank are subordinate to the higher and remote, and all to the first Cause: as in Generation the nearer Parents to the remote. 3. As the Means are subordinate to the End, in order thereto. 4. As the less worthy is subordinate to the more worthy, in degrees of Comparison. Many other common Sences I now pass. These being (at least the three first) common, and the opposed Co-ordination universally denied, I see no Evidence to warrant the denial. 1. In the first respect, I conceive that Divine Revelation being the *Genus*, by word, and by writing, are distinct *Species*: And as the delivery of the thing revealed is the *Genus*, so the delivery of the perfect word in Scripture, and of the Sum of the matter in Sacraments and other Means forementioned, are distinct *Species*. 2. In order of Efficiency I conceive that some Means are Supra-ordinate to Scripture, and some Co-ordinate and Subordinate in several Respects, and some Subordinate only: of which I shall give Instances anon. 3. In order to the nearer End; those Means are subordinate to Scripture, which are supra-ordinate in Efficiency; and some of those which *ab origine* are co-ordinate: when yet in order to the more remote End they are co-ordinate. 4. In order of Dignity, some Means are above Scripture, some below it. For Instances in these Cases: 1. Jesus Christ himself, both as the great Prophet of his Church, inditing the Scriptures by his Spirit, and sending the Apostles, and still sending Ministers, and owning his own Word, is one Means of Revealing himself to Mankind: And he is in order of Efficiency and of Dignity, above the Scripture, but subordinate as to the End which is near, but not as to the ultimate End. 2. The Holy Ghost inspiring the Apostles is a Means of Revelation supra-ordinate to the Scripture in Efficiency, and Dignity: And the Holy Ghost as enabling and sending forth Pastors, is co-ordinate in Efficiency, and subordinate as to one of the nearer Ends: The Holy Ghost as Illuminating and so Revealing by the Instrumentality of the Word, is in Efficiency and Dignity above the Word. 3. The Apostles themselves were in order of Efficiency, above the Writing or Letter of the Word, though in order of Dignity the Scripture is above them. 4. The Ministry and Teaching of Parents, is as to the Original both subordinate to Scripture, as commanded by it, and co-ordinate, as instituted and enjoined before it by verbal Precept; and doth still acknowledge this double obligation. But it is subordinate to Scripture in Dignity, and as to the nearer End. 5. The same is true of Baptism and other Ordinances mentioned already. 6. The delivery of the Scriptures down to our hands, 1. As to acquaint us with the Canonical Books; 2. And that these are all; 3. And that they are uncorrupted in Matters of moment, is in efficiency a co-ordinate Means of Revelation; for it is not out of Scripture only that it receiveth its force: but as to the End and the Dignity, it is subordinate to the Scripture. These things seeming thus to my apprehension, I cannot yet acknowledge it a Truth, that no Means of *Revealing* Christ is co-ordinate with the Scriptures.

I need to say no more to the Necessity and Fundamentality than I said in my last Paper.

I earnestly crave that the offering of these Reasons, as my Dissent, may not be offensive to you; seeing I apprehend the Case to impose on me a Necessity; there being no Means in the World (that I remember) more like to be an Engine to tear in pieces the Church, than an unsound compofure of Fundamentals; I mean, an Imposing of those Things as Fundamental which are not sound; whereby the most deserving may be ejected from the Ministry, and censured to Damnation. We are framing a Means of Union, and not of Division. And though it grieves me to be offensive to my Brethren, yet had I rather suffer any thing in the World, than be guilty of putting among our Fundamentals one word that is not true. The Christian Faith hath been ever the same since the Apostles days: and I find not that ever the Churches Fundamentals contained such an Article as this. The Scripture, nor the Assembly's Confession, have none such that I know of. The word [Co-ordinate] is so ambiguous, that it is unfit to lay so great a stress upon it, and

and the use of it here yet more persuades me, that it had been better for us to adhere to Scripture Terms.

R. B.

§ 56. At last Twenty of their Propositions were printed for the Parliament. But the Parliament was dissolved, and all came to nothing, and that Labour was lost.

§ 57. At this time the Lord *Broughill* and the Earl of *Warwick* brought me to Preach before *Cromwell* the Protector (which was the only time that ever I preached to him, save once long before, when he was an inferior Man among other Auditors): I knew not which way to provoke him better to his Duty than by Preaching on 1 Cor. 1. 10. against the Divisions and Distractions of the Church, and shewing how mischievous a thing it was for Politicians to maintain such Divisions for their own Ends, that they might fish in troubled waters, and keep the Church by its Divisions in a state of Weakness, lest it should be able to offend them: and to shew the Necessity and Means of Union. But the plainness and nearness I heard was displeasing to him, and his Courtiers; but they put it up.

§ 58. A while after *Cromwell* sent to speak with me! and when I came, in the presence only of three of his chief Men, he began a long and tedious Speech to me of God's Providence in the Change of the Government, and how God had owned it, and what great things had been done at home and abroad, in the Peace with *Spain* and *Holland*, &c. When he had wearied us all with speaking thus slowly about an hour, I told him, It was too great Condescension to acquaint me so fully with all these Matters which were above me, but I told him that we took our Ancient Monarchy to be a Blessing, and not an Evil to the Land, and humbly craved his Patience, that I might ask him, How *England* had ever forfeited that Blessing, and unto whom the Forfeiture was made? (I was fain to speak of the *Species* of Government only, for they had lately made it Treason by a Law to speak for the Person of the King). Upon that Question he was awakened into some Passion, and told me it was no Forfeiture, but God had Changed it as pleased him; and then he let fly at the Parliament (which thwarted him); and especially by name at four or five of those Members which were my chief Acquaintance; and I presumed to defend them against his Passion; and thus four or five hours were spent.

§ 59. A few days after he sent for me again to hear my Judgment about Liberty of Conscience (which he pretended to be most zealous for) before almost all his Privy Council: where after another slow tedious Speech of his, I told him a little of my Judgment: And when two of his Company had spun out a great deal more of the time, in such like tedious (but meer ignorant) Speeches, some four or five hours being spent, I told him, that if he would be at the labour to read it, I could tell him more of my mind in Writing in two Sheets, than in that way of Speaking in many days: and that I had a Paper on that Subject by me, written for a Friend, which if he would peruse, and allow for the change of the Person, he would know my Sense. He received the Paper after, but I scarce believe that he ever read it; for I saw that what he learned must be from himself; being more disposed to speak many hours, than to hear one; and little heeding what another said, when he had spoken himself.

§ 60. While I lodged at the Lord *Broughill's*, a certain Person was importunate to speak with me, Dr. *Nic. Gibbon*: who shutting the Doors on us that there might be no Witnesses, drew forth a Scheme of Theology, and told me how long a Journey he had once taken towards me, and engaged me patiently to hear him open to me his Scheme, which he said was the very thing that I had been long groping after; and contained the only *Terms* and *Method* to resolve all Doubts whatever in Divinity, and unite all Christians through the World: And there was none of them printed but what he kept himself, and he communicated them only to such as were prepared, which he thought I was, because I was 1. Searching, 2. Impartial, and 3. A Lover of Method. I thank him, and heard him above an hour in silence, and after two or three days talk with him, I found all his Frame (the Contrivance of a very strong Head-piece) was secretly and cunningly fitted to usher in a *Socinian* Popery, or a mixture of Popery and half *Socinianism*. Bishop *Usher* had before occasionally spoken of him in my hearing as a *Socinian*, which caused me to hear him with suspicion, but I heard none suspect him of Popery, though

though I found that it was that which was the end of his Design. This Jugler hath this Twenty years and more gone up and down thus secretly, and also thrust himself into places of Publick Debate; (as when the Bishops and Divines disputed before the King at the *Isle of Wight*, &c.) And when we were lately offering our Proposals for Concord to the King, he thrust in among us; till I was slain plainly to detect him before some of the Lords, which enraged him, and he denied the words which in secret he had spoken to me! And many Men of Parts and Learning are perverted by him.

§ 61. In this time of my abode at the Lord *Brogbill's*, fell out all the Acquaintance I had with the most Reverend, Learned, Humble, and Pious Primate of *Ireland*, Archbishop *Usher*, then living at the Earl of *Peterborough's* House in *Martin's-Lane*. Sometimes he came to me, and oft I went to him: And Dr. *Kendal* who had wrote pettishly against me about Universal Redemption, and the Specification of Saving Grace, desired me, (when I had answered one of his Invectives, and had written part of the Answer to the other) to meet him at Bishop *Usher's* Lodgings, and refer the matter to him for our Reconciliation and future Silence: which I willingly did, and when the Bishop had declared his Judgment for that Doctrine of Universal Redemption which I asserted, and gloried that he was the Man that brought Bishop *Davenant* and Dr *Preston* to it, he perswaded us (who were both willing) to Silence for the time to come.

§ 62. In this time I opened to Bishop *Usher* the motions of Concord which I had made with the Episcopal Divines, and desired his Judgment of my Terms, which were these: 1. That every Pastor be the Governour, as well as the Teacher of his Flock. 2. In those Parishes that have more Presbyters than one, that one be the stated President. 3. That in every Market Town, or some such meet Divisions, there be frequent Assemblies of Parochial Pastors associated for Concord and mutual Assistance in their Work; and that in these Meetings, one be a stated, (not a temporary President). 4. That in every County or Diocess there be every year, or half year, or quarter, an Assembly of all the Ministers of the County or Diocess; and that they also have their fixed President; and that in Ordination nothing be done without the President, nor in matters of common or publick concernment. 5. That the coercive Power or Sword be medled with by none but Magistrates. To this Sense were my Proposals; which he told me might suffice for Peace and Unity among moderate Men: But when he had offered the like to the King, intemperate Men were displeased with him, and they were then rejected; but afterward would have been accepted: And such Success I was like to have. I had heard of his Predictions that Popery would be restored again in *England* for a short time, and then fall for ever. And asking him of it, he pretended to me no propheticall Revelation for it, to himself, but only his Judgment of the Sense of the *Apocalyps*.

§ 63. I asked him also his Judgment about the validity of Presbyters Ordination; which he asserted, and told me, that the King asked him at the *Isle of Wight*, whereever he found in Antiquity that Presbyters alone ordained any? and that he answered, I can shew your Majesty more, even where Presbyters alone successively ordained Bishops; and instanced in *Hierom's* Words *Epist. ad Evagrium*, of the Presbyters of *Alexandria* chusing and making their own Bishops from the Days of *Mark*, till *Herachus* and *Dionysius*. I asked him also whether the Paper be his that is called [*A Reduction of Episcopacy to the Form of Synodical Government*] which he owned; and Dr. *Bernard* after witnessed to be his.

§ 64. And of his own Accord he told me confidently, [*That Synods are not properly for Government, but for Agreement among the Pastors; and a Synod of Bishops are not the Governors of any one Bishop there present*]. Though no doubt but every Pastor out of the Synod, being a Ruler of his Flock, a Synod of such Pastors may there exercise Acts of Government over their Flocks, though they be but Acts of Agreement or Contract for Concord one towards another. *Quere*, If the whole Synod have no governing Power over its Members, hath the President of that Synod any *quæ talis*?

§ 65. When *Oliver Cromwel* was dead, and his Son almost as soon pull'd down as set up (or upon their Tumults voluntarily resigned their Places) the Anabaptists grew insolent, in *England* and *Ireland*; and joining with their Brethren in the Army, were every where put in Power; and those of them that before lived in some seeming Friendliness near me at *Bewdley*, began now to shew that they remembered all their former Provocations (by my publick Disputation with Mr. *Tombes*, and writing against them, and hindring their increase in those parts.) And though they

they were not much above twenty (Men and Women) near us, they talk'd as if they had been Lords of the World. And when Sir Henry Vane was in Power, and forming his Draught of a (not Free but) Fanatick Common-wealth, and Sir George Booth's Rising was near, and the look't for Opposition, they laid wait upon the Road for my Letters, and intercepting one written to Major Beake of Coventry, they sent it up to Sir Henry Vane to London; who found it so warily written, though himself was mentioned in it, that he could have nothing against it; yet sent he for Major Beake to London, and put him to answer it at the Committee, where, by examination they sought to have made something of it; but after many Threatnings they dismissed him: This was the Anabaptists Fidelity.

§ 66. The People then were so apprehensive of approaching Misery and Confusion while the Fanaticks were Lords, and Vane ruled in the State and Lambert in the Army, and Fifth Monarchy Men (as they called the Millenaries) and Seekers, and Anabaptists were their chief Strength, that the King's old Party (called then the Cavaliers) and the Parliaments Party (called the Presbyterians) did secretly combine in many parts of the Land to rise all at once and suppress these insolent Usurpers and bring in the King: Sir Ralph Clare of Kidderminster, acquainted me with the intended Rising; (the Issue of which was, that the Cavaliers failing, except a few at Salisbury, who were suddenly dispers'd or taken, Sir George Booth, and Sir Tho. Middleton, two old Commanders for the Parliament, drew together an Army of about 5000 Men, and took Chester, and there being no other to divert him, Lambert came against them, and some Independants and Anabaptists of the Country joining with him, his old Souldiers quickly routed them all, and Sir George Booth was afterwards taken and imprisoned): I told Sir R. Clare that if the Presbyterians and Episcopal Men had but before come to some Agreement, they would the more unanimously join against the Fanaticks: But since the War, the Diocesane Party by Dr. Hammond's means was gone to a greater Distance, and grown higher than before, and denyed the very being of the Reformed Churches and Ministry; and avoided all ways of Agreement with them, but by an absolute Submission to their Power (as the Papists do by the Protestants); and that there is a wonderful difference between the Cause of the one Party and the other: For though they are born equally capable of Government or Subjection, yet all that the Presbyterians (for the most part of them) desire, is but to have leave to worship God, and guide their Flocks in ways of Piety and Concord, without being persecuted for it. And the Prelatical Mens Cause is, that they may be the Governors of all, and that no Man have leave to serve God but as they prescribe to him, nor to rule his Flock but as ruled by them: Yea, as soon as a Man doth but side with the Men of that Opinion, he presently carryeth it, as if by his Opinion he had acquired a right to be the Governor of others: But especially I told him, that the Number of the Ignorant and Scandalous was so great, which the Diocesane Party would restore and set up, and the Number of the godly learned able Ministers so great which they would cast out and silence, that we look'd on it as the ruine of the Church: that we had not any Animosity against them; that we desired no Man should be hindred in his Ministry for any thing he had done in the Wars against the Parliament: But we desired that the People might have faithful Pastors, and not drunken ignorant Readers, as he knew in this Country they had had: And that every ceremonial Difference might not again be thought a sufficient Reason to cast out hundreds of the ablest Men, and put in such insufficient Persons in their steads: Persecution and the Ruine of the Ministry and Churches were expected by most, if Prelacie got up again; and if such leading Men as Dr. Hammond would but beforehand come to Terms of some Moderation, and promise to endeavour faithfully to bring things to that pass as now should be thought indifferent, it would greatly facilitate Mens Conjunction against the turbulent Sectaries and Souldiers. I told him he had long lived here among us, and saw the worst of us; he saw that our private Meetings were only in due Subordination to the Publick, and that they were only spent in such Actions as every Christian might do (to repeat a Sermon, and Pray, and propose his Doubts to his Pastor, and sing Psalms) and not to any Faction or Sedition; and that we had not a Sectary in the Town, but were all of a Mind, and walked in Humility, and Blamelesness, and Charity toward all; all which he did freely acknowledge; and I asked him then, whether he thought we were fit to be endured or to be suppressed? And whether it were not hard that Men who had prevailed in Arms (as the Parliaments past had done) should beg but for Liberty to live quietly by them, or those that were now kept under, and not obtain it. But we cared little for this as it is our own Interest, so that the Souls of Men, (even
Thousand;

Thousands in all Countries) might not be injured and undone by an ignorant vicious persecuting Ministry.

To this he confidently affirmed, that he, being most thoroughly acquainted with Dr. *Hammond*, who received Letters from Dr. *Morley* then with the King, could assure me that all Moderation was intended; and that any Episcopacy how low soever would serve the turn and be accepted: And a bare Presidency in Synods, such as Bishop *Usher* in his Reduction did require, was all that was intended; Yea, Bishop *Hall's* way of Moderation would suffice; that there should be no *Lord Bishops*, nor so large Diocesses, or great Revenues, much less any persecuting Power, but that the Essentials of Episcopacy was all that was expected; that no godly able Minister should be displaced, much less silenced, nor unworthy Men any more set up, that there should be no Thoughts of Revenge for any thing past; but all be equal.

In Conclusion we agreed that I should make some Proposals to Dr. *Hammond*, containing the Terms of our Agreement, and he would bring them to him (for he lived but seven Miles from us) and procure me an Answer. Whereupon I drew up a few Proposals, and Sir *Ralph Clare* shortly brought me back an Answer to them; by which I saw that there was no Agreement that way to be made: For Dr. *Hammond* cast all the Alterations or Abatements upon the King and Parliament, when as the thing that I desired of him was but to promise his best Endeavours to accomplish it, by persuading both the Clergy and the Civil Governors to do their Parts. Yet I must say, I took the Death of Dr. *Hammond* (who died just when the King came in, before he saw him, or received his intended Advancement) for a very great loss; for his Piety and Wisdom would sure have hindered much of the Violence which after followed: I wrote him a Reply, but never sent it, because the Tumults presently interrupted us. The Papers on both sides were these following:

R. Baxter's Proposals sent by Sir R. Clare to Dr. Hammond.

HAVING premised the Terms on which the Episcopal Presbyterian and Independant, &c. may maintain a Brotherly Agreement, in case the Magistrate gives Liberty to them all, I shall add some Propositions containing those things that we desire the Brethren of the Episcopal way will grant us, as necessary to the Peace of these Churches, and the avoiding of Persecution, to the hindrance of the Gospel, in case the Magistrate should establish their way.

1. We desire that private Christians may not be hindered from praying in their Families, according to the sense of their Necessities, without imposed Forms; nor from reading Scripture and good Books, catechising and instructing their Families and restraining them from dancing and other Vanities, which would withdraw them from holy Exercises on the Lord's Day: And that Neighbours be not hindered from meeting at convenient times in each others Houses, to edifie themselves by Godly Conference, Reading, repeating Sermons, Prayer, singing Psalms; so be it they refuse not the oversight of their faithful Pastors in the management hereof; nor set up these Meetings in Opposition to the publick Assemblies, but in due Subordination to them; and be responsible to Governors for all Mischances.
2. We desire that the ungodly sort of People may not be suffered to make the serious practice of Godliness an open Scorn, or to deride the Practice of such holy Duties, as by God, and our Governors we are allowed to perform.
3. That the most able, Godly, faithful Men be Pastors of the Flocks; and the insufficient, ungodly, negligent, scandalous, and Heretical be kept, and cast out; the Welfare of the Church consisting so much in the Quality of the Pastors.
4. That no Pastors be forced upon the Flocks against their Consent (the Church Governors being the Approvers and Ordainers and fit means being used to procure their Consent) though meer Teachers may be forced on the Ignorant, Heretical, and obstinate, that are unmeet for Church-Communion.
5. That the Teachers of the Parishes may be urged to catechise the People, and personally (in due time and Place) to confer with them all, and instruct them in the Matters of Salvation; and all the People may be urged to submit thereunto.

6. That

6. That before any Person's baptized in infancy be admitted among the adult Members of the Church, to their holy Communion and Priviledges, they make an open Profession of Faith and Holiness, such as shall be approved by the Pastor of that particular Church (who is responsible if he deny Approbation unjustly.) The solemnity of Confirmation we leave to the Wisdom of Church-Governors.

7. That we may have Liberty in the Temples to assemble for God's Worship, and may have no new Worship and Ordinances or symbolical mystical Ceremonies enforced on us against our Consciences : And that such as dare not use the Cross, Surplice, or kneeling in the Act of Receiving, may not by Penalties be forced to them, nor therefore denied the Exercise of the Ministry, or the Communion of the Church ; and those that Scruple the English Common Prayer-Book, may have leave to exercise their Ministry without it ; at least that they may be allowed the use of a Liturgy to be drawn up in Scripture Words, and approved by a Synod ; and besides that, freely to pray according to the variety of Occasions ; and Subjects which they preach of ; they being responsible to their Governors for all that they say and do amiss.

8. That the Pastors of each Parish-Church may have Liberty to hear Accusations of Heresy or Scandal, and to admonish the Offenders publicly, that hear not private Admonition ; to call them openly to Repent, and confess their Sin, and promise Reformation, to absolve the Penitent, and reject the Impenitent, requiring the People to avoid them. But yet, if you require that no Pastor should proceed to the publick admonishing and rejecting any, but upon the Judgment of the next Synod, and their President, we submit ; unless (which God forbid) they should defend Heresy and Wickedness, and prohibit Discipline.

9. That the Neighbour-Pastors associating for Union and Communion, may hold monthly Synods in every Market-Town, having a President (stated for Life, unless he prove unfit) : And that the Pastors of the Particular Churches be here responsible for their Doctrine and Practice, if any shall accuse them. And that Cases about Publick Confirmation, Admonitions, or Censures, excepted from the Power of the Pastors of the particular Churches of that Association may be here decided. But yet, that the President and Synod may not be forced to undertake the special Charge of all the Souls of each Congregation, as it belongeth to the several Pastors.

10. That every Quarter (and oftner, if the President see cause) there may be a Synod of all the Pastors of each County (or Diocesses if that may not be granted) who also shall have a stated President (the Name we leave to you) who shall maintain a more general Communion, and without destroying the Power of the particular Pastors, or lesser Synods, shall receive Appeals, and take Cognizance of such Cases as are proper to them. And that no President of greater or lesser Synods, shall ordain, suspend, deprive, or excommunicate any Pastor or Deacon, without the Consent of the Synod, and the Presence of some of them ; nor censure the Members of any particular Church, without the Consent of the Synod or of the Pastor of that Church. And that all Presidents be freely chosen by the Synods where they must preside.

11. That National Councils may consist of the Presidents of both the Diocesane and inferior Synods ; or else of the Diocesane, and two out of each County, freely chosen by the Major Vote of all the Pastors.

12. That no Subscription be required of the Pastors to any thing about Religion, but to the Holy Scriptures, and the ancient Creeds, and to the necessary Articles of Faith and Practice exprest in Scripture Terms, and to the Renunciation of all Heresies contrary thereto : And that in the Matter of the Divine Right of Prelacy, or Synodical Government, or Ceremonies, it may suffice that we are responsible for any Disobedience, and be not forced to subscribe our Approbation ; they being not Articles of Faith, but Points of Practice ; and if you see Cause to restrain Men from *Preaching against* any other controverted Opinions, they may not be forced to *approve them*.

13. That no Pastor be displaced, unless for Insufficiency, Negligence or Scandal committed within two Years before the Accusation ; or unless some able Godly, faithful Pastor prove a better Title to the Place.

14. Lastly, That Persons Excommunicate, may not be punished *eo Nomine*, because Excommunicate, by corporal Punishments, unless it be by disfranchising, that they be incapable of Government, or of choosing Governors ; seeing the same Men are also obnoxious to the Laws of the Land, for such Crimes as the Laws condemn, notwithstanding their Excommunication.

On these Terms we may hold a Christian Concord, without any Danger of Persecution, or Breach of Charity, or Peace, if the Magistrate should think meet to settle Episcopacy : as we may on the forementioned Terms, while the present Liberty continueth.

July 1659.

Dr. Hammond's Answer.

1. **W**HAT concerns private Christians in their own Families, will I suppose easily be granted, care being taken that nothing contrary to known Laws be attempted under Pretence of convening for Christian Advantages.

2. What concerns the Rectors of each Parish in the Discharge of the Duty by Law committed to them, there can be no doubt of. What is more required to be intrusted to them, being now by Law in the Bishops cannot be removed without changing the Law ; which must be left to the Law-Makers, upon due Consideration of Ancient, Primitive Practice, and what may probably most tend to Edification.

3. What concerns the Observation of Ceremonies by Minister or People, by Law established, must be done by Tolleration or Exemption from Punishments, allowed to tender Consciences, with care had also to Uniformity.

4. The Nomination of Persons to Offices in the Church, must have respect to the lawful right of Patrons, unless by Law some Change be thought expedient to be introduced herein.

5. If the Presidents of inferior Synods are to have Episcopal Power in Confirmation, Censures, Ordination, then this being the multiplying of Bishops, must be referred to the Supreme Power to judge whether all things considered, it be best, or whether some larger Diocesses being divided, some lesser may not remain as they are. But if inferior Presidents be not vested with Episcopal Power, but be in the Nature of our rural Deans, or of Archdeacons, the use of them and their Synods may be good, with Subordination to Bishops and regulated by Laws.

6. If there be Bishops in the Church, sure they must have the superintendent Care ; and so Power over the whole Flock, Presbyters and People ; yet so that for the Exercise of it, they intrust to the Rector of each Parish with what shall be found necessary for the Souls of the People in daily Administration.

7. I cannot think it meet that the 39 Articles which are the Hedge between us and the Papacy should be removed, and Articles in bare Scripture-terms substituted in their room, unless by this means (the Papacy receding also) an universal Peace might be hoped, which is a thing beyond our Prospect. That no more Articles be added to clog our Communion, is very reasonable. That any of these established, are excepted against by those, in Relation to whom we now consider, is more than I have heard.

8. For the not removing any Minister but upon weighty Cause, and not punishing Offenders by other than Ecclesiastical Censures, leaving the rest to the Civil Magistrate, I see no matter of Debate between us.

R. B.'s Reply.

THE Strictures returned, instead of Abatements for Accommodation, refer almost all the Matters in Difference to the Civil Magistrate. We know that whoever is in possession of the Magistracy will be the Judge of his own Actions, and give us Laws according to his Judgment. Our Motion is not, for Divines to do any of the Magistrates Work. But when Magistrates against Episcopacy are up, we would have Divines endeavour in their places, to draw them from injuring the Brethren that are for Episcopacy : And when Magistrates that are for Episcopacy are up, we would have Divines endeavour in their places to draw them from injuring the Brethren that cannot comply with it any nearer than on the fore-expressed

pressed Terms. And that the Party that is still under might not be lockt upon, and used as a Sect, and Division might not be cherished among us, we much rather desire an Accommodation than a Toleration: that we may be but one Body, and stick together whatever Changes come. To this end, we first desire that our Rule for Doctrine, Discipline and Worship, be such as may serve for an Universal Concord: and next, that we may be secured from Encroachments on our just Liberty, and such Impositions (besides or above the Rule) as we know will cause Divisions and Persecutions. That which we desire to these Ends, from the Divines to whom we offer our Proposals, is that they will express their own Desire that so much may be granted by the Magistrate, as they find meet to be granted; and agreeing on the fittest Terms among themselves, will profess and promise their faithful Endeavours in their Places and Capacities, to procure the Concession and Approbation of these Terms from the Magistrate. And this any single person may (to prepare for a further Communication) consider of, and consent unto, *viz.* to improve his Interest to these Ends.

Now to the Particulars, 1. We desire that you will profess your Judgment, and promise your just Endeavours in your place that [*no Laws*] may be made, (or continued) that are contrary to these Christian Duties (and I know of none such existent): And then we consent that all Persons be *responsible for their Misconducts*.

2. This is the chief of our Desires, that you will profess your desire, and promise your endeavour in your place, that the power mentioned in the eighth Article, may by Law be granted to the Rectors of each Parish; we suppose that their Office is of Divine Institution: and therefore that Magistrates may not change it: what is by Law established, the Possessors of the Government, will still be Judges of. Did we believe that the Pastors of particular Churches are not of Divine Institution, unchangeable by Man; or that Diocesan Bishops could exercise Christ's Discipline over so many hundred Parishes, so that it would not certainly be cast out by their undertaking it, we would not have insisted on this Article, but yield that *Rectors shall never Rule*.

3. We might hope that the Ceremonies might be left indifferent, and so there might be no Divisions about them. As we find it now by Experience in our Assemblies, in the singing of Psalms, the Gesture is left indifferent, and there is no trouble about it: So in many places the Sacrament Gesture is left indifferent; and one kneeleth, and another standeth, and another sitteth, and there is no disturbance about it; but Custom having taken off their Prejudice, they have the Charity to bear with one another. And some Congregations sing one Version of the *Psalms* and some another, and (though Uniformity in that be much more desirable than in a Cross, or Surplice, or Kneeling at Receiving the Eucharist, yet) there is no disturbance among us about it. And when our Unity is not laid upon our Uniformity in these unnecessary things, we shall not be necessitated to persecute one another about them, nor to make Sects by our Toleration of Dissenters: And doubtless if your Toleration be of all that profess Tenderness of Conscience in these Points, you will find such abundance of godly Men avoid your Ceremonies and accept of your Toleration, that you will think your selves necessitated to persecute them, as dishonouring you, and discouraging Uniformity by their dissent. But if you tolerate some, and not others that can lay the same claim to it, your partiality will quickly break all into pieces. We are certain that leaving these unnecessary things at liberty, to be used only by those that will, is the way to Unity: But if this cannot be attained, we shall be glad of a Toleration in our Publick Charges.

4. The Patron's Right of Nomination may be preserved, though the Communicants have their Consent preserved, without which none is to be obtruded on them: Though in case of unreasonable refusal of fit men, much means may be used by Church-Officers and Magistrates to bring them to consent: But how can People be governed in the Worship of God, and in a Holy Life, by any Pastor without their own consent?

5. The multiplying of Bishops is in our Account, the making Discipline become possible, that else is not (to any purpose): And though our own Judgment be that every Parish that is great should have a Bishop and Presbytery; yet we yield to you for Concord and Peace, that there be a Bishop and Presbytery in every City, that is, Corporation or Market-Town, and these (as is expressed in the Articles) to have one in every County or Diocese to whom they shall be responsible. We desire only the profession of your Consent to this Change, and promise of your promoting it in your place by just means, that so our Differences

may be ended. But if this cannot be granted, and no particular Pastors tolerated to exercise Discipline in their own Parishes, but all must be done by the Bishop and his Court, we must take it as equipollent to this Conclusion, [Discipline shall be cast out of the Churches]: And then we have no hopes of the healing of our Divisions, or satisfying the Desires and Consciences of multitudes of Persons, truly fearing God: And if we may not have Discipline to promote a just Reformation of Manners, we shall still have irregular Attempts of Reformation.

But it is not the Name that we insist on; Call them Rural Deans or Arch-Deacons, or what you please, so be it, they may be authorized to do the things here desired; even to exercise that Discipline which one Bishop in a County cannot exercise.

6. A *General Care* is one thing, and the *Special Charge* of the particular Pastor is another. The former extendeth no further than to oversee the particular Pastors, and to receive Appeals in extraordinary Cases from any of the People; and to teach them in course, while as Visitors they pass from one Parish to another, and in the same manner to administer Sacraments, and personally exercise Parish Discipline: But the *Special Charge* containeth an Obligation to watch over each particular Person in an ordinary teaching them, publicly and privately, as they have occasion and opportunity, and plucking up all Weeds of Heresie and Profaneness, that shall spring up among them, resolving Doubts, convincing Gainlayers, and ordinarily guiding them in Publick Worship, calling the Offenders to Penitence, and absolving the Penitent, and binding over the Impenitent to the Judgment Seat of Christ, and requiring the People to avoid them. If you impose on every Diocesan Bishop (besides the fore-described General Care) this Special Charge over every Soul, as every Pastor of a particular Church hath, you will take an effectual Course to keep the most pious, modest, and thoughtful Persons out of that rank.

And your Phrase of [Intrusting so much as is found necessary in the hands of the Rector of each Parish] seemeth to intimate that you take those Rectors not only for Men of a distinct Order or Office, from the Bishops, but also of an Office that it is not of Divine Institution, and described by God, but of Humane Institution, and left to the Bishop's Discretion what it shall be, and how much power such shall have, and that they are to be intrusted with it from the Bishops (as the Italians in *Concil. Trident.* would have had the Bishops to have theirs from the Pope). If this be your meaning, it will not reconcile. If it be not, then the Rectors of each Parish may know their Office from the Holy Scripture, and receive it as from Christ, who hath instituted it, and entrusted them with it.

7. We desire the Scripture-Confession but to the Extent and Securing of our Peace and Concord. If Papists would agree upon such a Confession, yea on a Subscription to the whole Scripture, we should rejoice: But they cannot do it, without ceasing to be Papists. And many may rise up among our selves that may scruple some words in the 39 *Articles*, that are not fit *ergo* to be persecuted and cast out of the Church (as Mr. *Chillingworth's* Instance proves): 1. As he that should scruple some one word (of no great weight) in *Athanasius's* Creed, contrary to *Art. 8.* 2. Or the absolute Exclusion of Works in the Article of Justification, *Art. 11.* 3. Or the displeasingness and sinfulness of Works before Faith, and their not making Men meet to receive Grace, *Art. 13.* 4. And that voluntary Works, besides or above God's Commandments, cannot be taught without Arrogancy and Impiety (*vide Annot. Dr. H. H. in 1 Cor. 9. 16, 17.*) *Art. 14.* 5. If any think that the Virgin *Mary*, or Infants offended not in many things, *Art. 15.* We question whether it be according to the Ancient Simplicity or Charity, to cast out all these from our Churches. 6. And what if Dr. *Taylor* and many others cannot Subscribe to *Art. 9. and 2.* 7. And if a Man believe not that [by good Works a lively Faith may be as evidently known, as a Tree discerned by the Fruit], should he be presently cast out? *Art. 12.* 8. The 21 *Art.* concludeth that [General Councils may not be gathered together without the Commandment and Will of Princes]; and some think it may as well be said, that we may not meet for Publick Worship without their Command and Will; and that this proveth, that there never was a General Council, nor ever will be; because the Princes (Infidels and Christians) in whose Dominions the Bishops live, never did, or will generally Consent to have their Subjects go to a General Council. 9. The 31st *Art.* concludeth [that there is none other Satisfaction for Sin, but Christ's alone]: which many beside *Grotius* do contradict. 10. Many dare not Subscribe to the 34th *Art.* without restriction.

11. Many

11. Many good Men dare not so fully approve of all the Homilies as *Art. 35* doth.
 12. Many have refused Subscription because of *Art. 36*, it being hard so far to justify every word in such Humane Writings as the Book of Consecration is. Now it seems against our Unity, to make such a Test of it, as all Persons tolerable cannot agree in. And it seems contrary to the Ancient Simplicity, which required no other Test than the Scriptures and the Creeds. And it hardeneth the Papists to call on us to prove a Succession of *Protestants* from the first Ages, that is, of Men that have held all the 39 Articles.

But yet we highly value the 39 Articles as sound and moderate, and if we can procure no nearer a recourse to Scripture and Ancient Simplicity, we shall cheerfully submit to the 39 Articles; if the Doctrine of Bishops and Ceremonies, might be left out, as Matters of Practice and not of Faith, as long as we are responsible for any Disobedience. And it's hard if such things must be Subscribed, as of Necessity to our Church Communion, or Ministry.

And that these have been excepted against by the Old Nonconformists, I suppose you know.

And if you could be content with a Scripture Confession if *Rome* would yield to it, why should you deny to your Brethren at home, that which you would grant the Romanists, and therefore confess you may lawfully grant? Let us lay down such a Rule of Concord, as is fit for all to yield to, and then leave all to accept it as they please; and so they cannot blame our Religion, nor maintain their Alienation: But if we will not be content with a Rule that's fitted for Universal Concord, we keep Men from it.

And seeing you now say, It's reasonable that we be clog'd with no more] why might not the same have been said of some of the fore-mentioned Passages, if they had been left out?

8. But the Doubt is, Whether you will allow the Title of the Ministers now in possession (except as before excepted), or whether you will rather judge all their Titles void that were not Ordained by Diocesan Bishops.

Lastly, We desire to know whether all the rest, not touched on and excepted against in these Notes, have your Consent: (as that Bishops be chosen by the whole Clergy, and Ordain not, and Censure not, without their Synods, &c.

O how easie were a Peace on these Terms! how easily and safely might you grant them, without any wrong to your Consciences, or the Church? Yea, to its exceeding benefit! How lowd do our Miseries cry for such a Cure! How long hath it been neglected!

If there be any more than what is here granted by us, that you think necessary for us to yield to on our parts, we shall gladly revive your Demands, and yield for Peace as far as is possible, without forsaking our Consciences: And what shall be agreed on, we shall promise faithfully to endeavour in our places, that the Magistrate may consent to it.

The inclosing Paper signified a readiness to yield to an Agreement, on the primitive Simplicity of Doctrine, Discipline and Worship: as Dr. *Heylin* also doth. We are agreed, and yet never the nearer an Agreement: O that you would stand to this in the Particulars! We crave no more.

Q. 1. Did the Primitive Church require Subscription to all in our 39 Articles, or to any more than the words of Scripture, and the Ancient Creeds, in order to Mens Church-Communion and Liberty? Were such Volumes as our Homilies then to be subscribed to?

Q. 2. Were any required as necessary to their Ministry in the Primitive Times, to Subscribe to the Divine Right of Diocesan Prelacy, and promise or swear Obedience to such? Or to Subscribe to all that is contained in our Book of Ordination?

Q. 3. Were all, most, or any Bishops of the first Age, (of the lowest rank, now distinguished from Archbishops) the fixed Pastors of many particular Churches, or of more Souls than one of our ordinary (or greater) Parishes? Much less of so many as are in a Diocess. Let us but have no more Souls, or Congregations under the lowest rank of Bishops now, than were in the first Age (or second either ordinarily), and we shall soon agree, I think in all the Substance of Government.

Q. 4. Was our Common Prayer used, and necessary to a Pastor's Liberty, in the first or second Age? Or all that is in it? Or will you leave out all that you cannot prove to have been then used, and that as necessary, as now it is supposed?

Q. 5. Were the Croß, Surplice, and Restriction to kneeling in receiving the Eucharist enjoyed by Peter or Paul, or any in the first Age? (or second either, or many after?) If you say, that some Form of Prayer was used, though not ours: I answer, 1. Prove it used, and imposed as necessary to the Exercise of the Ministry: and that any was enjoyed to Subscribe to it, and use it on pain of Deprivation or Excommunication. 2. If the first (supposed) Book of Prayers was necessary in Specie, for continuance, we must have it, and cast away this that's pleaded for: If it were not, then why may you not as well dispense with this, and change it, seeing you cannot plead it more immutable than the (supposed) Apostolical, or Primitive Prayer Book? 3. When Forms of Liturgy came up, had they not divers in the same Empire, and also changed them in particular Churches? (as the Controversie between Basil and the Church of Neocaesarea shews, &c.) And why then may not as much be granted now in England? at least to procure Unity and Peace in other things, after so long uncharitable Alienations, and doleful Effects of them in the Church and State?

N. B. That the foresaid Exceptions against imposing the Subscription of the 39 Articles, are urged *ad hominem*; because though the Doctrinal Part of those Articles be such as the generality of the Presbyterians would Subscribe to, yet I see not how the Reverend Brethren on the other side can possibly Subscribe them as reconcilable to the Principles published by many of them.

§ 67. Shortly after this, when Sir George Booth's Rising failed, Major General

March 10. 1659. A Petition was sent up from Worcester-shire, to have had the Long Parliament sate, till they had done that for King, and Church, and Country, which they were restored for: But it was not delivered, because Monk, that recalled them, was otherwise bent.

March 16. The Long Parliament Dissolved it self.

March 25. Dr. Hammond died.

Monk in Scotland, with his Army, grew so sensible of the Inconveniences of Vane and Lambert, and the Fanaticks in England and Ireland, who set up and pull'd down Governments as boldly as if they were making a Lord of a Maygame, and were grasping all the Power into their own Hands; so that he presently secured the Anabaptists of his Army, and agreed with the rest, to resist these Usurpers; who would have England the Scorn of all the World. At first when he drew near to England, he declared for a Free Commonwealth. When he came in, Lambert marched against him, but his Soldiers forsaking him, and Sir Arthur Haselrigge getting Portsmouth, and Col. Morley strengthening him, and Major General Berry's Regiment, which went

to block it up, revolting to them, the Clouds rose every where at once, and Lambert could make no resistance; but instead of fighting, they were fain to treat: And while Monk held them Treating, his Reputation increased, and theirs abated, and their Hearts failed them, and their Soldiers fell off: and General Monk consulted with his Friends, what to do! Many Countreys sent Letters of Thanks and Encouragement to him. Mr. Tho. Bampfield was sent by the Gentlemen of the West; and other Countreys did the like; so that Monk came on, but still declared for a Commonwealth, against Monarchy: Till at last, when he saw all ripened thereto, he declared for the King. The chief Men (as far as I can learn) that turned his Resolution, to bring in the King, were Mr. Clarges and Sir William Morrice, his Kinsman, and the Petitions, and Affections of the City of London, principally moved by Mr. Calamy and Mr. Ash, two ancient, leading, able Ministers (with Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Dr. Jacomb, and other Ministers of London who concurred): And these were encouraged by the Earl of Manchester, the Lord Hollis, the (late) Earl of Anglesey, and many of the (then) Council of State: And the Members of the Old Parliament that had been formerly ejected, being recalled, did Dissolve themselves, and appoint the Calling of a Parliament which might Re-call the King. When General Monk first came into England, most Men rejected, in hope to be delivered from the Usurpation of the Fanaticks (Anabaptists, Seekers, &c.) And I was my self so much affected with the strange Providence of God, that I procured the Ministers to agree upon a Publick Thanksgiving to God. And I think all the Victories which that Army obtained, were not more wonderful than their Fall was, when Pride and Error had prepared them for it. It seemed wonderful to me, that an Army that had got so many great and marvellous Victories, and thought themselves unconquerable, and talked of nothing but Dominion at home, and marching up to the Walls of Rome, should all be broken and brought into Subjection, and finally Disbanded, without one blow stricken, or one drop of Blood shed! and that by so small a power as Monk's Army in the beginning was: So Eminent was the Hand of God in all this Change!

§ 68. Yet were there many prudent, pious Men that feared greatly the return of the Prelates, an exasperated Party that had been before subdued; and as they saw that the Fanaticks would bring all to Confusion under pretence of promoting Godliness, so they fear'd the enraged Prelatical Party would renew their Persecution, under pretence of Order and Government. And some that thought *R. Cromwell's* Resignation was not plain and full, did scruple it, Whether they were not at present obliged to him; for though they knew that he had no Original Right, and though the condemned the Act of those Men as Treason, who set up both his Father and him, yet when he was set up, and the Government had been Twelve years in their Hands, and the House of Commons had sworn Subjection to him, they thought it was very doubtful whether they were not obliged to him, as the Possessor: And withal, many had alienated the Hearts of Men from the King, making them believe that he was uncertain in his Religion, &c. and that the Duke of York was a Papist, and that they would set up the revengeful Cavaliers: but these things were quickly at an end: For many Gentlemen, who had been with the King in Scotland, especially the Earl of *Lauderdale* and Colonel *Greaves*, who were of Reputation with the People, did spread abroad mighty Commendations of the King, both as to his Temper and Piety; whereby the Fears of many at that time were much quieted.

§ 69. As for my self, I came to *London* April the 13th, 1660. where I was no sooner arrived but I was accosted by the Earl of *Lauderdale* (just then released from his tedious Confinement in *Windsor Castle* by the restor'd Parliament) who having heard from some of the Sectarian Party, that my Judgment was that our Obligations to *Richard Cromwell* were not dissolved, nor could be till another Parliament, or a fuller Renunciation of the Government, took a great deal of pains with me, to satisfy me in that point.

And for the quieting People's Minds that were in no small Commotion through clandestine Rumours, he by means of Sir *Robert Murray*, and the Countess of *Balcarras* then in *France*, procured several Letters to be written from thence, full of high Elogiums of the King, and Assurances of his firmness in the Protestant Religion, which he got translated and publisht. Among others, one was sent to me from Monsieur *Gaches*, a famous pious Preacher at *Charenton*; wherein, after an high strain of Complements to my self, he gave a pompous Character of the King, and assured me, that during his Exile he never forbore the Publick Profession of the Protestant Religion, no not even in those places where it seemed prejudicial to his Affairs. That he was present at Divine Worship in the French Churches at *Roan* and *Rochel*, though not at *Charenton*, during his stay at *Paris*; and earnestly press't me to use my utmost interest, that the King might be restored by means of the Presbyterians, &c.

The Letter being long, and already publisht, shall not be here inserted. But I could not forbear making divers Reflections, upon the Receipt of such a Letter as this was.

§ 70. This Excellent Divine, with divers others, living at a distance, knew not the state of Affairs in *England* so well as we that were upon the place: They knew not how much the Presbyterians had done to bring in the King, or else they would not have thought it needful to use any Exhortations to them to that end. And they knew not those Men, who with the King were to be restored, so well as we did: What the Presbyterians did to preserve and restore the King, is a thing that we need not go to any Corners or Cabinets to prove! The Votes for Agreement upon the King's Concessions in the *Isle of Wight* prove it: The Ejection and Imprisonment of most of the House of Commons, and all the House of Lords prove it: The Calamitous overthrow of two Scottish Armies prove it. The Death of Mr. *Love*, with the Imprisonment and Flight of other *London* Ministers prove it: The wars in *Scotland*, and their Conquest by *Cromwell* prove it: The Rising of Sir *George Booth* and his Army's overthrow prove it: The Surprize of *Dublin-Castle* from the Anabaptists by Colonel *John Bridges* and others in *Ireland*; and the Gratulations of General *Monk* in *England*, the Concurrence of the *Londonners*, and the Ministers there, the Actual Preparations of the Restored Members of the Long Parliament, and the Consent of the Council of State left by them, and the Calling in of the King hereupon by the next Parliament, without one contradicting Voice, and finally the Lords and Gentlemen of the King's old Party in all Countreys, addressing themselves to the Parliamentarians, and the King's grateful Acknowledgments in his Letters, and his Speeches in Parliament, do all put this Matter out of question. Of which I have said more in my *Key for Catholics*.

§ 71. And when I read this Reverend Man's excessive Praises, and his concluding Prayer for the Success of my Labours, I thought with my self, how little doth the good Man understand how ill the beginning and end of his words accord: He prayeth for my Congregation, and the Blessing of my Labours, when he hath perswaded me to put an end to my Labours, by setting up those Prelates who will Silence me and many a hundred more! He perswadeth me to that which will separate me from my Flock, and then prayeth that I may be a Blessing to them. He overvalueth and magnifieth my Service to the Church, and then perswadeth me to that which will put a Period to my Service, and to the Service of many hundreds better than my self. But yet his Cause and Arguments are honest; and I am so far from being against him in it, that I think I am much more for it than he: for he is for our Restoring the King, that our Ministry may be freed from the obloquy of malicious Enemies: but I am for restoring of the King, that when we are Silenced, and our Ministry at an end, and some of us lye in Prisons, we may there, and in that Condition, have Peace of Conscience in the Discharge of our Duty, and the Exercise of Faith, Patience and Charity in our Sufferings.

§ 72. And I confess at that time the Thoughts of Mens hearts were various according to their several Expectations: The Sectarian Party cried out that God had in Justice cut off the Family that Reigned over us; and to return to it again, was to betray the Church, and the Souls of Men. Some others said, That the Sectaries had traiterously and wickedly pull'd down the King and Parliament, and set up themselves, and broken their Oaths, and pull'd down all Government, and made the Name of Religion a Reproach, and brought that Blot upon it, which is never till the Day of Judgment like to be wiped off: But yet that after Twelve years alienation of the Government, and when a House of Commons hath sworn Fidelity to another, and the King's own Party had taken the Engagement, their Obligations to that Family were by Providence, against their Wills dissolved; and that they were not bound to be Actors in that which will Silence thousands of faithful Ministers, and be like to be the Perdition of many and many thousand Souls. But the Presbyterians said, We are bound by the Covenant to the King that last was, and by the Oath of Allegiance to him and his Heirs; and all Changes since have been made unlawfully by Rebellious Sectaries; and for our parts, whatever others have done, we have taken no Engagements or contrary Oaths: if the Sectaries and the Cavaliers have taken the Engagement, what is that to us: Our Brethren of *Scotland*, nor we never did it: Therefore being obliged to the King, as the undoubted Heir of the Crown, we ought to do our Duty, as Loyal Subjects to Restore him, and for the Issue let God do what he will.

§ 73. This was their *Resolution*, but in their *Expectations* they much differed: for those of them that converse with the Nobles and Great Men, and heard from them an high Character of the King, as to his Temper and Piety, were apt to believe them: and had great hopes, that because he had taken the Covenant himself, he would be moderate in settling all Matters of the Church, and would allow the Presbyterians liberty to preach the Gospel in their Parish-Churches! and that he would remove the Subscriptions, and leave the Common Prayer and Ceremonies indifferent, so that they should not be cast out of the Churches. Others thought that the Prelates, being once set up, there would be no place for Non-subscribers in the Publick Churches: but yet that if we were the means of the King's Restoration, the Prelates would not for shame deny us such Liberty as the Protestants have in *France*; and that Protestants would not deny that to Protestants, after such an Obligation, which Papists granted them. But a third sort said, You know not the Principles or Spirit of the Prelates, if you look for any Liberty in Publick or in Private, to be granted to any that do not conform. We all look to be Silenced, and some or many of us imprisoned or banished: but yet we will do our parts to restore the King, because no foreseen ill consequence, must hinder us from our Duty: And if ignorant Men be put into our places, and never so many Souls perish by it, the Fault is not ours, but theirs that do it. And a fourth sort there were, that foreseeing the Silencing of the Ministers, said, We are sure that there are not competent Men (much less excellent) in *England*, to supply the place of one among many of those that will be cast out; and we know that God useth to work by Means: and therefore that the Change is like to be the damnation of many thousand Souls: and we do not believe that we are bound (all things considered) to be forward to bring such a Work to pass: But we will stand by, and see what God will do, and will not hinder it.

§ 74. Those that look for Liberty, were encouraged in their Expectations by these Means following :

1. All the Noblemen and Gentry that had been Sequestred for the King's Cause against the old Parliament, did in several Counties, publish Invitations to all Men to promote the King's Reduction, protesting against Thoughts of Revenge or Uncharitableness, and professing their Resolution to put up all Injuries and live in Peace.

2. Afterward his Majesty sent over a Promise of Liberty of Conscience, as these Men understood it : but indeed it was but a Profession of his readiness to consent to any Act which the Parliament should offer to him to that end.

3. Dr. Morley, and other of the Divines on that side, did privately meet with several Persons of Honour, and some Ministers, and professed Resolutions for great Moderation and Lenity.

§ 75. But those that look'd for silencing, cruelty, and Confusion, said, that from the Beginning (except a few inconsiderable Persons) it was all the Enemies of serious Godliness in the Land, who were on the one side ; and it was the Friends of serious Godliness who were the main Body on the other side : That the Enmity between the Woman's and the Serpent's Seed is the most unreconcilable in the World : That all the Hypocrites and carnal Sort of Formal Pharisaical Christians will persecute them that are born after the Spirit : That Wars and Sequestrations, and Cromwel's severity against them, have exasperated them ; so that we shall have natural Enmity and Malice sublimated to deal with ; and that they will revenge all their real and seeming Injuries ; that these twenty Years Tryal hath proved them unreconcilable : That their carnal Interest will continually engage them against serious Godliness ; and a Man of Conscience that cannot say or swear or do any thing which they command him, will be taken by them for a Schismatick and Enemy : That the late Wars hath given them Advantage to cast the Odium of Civil Broils upon Religion, and of other Mens Faults upon the innocent ; so that there Interest will certainly lead them to call all those Rebels that swear not to their Words ; and every Man whose Religion is not ceremonious and complemental shall be called a Presbyterian, and every Presbyterian a Rebel : And whereas heretofore they had no worse Names to call godly Men by, than the foolish Names of Puritans and Roundheads, henceforth if a Man will not be as bad as others, he shall be called an Enemy to the Government : And though not one of forty of the Ministers ever medled with the Wars, they shall all fare alike if they be not Prelatists. Thus did Men differ in their Expectations.

§ 76. When I was at London, the new Parliament being called, they presently appointed a Day of Fasting and Prayer for themselves : The House of Commons chose Mr. Calamy, Dr. Gauden, and my self to preach and pray with them at St. Margaret's Westminster. In that Sermon, I uttered some Passages that were after matter of some Discourse : Speaking of our Differences and the way to heal them, I told them that whether we should be Loyal to our King was none of our Differences ; in that we are all agreed ; it being not possible that a Man should be true to the Protestants Principles, and not be Loyal ; as it was impossible to be true to the Papists Principles and to be Loyal : And for the Concord now wish'd in matters of Church-Government, I told them it was easy for moderate Men to come to a fair Agreement, and that the late Reverend Primate of Ireland and my self had agreed in half an Hour. I remember not the very Words, but you may read them in the Sermon, which was printed by order of the House of Commons.

The last Day of April 1660. I preached to the Parliament.

§ 77. As soon as this printed Sermon came abroad, the Papists were enraged against me ; and one nameless Gentleman wrote a Pamphlet to challenge me to make good my Charge : And others sent me Letters with their Names (real or counterfeit) containing the same Challenge ; but never told me where they dwelt, nor how I might convey an Answer to them ; whereas the heedless Challengers might have seen that I fully performed what I undertook, and answered their Challenge before they sent it, in the Sermon it self, when I cited Can. 3. of the General Council at the Laterane under Pope Innocent III. which I have done in other Places again and again to provoke them to make some Answer to it ; but never could procure it of them : But to gratifie these Gentlemen, I began to write a fuller Proof of what I there affirmed ; but I was advised not to publish it, considering the Power and Malice of the Papists, and how greatly (though they called for it) they would be enraged by it, and in likelihood quickly work my Ruine.

May 1.
1660. the
Parliament
owned the
King, and
voted his
Recall.

§ 78. The next Morning after this Day of Fasting, did the Parliament unanimously Vote home the King, *Nemine contradicente*; and do that which former Actions had but prepared for.

§ 79. The City of *London* about that time was to keep a Day of solemn Thanksgiving, for General *Monkes* Success; and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen desired me to preach before them at *St. Paul's-Church*: Wherein I so endeavoured to shew the Value of that Mercy, as to shew also how Sin and Mens Abuse might turn it into matter of Calamity, and what should be right Bounds and Qualifications of that Joy. The Moderate were pleased with it; the Fanaticks were offended with me for keeping such a Thanksgiving; the Diocesane Party thought I did suppress their Joy: The Words may be seen in the Sermon ordered to be printed.

§ 80. But the other Words about my Agreement with Bishop *Usher*, in the Sermon before the Parliament, put me to most Trouble. For presently many moderate Episcopal Divines came to me to know what those Terms of our Agreement were: And thinking verily that others of their Party had been as moderate as themselves, they entered upon Debates for our general Concord; and we agreed as easily among our selves in private, as if almost all our Differences were at an end. Among others I had Speech about it with Dr. *Gauden*, who promised to bring Dr. *Morley*, and many more of that Party to meet with some of the other Party at Dr. *Bernard's* Lodging in *Grays-Inn*; there came none on that side but Dr. *Gauden*, and Dr. *Bernard*; and none of the other side but Dr. *Manton* and my self; and so little was done but only Desires of Concord expressed: But whereas I told Dr. *Gauden* [That for the Doctrinal Part of the Common-Prayer-Book, though I knew that there were many Exceptions against it, yet I remembered nothing which I could not assent to, allowing it but the favourable Interpretation which the Writings of all Divines are allowed]: He took Advantage from these Words to praise my Moderation in the next Book which he printed, as if I had spoke this of the Liturgy in general, as a Frame of Worship, leaving out the first Words [*As to the Doctrinal Part*] to which only I limited my Assent: So that I was put in print so far to vindicate my self, as to set down the true Words; which he never contradicted. Thus Men were every day talking of Concord, but to little purpose, as appeared in the Issue.

§ 81. And because I heard that Dr. *Morley* was a Moderate Orthodox Man, and had often Meetings with Dr. *Manton* and others, whom he encouraged with Pacificatory Professions, and that he had greatest Interest in the King and the Lord Chancellor, I had a great desire to have one hours Discourse with him, to know whether really Concord was intended: And when he gave me a Meeting, and we had spent an Hour in Discourse, I found that he spake of Moderation in the general, but came to no particular Terms, but past by what I mentioned of that Nature: But speaking much for Liturgies, against Extemporary Church-Prayers, he told me at last that the *Jansenists* were numerous among the Papists, and many among the *French* inclined to Peace, and that on his knowledge, if it were not for the Hinderances which *Calvin* had laid in the way, most on this side the *Alpes* would come over to us. And this was all I could get from him.

§ 82. When the King was to be sent for by the Parliament, certain Divines with others were sent by the Parliament and City to him into *Holland*; viz. Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Bowles*, and divers others; and some went voluntarily; to whom his Majesty gave such encouraging Promises of Peace, as raised some of them to high Expectations: And when he came in, as he past through the City towards *Westminster*, the *London* Ministers in their Places attended him with Acclamations, and by the Hands of old Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, presented him with a Rich-adorned Bible, which he received, and told them it should be the Rule of his Actions.

§ 83. About this time I had some Conference with one (that called himself) *William Johnson*, a Papist; the Occasion, Progress, and End of which I will here give you at once, to avoid farther Interruptions by it.

When I was at *Kidderminster*, 1659. one Mr. *Langhorn*, a Furrier in *Walbrook*, sent me a Sheet of Paper subscribed by *William Johnson*, containing an Argument against our Church, & want of perpetual Visibility; or, That none but the Church of *Rome*, and those in Communion with it, had been successively visible; casting all on his Opponent to prove our Churches constant Visibility. He that sent this Paper desired me to answer it as for some Friends of his who were unsatisfied. I sent him an Answer the next Day after I received it. To this, some Weeks after I received a Reply: This Reply had cited many Fathers and Councils, and as the use is, brought the Controversy into the Wood of Church-History. To this I drew up a large Rejoinder, and sent it by the Carrier; though I was not rich enough to keep

keep an Amanuensis, and had not leisure my self to transcribe, yet as it well happened I had got a Friend to write me a Copy of my Rejoinder : For it fell out that the Carrier lost the Copy which I gave him to carry to *London*, and professed that he never knew what became of it : And no wonder, when I after learnt that my Antagonist lived within five or six Miles of me, whom I supposed to have lived one hundred and fifty Miles off : When I expected an Answer, I received a Month after an Insulting Challenge of a speedy Answer, and this seconded with another, all calling for haste. I suppose he thought I had kept no Copy, but as soon as I could get it transcrib'd I sent it him ; and I heard no more of Mr. *Johnson* in a Twelve-month. When I was at *London* I went to Mr. *Langborne*, and desired him to procure me an Answer to my Papers from Mr. *Johnson*, or that I might know that I should have none : At last he told me that Mr. *Johnson* would come speak with me himself ; which he did, and would have put off all the Business with a few Words, but would promise me no Answer. At last by Mr. *Tillotson* I was informed that his true Name was *Terret*, and that he lived in the House of a certain Nobleman near our parts, and that being much in *London*, he is there the chief Hector, or great Disputer for the Papists ; and that he was the chief of the two Men who had held and printed the Dispute with Dr. *Pierston* and Dr. *Gunning* : And when I saw what Advantage he had got by printing that Dispute, I resolved that he should not do so by me, and so I printed all our Papers ; but before I printed them, I urged him to some farther Conference ; and at our next meeting I told him how necessary it was that we should agree first of the meaning of our Terms, and I wrote down some few [as Church, Pope, Council, Bishop, Heresy, Schism, &c.] which I desired him to explain to me under his Hand promising him the like whenever he desired it ; which when I had got from him, I gave him some Animadversions on it, shewed their Implications ; to which he answered, and to that I replied : And when he came no more to me, nor gave me any Answer, I printed all together ; which made him think it necessary at last to write a Confutation : whereto I have since published a full Rejoinder to which I can procure no Answer.

§ 84. And not long after, hearing that the Countess of *Balcarras* was not well, I went to visit her, and found her grievously afflicted for her eldest Daughter, the Lady *Ann Lindsey* about sixteen or seventeen Years of Age, who was suddenly turned Papist by she knew not whom. She told me, that when she first heard of it she desired Dr. *Gunning* to meet with the Priest to dispute with him, and try if her Daughter might be recovered, who pretended then to be in Doubt : And that Dr. *Gunning* first began to persuade her Daughter against the Church of *Scotland* which she had been bred in, as no true Church, and after disputed but about the Pope's Infallability, and left her Daughter worse than before ; and that she took it to be a strange way to deliver her Daughter from Popery, to begin with a Condemnation of the Reformed Churches as no true Churches, and confess that the Church and Ministry of *Rome* was true. She desired me that I would speak to her Daughter, and try whether she would yet enter into Conference about the Reason of her Faith. But she utterly refused it, and would say nothing to that purpose, but refer us to the Church, and profess her acquiescence in its Judgment, and when I desired to know of her, how she knew what was the Judgment of the Church ; whether it were not merely the Word of the Priest that satisfied her in this, and therefore desired her that she would hear that Priest or Jesuit on whose Word she built all her Faith, in the Presence of some one that was fit to help her in the Trial of his Assertions, and intreated her to procure a Conference in her hearing between him and me, she promised readily that it should be done. The next time I came again, and askt whether she had spoke with him about it, and whether time and place were agreed on ; she confidently told me that he was ready to do it when I pleased, and that all he desired was, that my Promise might secure him from Accusation, and from the danger of the Law, and that was all that he was solicitous for. I offered her to bring only two Witnesses on each side, and that we might have two days Conference or Dispute ; in one of which he should give his Reasons why she ought to change her Religion, and I would answer them ; and in the other I would give my Reasons why she ought not to change, and he should answer me ; and I thought this the clearest and most impartial Method for the discerning of the Truth. And I promised her all the Security which I could procure him from any danger. The next time I came to know the Day, she told me the Gentleman would not meet nor dispute : I desired to know the Reason : But she told me that she did not know her self : I intreated her to procure some other

This was
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to do it, in whom she put the greatest Confidence, and desired her to take the ablest she could get among all the Jesuits or Priests of the Queen or the Queen-Mother, with whom I knew she was not unacquainted. But she would not undertake for any; whereupon I was forced to urge her with Provocations, and tell her, that seeing she was forced to resolve all her Faith into the Word of particular Priests, by which only she knew the Sense of the Church, and all that History which induced her to believe that *Rome* was the true Church, she seemed very little to regard her Soul, who would so far venture it upon the Words of Men that would not be provoked to an equal Conference in her hearing. The next day I came, I urged her again to procure a Conference: She told me that the Gentleman would not consent: And when I urged her to tell me his Reason, she told me that he knew me very well, and that he had very high Thoughts of me, and that it was not now through any fear of Danger, for he durst venture his Life in my Hands; but since he knew it was me that he was to meet with, he would not come; but would not tell her why. And though still I told her that there were more enough if he refused, I could not procure her to bring any of them to a Dispute. But at last, when I purposely continued to provoke them, she told me that he would yield to Dispute, so it might be done only in Writing, and not a Word spoken, nor any thing written but Syllogistically and according to the strictest Rules of Disputation. I told her, 1. That I supposed that she understood not when an Argument was in Mood and Figure; nor what a Fallacy was, and therefore that this was not designed to her Edification. 2. That I supposed that she had not read one of many of all those Books already written against them which are unanswered: And if *Writing* will serve turn, a printed Argument is as good as a written one: Nor had she read the late Disputation between Mr. *Johnson* and me: nor were any one of my Books against them yet answered, and why then should I write more till those were answered. 3. I told her that Mr. *Johnson's* Writing and mine held us above a Twelvemonth, and yet was not driven to the Head: And I asked her whether she would be willing to wait a Year or two, and suspend her Resolution in Religion, till she saw the Issue of our Disputation in Writing. 4. I told her that it was like that he that offered this, understood that by his Majesty's Pleasure, I was then newly engaged in another Work, which occasioned him to make this Offer. 5. But yet that her Deceiver might have no Excuse, I offered her that I would do all that he desired, and manage it in Writing, so be it, he would first but spend two Hours in verbal Disputation in the way I had proposed, *viz.* That he should spend one Hour in giving his Reasons for her Change, and I might answer them; and the other Hour I would give my Reasons against it, and he should answer me: And after that we would go to it by Writing. But a Day or two after, when I came for Answer to this Proposal, the Lady was gone, being secretly stolen from her Mother in a Coach, and so I understood the meaning of this Offer, and never could see the Face of any of her Priests.

§ 85. At last it was discovered that the Man that seduced her and refused Disputation, was this Mr. *Johnson* (or *Terret*) the same Man that I had before conferred and wrote with: And yet when I asked her whether it were he, she plainly and positively said it was not; and when a Servant went after her Coach and overtook her in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, she positively promised to come again, and said, she went but to see a Friend. Also she complained to the Queen-Mother, of her Mother, as if she used her hardly for Religion, which was false: in a Word, her Mother told me, that before she turned Papist, she scarce ever heard a Lye from her; and since then she could believe nothing that she said. This was the Darling of that excellent, wise, religious Lady (the Widow of an excellent Lord); which made the Affliction great, and taught her to moderate her Affections to all Creatures. This Perversion had been a long time secretly working before she knew of it; all which time the young Lady would join in Prayer with her Mother, and jeer at Popery till she was detected, and then she said she might join with them no more.

§ 86. They that stole her away, conveyed her to *France*, and there put her into a Nunnery, where she is since dead. Not long after her departure, she sent a Letter superscribed to her Lady Mother, &c. and subscribed, *Sister Anna Maria*, &c. It contained the Reasons of her Perversion: And though I knew they were not like to suffer her to read it, I wrote an Answer to it, at her Mother's desire, which was sent to her by her Mother. The Letter which I sent her the day before she was stolen away, and the Answer to that her Letter from the Nunnery, I thought meet here to insert, which are as followeth.

*The Letter to the Lady Anne Lindsey.**Madam!*

THE Reasons that moved me to be so importunate with you for a Conference in your hearing with the ablest Jesuit, Priest, or other Papist you could get, were (as I told you) 1. My very highesteem of your truly Honourable Mother; whose Sorrow hath been so great for your Delusion, that I must confess, though but a Stranger, I suffer much with her by Compassion. And as it would much relieve her if you were recovered, so if God deny her that Mercy, it will somewhat satisfy her Conscience, that she hath not been wanting in the use of means. 2. And for your own sake, whom I the more compassionate, because you are not only the Daughter of such Parents, but of so modest and sober a Disposition yourself, that I am not out of hopes of your Recovery, though the Disease be such as few are cured of, that catch it by relapse and desertion of the Truth.

I can imagine nothing but Consciousness of a bad Cause, that can cause them thus to decline a Conference. You say the Person well knoweth me (though I know not him) and dare trust himself, &c. why then will he not meet me to debate the Cause? He cannot but have exceeding great odds or advantages of me as to personal preparations: for they are trained up meely to this work (I am loath to say to deceive) and have all the helps that Art can afford them. I was never of any Universitie, nor had one Months assistance of any Tutor in all my Studies, of Sciences or Theology. If you can get no Jesuit, Fryar or Priest that will fairly debate his Cause with one of so poor Preparations and Abilities, doth it not shew that they are lamentably diffident of their Cause. All the Conditions or Terms that I desire to be before agreed to are but these. 1. That I may one day produce my Reasons why you should not have turned Papist, and therefore should return; and he Answer them as I urge them. And that the next day (or the first if he desire it) he will produce his Reasons why you ought to turn to them as you did, and I answer them. 2. That we may speak by turns, without interrupting one another. 3. That whatever Passages must be determined by Books (or Witnesses) that are not at hand, they may be noted down, and left till there be leisure to peruse them. 4. That there be two Witnesses on each side (of whom one to be a Scribe) and as many more as he desireth: And I, and those with me, shall be engaged to do him no wrong by any discovery of his Person, to endanger him as to the Law or Governours. This is all that I should oblige him to beforehand. I again intreat you, if one will not, get another to moderate the Work. I understand by you, that the Person you depend on avoideth me not in any Contempt: for you tell me he hath *honourable thoughts of me, and well knoweth me*. If so, why will he not confer with me, as well as he hath done with Dr. Gunning?

For Writing, 1. It's like he knoweth that I am *here* engaged in so much unavoidable Work, that I have scarce time to eat or sleep. 2. You cannot but know that by Writing it's like to be a year, or many years work: And themselves have cut me out Work enough already for my Pen, if I had no more (and now would take me off it, that I might be forced to omit one). I look not to live to end a Dispute by Writing, so many are my Infirmities, and are you content to stay so long before you have the benefit? 3. If Writings will be useful to you, may you not as well read what is written already? Many great Volumes are yet unanswered by them. 4. I have already written divers Writings against their Delusions (*viz. The Safe Religion; A Key for Catholicks, &c. A Winding sheet for Popery; The true Catholick and the Catholick Church described; A Disputation with Mr. Johnson about the Successive Visibilty of the Church*) and they never answered any one of them; no not so much as the single Sheet that ever I heard of. When they have answered them *all*, let them call for more, or offer writing. 5. But yet, rather than be wanting to you, let the Person but vouchsafe me this Verbal Conference first, and try what we can do in a few hours there, and if there shall then appear to be cause to prosecute it by Writing, I intend not to fail of taking the first opportunity for it, that greater Duties will permit. I have done my part in urging you and them with my offer, till you call me unto more.

In the mean time, Madam, may I intreat you to read impartially and deliberately, 1. My little Book called, *The True Catholick and Catholick Church, &c.* (which

' I shall send or bring you). 2. My Preface before the Disputation with Mr. *Johnson* and the Letters in the end, and the Second Part, and then the first. 3. My two first Books against Popery (*The Safe Religion* and *The Key*): For your former reading of them; before any doubting had made you observe the stress of Arguments, is nothing; if you will but now read them again impartially after your contrary Conceptions, continue a Papist if you can. And truly if you will not do thus much for your own Soul, because Men engage you to the contrary, that dare not appear to make good their own Cause, I must be a Witness against you before the Lord, that you wilfully refused Instruction, and sold your Soul at too cheap a rate.

' I tried when I was last with you, to revive your Reason, by proposing to you the Infallibility of the Common Senses of all the World; and I could not prevail though you had nothing to answer that was not against Common Sense. And it is impossible any thing controverted can be brought nearer you, or made plainer than to be brought to your Eyes and Taste and Feeling: and not yours only, but all Mens else. Sense goes before Faith. Faith is no Faith but upon Supposition of Sense and Understanding; if therefore Common Sense be fallible, Faith must needs be so.

' But methinks yet I should have hope of reviving your Charity: You cannot be a Papist indeed, but you must believe, that out of their Church (that is out of the Pope's Dominions) there is no Salvation; and consequently no Justification and Charity, or saving Grace: And is it possible you can so easily believe your religious Father to be in Hell; your prudent, pious Mother to be void of the Love of God, and in a state of Damnation; and not only me (that am a Stranger to you) but all the Millions of better People in the World, to be in the same State (of Gracelessness and Damnation) and all because we believe not that the Pope is Christ's Vicar General, or Deputy on Earth, and dare not subject ourselves to his usurped Dominions? When we are ready to protest before the Lord, as we shall answer it at his Bar, that we would be his Subjects but for Fear of the high Displeasure of the true Head and King of the Church, and for fear of sinning and Damning our own Souls: And that we are heartily willing to read, and study and pray, and hear all that can be said for them; and some of us read as much of their Writings as of our own and more; and would not stick at Cost or Pains, or Loss or Shame; were it to travail over Land and Sea to find out that they are in the Right (if that would do it, and they be so indeed). But the more we study, the more we pray to God for his Assistance, the more diligently we search, we are the more resolved and convinced, that their way, as it differeth from ours, is false; and that they are the most Superstitious, Tyrannical, Leprous part of the Catholick Church, condemning the main Body, because they will not be under their abominable Dominion, and will not sin as much as they. We hold all that was held necessary by the Apostles and the ancient Church; and we dare not make a new Faith to our selves, as the Papal Sectaries have done: Must we renounce both our Sense and Reason, and put out the Eye of Natural Understanding, and also renounce the Catholick Church and Christian Charity, and step into the Throne, and pronounce Damnation not only upon all the Saints of God that we have been acquainted with our selves, but also on the Body of Christ which he died for, even on the far greatest part of the Universal Church; and all this because they will not depart from the Word of God, to corrupt his Doctrine, Discipline and Worship, and herein obey an usurping Vice Christ? must we do all this, or else be judged to Damnation by the Sectaries of Rome? For my part, I shall be so far from fearing their Sentence, that I appeal to Christ, whose Body they condemn; and I had rather be tortured in their Inquisition, and cut as small as Herbs to the Pot, and be accounted the odiouslest Wretch on Earth, than be guilty of being a Papist at all, but especially on such hellish Terms as these. If the greater part of the Church must be damned as no part of the Church, it will be impossible to prove your Sect or Fragment to be the Church, any more than any other. Christ is the Saviour of his Body, *Eph. 5. 23*, and to him, as to its Head, it's subject, *ver. 24*. and this Body is that which is sanctified by him, *ver. 26*. And by one Spirit all his Members are baptized into one Body, *1 Cor. 12. 12, 13*. Did you never note, where the Unity of the Body is fullest described, that Apostles themselves are made but Members, and Christ only the Head, *1 Cor. 27, 28, 29. Eph. 4. 4, 5, 7, 11*. There is but one Lord, &c. but diversity of gifts, of whom the Apostles are the chief. And when Thousands were added to the Church, (even such as should be saved, *Acts 2. 47*.) what made them Christians but the Baptismal

'tisfimal Covenant ? and what were they Baptized into, but into the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ? Peter or Paul baptized none into their own Names, nor dare the Pope himself, lest his Innovation be too visible. Christ hath said, *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved*, Mark 16. 16. Did they ever then subject any Baptism to the Bishop of Rome ? Was the Eunuch *Acts 8.* subjected to the Pope, that only saith [*I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God*] and was Baptized ? If men could not be saved without believing in the Pope, and being subject to the Church of Rome, how comes it to pass that none of the Apostles preached this necessary Article of Faith ? Why did they never say, You must believe in, or be subject to the Pope of Rome, or you cannot be saved ? Would they be so unfaithful as to hide a necessary Article ? Why did Peter himself, *Acts 2.* by Baptism take Three thousand into the Church without preaching any of this Doctrine to them. The Gospel professeth, that *he that hath the Son hath Life*, 1 Joh. 5. 11, 12. and *whosoever believeth in him shall not perish but have everlasting life*, Joh. 3. 16. and that *there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, that walk not after the Flesh but after the Spirit*. And now up steps a Man of Rome, and presumeth to Reverse the Gospel, and say, [*It's no such matter; for all this they shall not be saved, unless they will be my Subjects ?*]

'If you say that those may be saved that Sin for want of Light ; I answer, 1. On this account your Doctors teach the Salvation of Heathens, (Are those of your Church ?) and so no otherwise of Christians than of Heathens. 2. Either these wanting your Light are *in the Church* or *out*. If *in* it, then a Man may be of the Church without being a Papist, which is against your Faith. If *out* of it, then it seems Men out of the Church may be saved, and Christ is the Saviour of more than his Body, which is against your Faith and ours. 3. Who is it that hath sufficient Light ? if all that have heard or read the frivolous Reasonings of the Papists, then your Parents, and almost all of us must perish : But if it be any other Light which must be had, you know not what measure to give us to discern it, nor ever will know ; and so you make your Church *invisible*, while the Members of it cannot be known : For none can know of another (by your Rule) whether his Light be sufficient or not ? And I pray you, are not all the *Indians of America*, that never heard of Christ, the Members of your Church ? for their Light sure is not sufficient to shew them either the Pope or Christ. Hath he the heart of a right Christian that can thus damn two or three parts of all the Christians in the World, for not believing in a Wretch at Rome, that sometime is an Infidel himself, (for so was Pope *John 23.* judged to be, by the great General Council at *Constance*, even one that believed no Resurrection, which is worse than a Turk, or Jew, or some Heathens).

'And it's a wonder to me, that if your own Soul hath ever been seriously conversant with God in Holy Worship, you can savour and suit with the Cantings, and Repetitions, and Stage-Devotions of the Papists : and that a Latin Mass should be believed to be the acceptable way of Worship ; when the Holy Ghost hath so plainly and copiously disowned that serving of God *in an unknown tongue*, 1 Cor. 14.

'Pardon me, if I intreat you to make a deliberate search into your Heart and former Ways, and try whether you conversed with God in the Spirit, and were serious in your Faith and Love and Worship : If you were not, no wonder if an unsound superficial Religion be easily let go, and such an unexperienced Heart can suit with a Canting, Carnal, ludicrous kind of Devotion ; or if God so far forsake a Soul that was not sound and serious in the Religion once professed by you. But if it was better with you, then its strange your Soul can so lose its relish ; and its stranger that one, that was a Member of Christ, and in the Church and justified before, should turn to a Sect that tells them, they were not what they were, and must come to them for what they had already.

'And whereas all the pretence you shew me for your Change was the difference that you found amongst us Protestants, and our condemning one another, do you not know that in Policy, greater Differences are tolerated among the Papists under the Names of divers Orders, by far than any are between the Presbyterian, Independant and Episcopal Protestants. And that none but ungodly or uncharitable passionate People with us, do deny any of these Parties to be true Members of the Universal Church : If you here met with any one that doth condemn the other, as no parts of the Church of Christ, they spake not according to the Protestant Religion, and you can no more charge us with the Railings of every Fellow that is drunk with domineering Pride or Passion, than with the words of the next Scold or Quaker, or Papist that you shall hear Reviling us. 'I

' I have said more to you than at first I intended. I look on you as one about
' that Age, when Conscience useth to receive its first serious deep Impressions, and
' the Papists falling in with you just at that time, (I doubt before you had hear-
' tily received the Life of what before you professed, and had time to be rooted
' and stablished in the Truth) the opportunity served them to your Delusion :
' That it may not prove to your everlasting Destruction, shall be the Prayers, and
' if you admit them, the faithful Endeavours of

Dec. I. 1660.

Your Servant in obedience to Christ,

though to no Vice-Christ,

Rich. Baxter.

The Answer to the Lady Anne Lindsey's Letter to her Mother.

Madam !

' **I**T pleased the truly honourable Lady your Mother to shew me your Letter
' directed to her from *Calice*, and to give me leave to send you my Animadver-
' sions upon it : which I am the willinger to do, because I perceive you have there
' contracted the Reasons most commonly used for the perverting of the Ignorant,
' and which its likely have prevailed most with your self : (You must give me
' leave to be free and plain with you in the Matters of God and of Salvation).
' I think it meet to leave the first part of your Letter (of the Point of Obedience)
' to your Mother's Animadversions : It is the Doctrinal Part that I shall speak
' to.

' You say that [*Heresies against Faith, expressed by the Name of Sects, cut us off from
' Heaven, and that an Anathema is on them that preach any other Doctrine than what was
' preached by the Apostles*]. How far Heresie cuts off from the Church, I have di-
' stinctly shewed you in the end of my Book against Mr. Johnson, on that Questi-
' on : but while you expect your Mother should consider of your Reasons, you
' will not your self peruse an Answer to them, which before was tendered you :
' whom then can you blame if your Soul be cheated. Briefly, you err in Con-
' founding *Sects* and *Heresies*, which are not the same. Heresies indeed, which are
' false Doctrines *practically inconsistent* with the *Essentials of Christian Faith*, do cut Men
' off from a state of Life, or shew them to be Aliens : but lesser Errours, called
' Heresies by ignorant or uncharitable Men, do un-Church none. Herein I plead
' for you : for if they did, then wo to the Church of *Rome*, that hath so many Er-
' rours : And if it be damnable to be a *Sect*, all Papists must be damned ; they be-
' ing as certainly a *Sect* as there is any in the World : A corrupt part of the Uni-
' versal Church, condemning the rest, and pretending to be it self the whole, is a
' *Sect* or Party of Schismatics : but such are the Papists : Therefore they are a
' *Sect, &c.* But this is not the worst ; You consequently Anathematize all Papists
' by your Sentence : for Heresies by your own Sentence cut off Men from Hea-
' ven : But Popery is a bundle of Heresies : Therefore it cuts off Men from Hea-
' ven. The *minor* I prove according to your Churches Principles, that Doctrine is
' Heresie which is contrary to a *point* of Faith : But many of the Papists Doctrines
' are contrary to Points of Faith : *Ergo, &c.* To pass by now all those Points of
' Popery which are contrary to what the Holy Scripture revealeth for us to be-
' lieve (which are many) I only instance in the Point of *Sovereignty*, is contrary
' to the Determination of our General Councils. That which is contrary to what
' a General Council pronounceth to be *believed*, is (in the Papists sence) a Here-
' sie : But that the Pope is above a General Council, and that a General Council
' is above the Pope, are both determined to be believed by General Councils : The
' first by the Councils, at the *Laterane* and *Florence* ; and the second by the Coun-
' cils at *Constance* and *Basil* : They are both Heresies therefore, because they are
' both against General Councils : and they are both Points of Popery, because both
' determined in General Councils, (as I have proved in my *Key, &c.*) If you
' will peruse a Catalogue in the End of my Book, called *The Safe Religion*, or
' the

' the Thirty two Novelties mentioned in my *Key*, pag. 142, 143, 144. you will
' see whether Popery be Error. If any other Doctrine contrary to Christ's do in-
' fer an *Anathema*, then everlasting Woe to Papists. And here you may see the
' Safety of the true Catholicks that have rejected Popery : Our Religion is all con-
' tained in the Holy Scripture ; we profess to have no other Rule ; and you charge
' us not (that I know of) with believing too much by holding any positive Error,
' but with believing too little, because we believe not your supernumerary Articles :
' And therefore you cannot say, that we teach any other Doctrine than Christ's :
' though you fancy that we teach not all, because we teach not your Traditions.
' But on the contrary, we prove that you teach another Doctrine, and many such,
' which Christ never delivered to the Church. But yet to abate your severe Self-
' condemnation, let me excuse you thus far, as to say, that you do it upon mistake :
' For Gal. 1. saith not, [*Let him be accursed that preacheth another Doctrine*] but [*another Gospel* :] While it is the same Gospel in the Essentials that is preached and be-
' lieved, this *Anathema* belongs not even to you that err, till you come to contra-
' dict the Essence and make it [*another Gospel*] as well as [*another Doctrine*].

' If you have made it your whole business till seventeen Years of Age to [*pray*
' *to God to direct you to follow his Doctrine*] it's like that I (and many another)
' have made it at least, as much of our Business till forty six Years of Age, as
' ever you did, and with better Advantage, and yet are as confident of the Falseness
' of your Doctrine, as we are that the Earth doth bear us ; here therefore you
' are not beforehand with us.

' But what have you found that cheated or frighned you into Popery : 1. [*The*
' *variety of Judgments* :] But you never found the far greater variety among Pa-
' pists ? You never read the voluminous Dispute between the Dominicans and Je-
' suits (to overpass the rest) ; or perhaps you will (as others do) expect that the
' very same Opinion be a Heresy in a *Calvanist*, and none in a *Dominicane* or *Jan-*
' *senist* : or a Heresy in a *Lutheran* and none in a *Jesuit* : You will run out of *Eng-*
' *land* because of Mens diversity of Complexions, and finding a greater Diversity in
' *France*, expect it should be esteemed none. If I prove not before any impartial
' Judge, that the Papists have far more and greater Differences amongst themselves
' than the reformed Churches, called Protestants (yea, I doubt not, I may add,
' than Greeks, Calvinists, Lutherans, and many more such set together) then let
' your Imagination go for Truth. *Bellarmino* himself hath enumerated enough.

' 2. You say, [*the Scripture admits of no private Interpretation*]. But 1. You
' abuse the Text and your self with a false Interpretation of it, in these Words.
' An Interpretation is called private, either as to the *Subject Person*, or as to the *Inter-*
' *preter* : You take the Text to speak of the latter, when the Context plainly
' sheweth you that it speaks of the former : The Apostle directing them to under-
' stand the Prophecies of the Old Testament, gives them this Caution ; That none
' of these Scriptures that are spoken of Christ the publick Person, must be inter-
' preted as spoken of *David* or other private Persons only, of whom they were
' mentioned but as Types of Christ : It is subjectively a private Interpretation to
' restrain that Scripture (e. g. the Second Psalm) to *David* or other ordinary Men,
' which the Holy Ghost intended of the Messiah. But here's no talk against *Pri-*
' *vate Interpreters*, but only against a *Private Interpretation*. 2. But suppose it were
' as you imagin, and the publick Judgment of any Case suppose a Publick Inter-
' preter ; yet every Man must see with his own Eyes, and their private Judgment
' of Discretion must be according to their private, that is, personal Interpretation :
' Or else your Churches Interpretation must have another publick Interpretation,
' and that another, and so endlessly : If we can understand your Councils (which
' your Doctors disagree about) without another publick Interpretation, we may as
' easily understand the Scripture, or at least, much of it : And therefore that can
' be none of the Sence which you imagine [*no Scripture, &c.*] 3. Yea, sup-
' pose all Interpretation must be publick, and you may not presume to misunder-
' stand the Commands of Repentance, Faith or Love, without a publick Com-
' mentary, do you think this doth not make against you ? Is not the Interpretation
' of the *Papal Sect* a more private Interpretation than that of the *whole Church* : The
' Greek, Arminians, Abassines, Protestants, and so all the far greatest part of the
' Church interpret those Texts, which you wrest for the Papal Sovereignty, in a
' quite other Sense : And is not the Interpretation of your Fourth or Third part of
' the Church (that's partial in the Cause) more private than that of all the rest ?
' would you have Men care no more for their Souls than to cast them away upon
' the Delusion of such Reasonings as these ?

‘ 3. You next speak of [*Interpretations by Apostolical Tradition*]: But are sober People capable of such a Baffle, as to lay their Salvation on a Dream that never had a Being? Was there ever such a thing as an Interpretation of the Bible by Apostolical Tradition, without which, no Scripture must be interpreted? Where is that Commentary that the World never knew, and yet all must know it that will be saved? Written it is not, by Fathers, Popes, or Councils; and if unwritten, in whose Memory is it, and how learnt they it? Not in the Peoples, nor the generality of Pastors, for they (that were most learned) presume to write their private Interpretations and Commentaries (never giving us the publick Commentary) and take Liberty to differ about many hundred Texts among themselves, and are not these then gross Delusions.

‘ 4. You say, [the Church is a City set upon a Hill.] Christ speaks there of Preachers, but let it be of the whole Church. In good sadness can you believe that [the Universality of Christians] which is the true Catholick Church, is not more conspicuous than the Papal Faction, or any one particular Part? Should your Sect be judged more visible than the whole Christian World?

‘ 5. That the Church is the Pillar and Ground of Truth, the Possessors, Keepers and Teachers of God’s Oracles, and that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, is most sure and comfortable Truth. But what is this to Rome, any more than to Jerusalem or Alexandria? The Gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Body of Christ, the Universality of Christians, the true Catholick Church: But it may prevail against Corinthians, Gallateans, Romans, or any particular part: As it prevailed against Pope John XXII. alias XXIII. to make him deny the Resurrection, and against Pope Eugenius to make him a Heretick, if General Councils are to be believed.

‘ 6. As to what you say of [*Apostles still placed in the Church*]: When any shew us an immediate Mission by their Commission; and by Miracles, Tongues, and a Spirit of Revelation and infallibility prove themselves Apostles, we shall believe them. Till then we remember that Church that was commended for trying them that said they were Apostles, and were not, and finding them Lyes, Rev. 23. Peter and the Twelve Apostles with him we acknowledge, and Paul we acknowledge, but know none properly called Apostles, living now: But if it be only the Name and not the Office that you differ about; and by Apostles you mean not [*Men immediately sent by Christ to preach the Gospel with a Spirit of Miracles and Infallibility*] (which is our Sense of that Word) but some other sort of Men, then if they be ordinary Pastors or Bishops its no matter of Difference; if not, you must describe them before we can know them: They are to blame whoever they be, that they call not themselves Apostles, and tell us where, who, and how many they are, if they are so indeed.

‘ 7. They were to be accounted Heathens and Publicans that heard not the Church admonishing them: But sure other Pastors besides Apostles must admonish and be heard: And other Churches besides the Roman, must hold or refuse Communion, as is there signified; either you will (erroneously) have that Text understood of the Universal Church, or else (truly) of a Particular Church. If the former, what’s that to the Roman Church, that is but a (corrupted) Part? If the latter, it’s no more to the Roman than any other, which are particular Churches also; surely this is plain Truth if you are willing to see.

‘ 8. You say, [*The Faith of which Believers were, was that of the Romans spread through the World.*] Answ. Yes; and it was the Faith of the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians too, and all one: The Romans had not a Faith of their own specifically different from others: Nor did the Holy Ghost by the Apostles ever give one Word of Command to other Churches, to conform their Faith to Rome, or take that Church for their Mistress or Sovereign. These Fancies Pride hath set up against Christ: The Faith of Jerusalem was as much known through the World as that of Rome; and sure you think not that [being known through the World] made them the Rule or Rulers of the World.

‘ 9. [*Upon Observation, you find this Church shining as a Light, and set as a City on a Hill*] And was not Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, &c. so too? Sure they were. All faithful Preachers of the Gospel, especially the Apostles, were observable (as such Lights and City) to the World, that wondred at their Doctrine (which is all that Christ there saith); and (as I said) the universal Church is more observable than the Roman Sect: And other particular Churches are and were as Light and Conspicuous as it: And the most conspicuous Church hath from thence no Pretence to be the rule or Ruler of the rest.

10. You say, [*This Church hath been ever triumphant over Heresies.*] *Answer.*
 1. What! when *Honorius* was by two or three General Councils condemned for
 a Heretick? Pope *John XXII.* and *Eugenius*; as before said, for that and worse,
 (with many more.) 2. Woe to the Churches, if others had not conquered He-
 rely better than the Roman Party hath done. 3. And verily did you think that
 a particular Church is therefore the Rule or Ruler to the rest, because it triumph-
 eth over Heresy?

11. You add [*immoveable in Persecutions.*] *Answer.* 1. For they have been the
 great Persecutors, as Leeches sucking and swell'd with the Blood of Thousands and
 Ten Thousands of the Saints and Martyrs of Jesus: O the Blood that will be
 found among them, when the righteous Judge of all the World shall make Inqui-
 sition for Blood, among their Massacrees and Inquisitions. 2. Was that Church
 unmoveable in Persecution, when the Head of it (Pope *Marcellinus*) offered In-
 cense to Idols? And *Liberius* subscribed to the Arrians, and against *Athenasius*?
 What should I tell you of more, who I perceive are made believe the Crow is
 white? 3. Again, it is a pitiful Proof of their Rule, to prove them immutable
 in Persecution. The Church hath many Heads, if every Church or Bishop be
 its Head that hath stood fast in Persecution.

12. You add, [*And always watchful in the Succession of Pastors.*] I give you
 the same Answers: 1. watchful indeed! when their own Church Histories tell us
 of such Multitudes that came in by Symony or Poison, or other Murder or Vio-
 lence, that have been Hereticks (as aloreshe wd) or Adulterers, Murderers, and
 such impious Wretches as the Cannons depose; and when *John XII.* or *XIII.*
 was deposed by a Council for ravishing Maids and Wives at his Doors, and abun-
 dance more such Villanies; and *John XXII.* for worse; and when *Eugenius* con-
 tinued the Succession when a general Council had judged him a Heretick, wicked,
 deposed, &c. and when they have had such abundance of Schisms, having two,
 three or four Popes alive at once; and one Schism of Forty Years, in which no
 Man knew, or knows to this Day which was the true Pope: and when meer
 Possession is it that must prove their Succession. For (besides these Incapacities)
 Mr. *Johnson* you may see confesseth, that no one way of Election (by Cardi-
 nals, People, Emperors, Bishops, Councils, &c.) hath been held or is necessary,
 nor any Consecration necessary at all, to the being of the Pope. And if a Succession
 of bare Possession serve, how many Churches have the like? Yea, 2. *Constanti-*
nople, Ethiopia, Arimonia, and many other Churches have had a far more regular Succe-
 sion than *Rome*; or at least as good. 3. And it's a pitiful Argument, that because a
 Church hath had a Succession of Pastors, therefore they are the whole Church, and
 others are no part; or therefore they are the Rule and Rulers to the rest; or there-
 fore we must be of that particular Church only. Sure none denies the Succession of
 Pastors in *England*, as to meer possession of the Place, if that will serve the turn.

13. To what you say of being [*Men Holy, Catholick and Apostolick and cannot de-
 ceive you.*] I answer, 1. O dreadful Delusion! that a Church headed with hor-
 rid Monsters and not Men, as their own Histories describe a multitude of their
 Popes, should call it self and such Men Holy! Dare you read what I have writ-
 ten of their Holiness in my *Key, chap. 34. Detection 25.* or procure them to an-
 swer that and the rest there. 2. Are all that are Holy the Rule or Rulers to all
 others? when you have conversed among the Papists one seven Years, if Delusi-
 on leave you Reason and Impartiality, you will be more capable of comparing
 them with your own Parents, and such as you lived amongst here, and judging
 which were the more holy. 3. As [*Catholick*] signifieth a Member of the
 Church Catholick, or such as hold the Catholick Faith, so other Churches are much
 more such than *Rome*: As it signifieth [*the universal Church*] *Rome* is none such.
 The same I say of [*Apostolick*]: Those that are most exactly of the Apostolick
 Faith, are to be called Apostolick; but Woe to us if we were in that no better
 than *Rome*.

14. You may see now what pitiful Grounds you have, for flying into a Pest-
 house as a City of Refuge; or for forsaking all the cleanest Rooms in the House
 of God, and betaking your self to that Room that hath the most leprous infected
 Persons in it, as if it were the only Church of God. And for *Novelties*, O that
 the whole Case might there be tried! and let that Church that hath introduced
 most Novelties in Faith and Discipline and Worship be most rejected, as unclean.
 Were you impartial the several Rules of our Religion might put that part of the
 Controversy past Controversy with you: For our Rule of Religion is only the Ho-
 ly Scripture; (if you shew us that we misunderstand it, we shall renounce that

‘misunderstanding: but to misunderstand Scripture, is to make a new Rule; no more than to understand your Councils): And you know the Scripture is no Novelty, but the *Eldest*. Your Rule is Councils and Papal Decrees, which are new, contradictory, and endless; and you never know when you have all, and when your Faith is at its maturity, and no more to be added, under pretence of Determinations. If you dare read my 24th, 25th, and 35th *Decettion* in my *Key*, you may see quickly who are the Novelties: One chief Reason of my abhorring Popery, is that I am absolutely certain of its Novelty.

‘Madam, I must take the freedom to say, That when your Priests dare neither Dispute in your hearing, upon all the provoking offers that I made; nor yet will answer the Books that I have written, nor yet give you leave to read them, they have imprisoned your Soul in the partiality of a *Seet*; and while you are so unfaithful to your self, if you be miserable because you would not make use of the Remedy, and deluded because you are resolved or obliged from coming into the Light, your Friends will have an easier account to make for you before God, than your self; as having discharged their Duty, when you wilfully refuse yours. What you read formerly against Popery, before you doubted or heard their *Fallacies*, was as nothing I suppose: for I do not think you observed, or remember the stress of the *Argumentation* which you read. We will have leave to pray for you, though we cannot have leave to instruct you; and God may hear us, when you will not: which I have the more hopes of, because of the Piety of your Parents, and the Prayers and Tears of a tender Mother poured out for you, and your own well-meaning pious disposition: I have known some (such) Piety bred among us, carried by mistake into their Church; but little initially bred there: Though they pretend that Persons of Charity and the Spirit of God with us, must go to them to receive it. I would I knew whether you can say by true Experience, [I felt no true Love of God in my Soul before; but as soon as I turned *Papist*, I did, and have now the Spirit of God, and his Image, which before I never had]. Sure the Change of an Opinion about your Pope and Church is one thing; and the Renewing Grace, and Love of God, and Heavenly mindedness is another. I fear not your [Prayers bringing your Delusions, and Idolatry in your Mother’s Chamber (as to her self), while she walks uprightly with God: Nothing that I find in your *Manual*, or the *Maß-Book*, will ever have that power. For the Liberty of your Religion, which you say, you hope for on the Grounds of the King’s Declaration, I have no more to say, but 1. That I never loved Cruelty in any, and it hath increased my aversion to Popery, that I still observed that lying and uncharitable cruelty, have been the two Hands by which it makes such a bustle in the World. 2. And that if Italy, Spain, and Austria, Bavaria, &c. would grant Liberty to Protestants, we should see more Equality in the Expectations of it here: but if you get Dominion, as well as Liberty, it will be no Evidence of the Truth and Goodness of your Cause: Our God, our Rule, our Hope, our End and Portion, are the same in the *Inquisition*, Prison and Flames, as in Prosperity: We have a Kingdom that cannot be moved, and Treasure that none can rob us of: It is for that, and not for Worldly Prosperity, that we renounce all Sensuality, Heresie, Superstition, Idolatry, Tyranny and false Worship, and desire in Pure and Spiritual Worship, with Faith and Patience, to wait for the Coming and Righteous Judgment of the Lord. Who with the Spirit of his Mouth, and the brightness of his Coming, will destroy that wicked One, the Son of Perdition, 2 Theff. 2.

Madam,

London, Jan. 29.
1660.

I rest your Servant for

and in the Truth of Christ,

Rich. Baxter.

‘Since the Writing of this, I am informed that Mr. Johnson is the Person that you would have had to Dispute for you: and that did (now and formerly) Dispute with Dr. Gunning. If so, I like your Condition or Religion never the better

ter for your denying it: when you confessed he feared not any injury from me.
 ' Our Religion is more a Friend to Truth.

For the honourable Lady Anne Lindsey at Calice, This.

§ 87. When the King was received with the General Acclamation of his People, the Expectations of Men were various, according to their several Interests and Inducements: Some plain and moderate Episcopal Men thought of Reconciliation and Union with the said Presbyterians; yea, and a Reward to the Presbyterians for bringing in the King. The more Politick Men of the Diocesan way, understood that upon the King's Return, all the Laws that had been made in Nineteen Years, viz. since his Father's departing from the Parliament were void, and so that all their Ancient Power, and Honour, and Revenues would fall to them without any more ado; and that they had nothing to do but to keep the Ministers and People in quietness and hopes, till Time should fully do the work. Some few Presbyterians thought the King would favour them as well as others, for stirring up the Soldiers and City to restore him: In London, I found that Mr. Calamy, for his Age and Political Understanding, and Interest in the Earl of Manchester, who kept Correspondence with him in such Matters, was much valued and followed by the London Ministers, as their Guide; and many frequently met at his House: Mr. Calamy took Dr. Reynolds along with him, as one whose Learning and Reputation would be of use: And he took Mr. Ash along with him, as one whose eminent Holiness and Simplicity made him much loved and honoured by all: And he had been the Earl of Manchester's Chaplain in the Wars, and had concurred with him to bring in the King: These three were the Leading Men that kept Correspondence with the Lords, and had most Interest, seemingly, at Court, as having been most serviceable to them: To them joyned Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, and most of the City Ministers: But Dr. Seaman and Mr. Jenkins, and some few more, were a little estranged from them, and hardlier spoken of at Court. Mr. Calamy's Party (and all that brought in the King) were for Consultations with their Friends at Court, for the preserving of the Churches Interest. Dr. Seaman's Party needed not with them, not as being unwilling, but because the Court did give them no Encouragement.

§ 88. For the Gratifying and Engaging some Chief Presbyterians, that had brought in the King; by the Earl of Manchester's means, (who then being Lord Chamberlain, it belongeth to his place) above Ten or Twelve of them were designed to be the King's Chaplains in Ordinary. Mr. Calamy and Dr. Reynolds were first put in; and then Mr. Ash was importuned to accept it, and then they put me in for one: (Mr. Nath. Newcomen refused it): And then Dr. Spurstow, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Mr. Case, &c. were admitted. (But never any of them was called to Preach at Court, saving Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, my Self, and Dr. Spurstow, each of us once: And I suppose never a Man of them all ever received or expected a Penny for the Salary of their Places.

§ 89. When I was invited by the Lord Broghill (afterwards Earl of Orery) to meet him at the Lord Chamberlain's; they both perswaded me to accept the Place, to be one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary. I desired to know whether it were his Majesty's desire, or only the Effect of their favourable request to him. They told me that it was his Majesty's own desire, and that he would take it as an acceptable furtherance of his Service. Whereupon I took an Oath from the Lord Chamberlain, as a Household Servant of his Majesty's, to be true and faithful to him, and Discover any Conspiracy I should know of, &c. And I received this Certificate from him:

June 25.
 1660. I was
 Sworn the
 King's
 Chaplain
 in Ordinary.

These are to Certifie; That Richard Baxter, Clerk, hath been Sworn and Admitted Chaplain to the King's Majesty in Ordinary, to have and Enjoy all Rights, Profits, and Priviledges thereunto belonging. Given under my Hand this 26th of June, 1660. in the Twelfth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord the King.

Ed. Manchester.

§ 90. When I was with these two Lords on this occasion, I told them what Conferences I had with several Episcopal Men about the Terms of an Agreement or Coalition, and how much it concerned the Interest, both of the King and of Religion, that we might be so united, and what unhappy Consequences else would follow, and how easie I thought an Agreement with moderate Men would be, and on what Terms Bishop *Usher* and I had agreed in a little space. A little after the Lord *Broughill* was pleased to come to me; and he told me, That he had told the King of the Business of a Conference for an Agreement, and that the King took it very well, and was resolved to further it. And about the same time the Earl of *Manchester* signified as much to Mr. *Calamy*: So that Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Ash*, and my Self went about it to the Earl of *Manchester* Lord Chamberlain, and after Consultations of the Business with him, he determined of a Day to bring us to the King. Mr. *Calamy* (to whom both I, and I think all the rest, did leave the Nomination of the Persons to be employed) advised that all that were the King's Chaplains of us might be called to the Consultation, and that we four might not seem to take so much upon us without others: (if we did go once without them to the King, which I well remember not, that was all): So Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Manton*, and Dr. *Spurstow*, &c. went with us to the King: who with the Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of *St. Albans*, &c. came to us in the Lord Chamberlain's Lodgings. We exercised more boldness at first, than afterwards would have been born: when some of the rest, had congratulated his Majesty's happy Restoration, and declared the large hope which they had of a happy Union among all Dissenters by his means, &c. I presumed to speak to him of the Concernments of Religion, and how far we were from desiring the continuance of any Factions or Parties in the Church, and how much a happy Union would conduce to the good of the Land, and to his Majesty's Satisfaction; and though there were turbulent Fanatick Persons in his Dominions, yet that those Ministers and Godly People, whose Peace we humbly craved of him, were no such Persons, but such as longed after Concord, and were truly Loyal to him, and desired no more than to live under him *a quiet and peaceable Life in all godliness and honesty*; and whereas there were differences between them and their Brethren about some Ceremonies or Discipline of the Church, we humbly craved his Majesty's favour for the ending of those Differences, it being easie for him to interpose, that so the People might not be deprived of their faithful Pastors, nor ignorant, scandalous, unworthy Ones obtruded on them! I presumed to tell him, That the People that we spake for were such as were contented with an Interest in Heaven, and the Liberty and Advantages of the Gospel to promote it; and if this were taken from them, and they were deprived of their faithful Pastors, and Liberty of worshipping God, they would take themselves as undone in this World, whatever plenty else they should enjoy: and the Hearts of his most faithful Subjects, who hoped for his help, would even be broken: and that we doubted not but his Majesty desired to Govern a People made happy by him, and not a broken hearted People that took themselves to be undone, by the loss of that which is dearer to them than all the Riches of the World! And I presumed to tell him, That the late Usurpers that were over us, so well understood their own Interest, that to promote it, they had found the way of doing good, to be the most effectual means; and had placed and encouraged many Thousand faithful Ministers in the Church, even such as detested their Usurpation: And so far had they attained their ends hereby, that it was the principal means of their Interest in the People, and the good Opinion that any had conceived of them; and those of them that had taken the contrary Course, had thereby broken themselves to pieces: Wherefore I humbly craved his Majesty's patience that we might have the freedom to request of him, that as he was our lawful King, in whom all his People (save a few inconsiderable Persons) were prepared to Centre, as weary of their Divisions, and glad of the Satisfactory means of Union in him, so he would be pleased to undertake this blessed Work of promoting their *Holiness* and *Concord*: (for it was not Faction or Disobedience which we desired him to indulge): And that he would never suffer himself to be tempted to undo the Good which *Cromwell* or any other had done, because they were Usurpers that did it, or discountenance a faithful Ministry, because his Enemies had set them up: But that he would rather out-go them in doing good, and opposing and rejecting the ignorant and ungodly of what Opinion or Party soever; For the People whose Cause we recommend to him, had their Eyes on him as the Officer of God, to defend them in the possession of the helps of their Salvation; which if he were pleased to vouchsafe them, their E-

states

states and Lives would cheerfully be offered to his Service. And I humbly besought him that he would never suffer his Subjects to be tempted to have favourable Thoughts of the late Usurpers, by seeing the Vice indulged which they suppressed; or the godly Ministers or People discountenanced whom they encouraged! For the Common People are apt to judge of Governours by the Effects, even by the Good or Evil which they feel: and they will take him to be the best Governour who doth them most good, and him to be the worst that doth them most hurt: And all his Enemies cannot teach him a more effectual way to restore the Reputation and Honour of the Usurpers, than to do worse than they, and destroy the Good which they had done, that so he may go contrary to his Enemies; and so to force the People to cry out, We are undone in loss of the Means of our Salvation: It being a hard matter ever to bring the People to love and honour him, by whom they think they are undone, in comparison of those that they think made them happy, though the one have a just Title to be their Governour, which the other hath not. And again I humbly craved, That no misrepresentations might cause him to believe, that because some Fanaticks have been Factionous and Disloyal, therefore the Religious People in his Dominions, who are most careful of their Souls, are such, though some of them may be dissatisfied about some Forms and Ceremonies in God's Worship, which others use: And that none of them might go under so ill a Character with him, by misreports, behind their backs, till it were proved of them personally, or they had answered for themselves: For we that better knew them than those that were like to be their Accusers, did confidently testify to his Majesty on their behalf, that they are resolved Enemies of Sedition, Rebellion, Disobedience and Divisions; which the World shall see; and their Adversaries be convinced of, if his Majesty's Wisdom and Clemency do but remove those Occasions of Scruple in some Points of Discipline and Worship of God, which give Advantage to others, to call all Dissenters, Factionous and Disobedient, how Loyal and Peaceable soever. And I humbly craved, That the Freedom and Plainness of these Expressions to his Majesty might be pardoned, as being extracted by the present Necessity, and encouraged by our revived hopes. I told him also, that it was not for Presbyterians or any Party, as such, that we were speaking for, but for the Religious part of his Subjects, as such; than whom no Prince on Earth had better; and how considerable part of the Kingdom he would find them to be. And of what great advantage their Union would be to his Majesty, to the People, and to the Bishops themselves, and how easily it might be procured, 1. By making only things Necessary to be the Terms of Union. 2. And by the true Exercise of Church Discipline against Sin. 3. And not casting out the faithful Ministers that must Exercise it, nor obtruding unworthy Men upon the People. And how easie it was to avoid the violating of Mens Solemn Vows and Covenants without any hurt to any others. And finally, I requested that we might but be heard speak for our selves, when any Accusations were brought against us].

These, with some other such things, I then spake, when some of my Brethren had spoken first. Mr. *Simeon Ash* also spake much to the same purpose, and of all our Desires of his Majesty's Assistance in our desired Union.

§ 91. The King gave us not only a free Audience, but as gracious an Answer as we could expect: professing his gladness to hear our Inclinations to Agreement, and his Resolution to do his part to bring us together; and that it must not be by bringing one Party over to the other, but by abating somewhat on both sides, and meeting in the Midway; and that if it were not accomplished, it should be long of our selves, and not of him: Nay, that he was resolved to see it brought to pass, and that he would draw us together himself]: with some more to this purpose. Inasmuch that old Mr. *Ash* burst out into Tears with Joy, and could not forbear expressing what Gladness this Promise of his Majesty had put into his heart.

§ 92. Either at this time, or shortly after, the King required us to draw up, and offer him such Proposals as we thought meet, in order to Agreement about Church Government; for that was the main Difference: if that were agreed there would be little danger of differing in the rest: And he desired us to set down the most that we could yield to.

§ 93. We told him, 1. That we were but a few Men, and had no Commission from any of our Brethren to express their Minds: And therefore desired that his Majesty would give us leave to acquaint our Brethren in the Country with it, and take them with us. The King answered, That that would be too long, and make

too much Noise, and therefore we should do what we would our selves only, with such of the City as we would take with us. And when we then professed that we presumed not to give the Sense of others, nor oblige them; and that what we did must signify but the Minds of so many Men as were present. He answered, That it should signify no more; and that he did not intend to call an Assembly of the other party, but would bring a few, such as he thought meet; and that if he thought good to advise with a few of each side, for his own Satisfaction, none had cause to be offended at it.

§ 94. Also we craved that at the same time when we offered our Concessions to the King, the Brethren on the other side might bring in theirs, containing also the uttermost that they could abate and yield to us for Concord, that seeing both together, we might see what probability of success we had. And the King promised that it should be so.

§ 95. Hereupon we departed and appointed to meet from day to day at *Sion College*, and to consult there openly with any of our Brethren that would please to join with us, that none might say they were excluded: Some City Ministers came among us, and some came not; and Divers country Ministers who were in the City came also to us; as Dr. *Worth* (since a Bishop in Ireland) Mr. *Fulwood* (since Archdeacon of *Totnes*) &c. But Mr. *Matth. Newcomen* was most constant in assisting us.

§ 96. In these Debates we found the great inconvenience of too many Actors (though there cannot be too many Consenters to what is well done): For that which seemed the most convenient Expression to one, seemed inconvenient to another, and that we that all agreed in Matter, had much ado to agree in Words. But after about two or three Weeks time, we drew up the following Paper of Proposals, which, with Archbishop *Usher's* Form of Government (called his *Reduction*, &c.) we should offer to the King. Mr. *Calamy* drew up most with Dr. *Reynolds*; Dr. *Reynolds* and Dr. *Worth* drew up that which is against the Ceremonies; I only prevailed with them to premise the four first Particulars, for the countenancing Godliness, the Ministry, Personal Profession, and the Lord's Day: They were backward because they were not the Points in Controversy; but yielded at last on the Reasons offered them. About Discipline we designedly adhered to Bishop *Usher's* Model, without a Word of alteration; that so they might have less to say against our Offers as being our own; and that the World might see that it was *Episcopacy* it self which they refused; and that they contended against the Archbishop as well as against us; and that we pleaded not at all with them for *Presbytery*, unless a *Moderate Episcopacy* be *Presbytery*: Yet was there a Faction that called this Offer of Bishop *Usher's* Episcopacy by the Name of the *Presbyterians impudent Expectations*. I also prevailed with our Brethren to offer an Abstract of our larger Papers, lest the reading of the larger should seem tedious to the King; which Abstract *verbatim*, as followeth, at their Desire I drew up, and have here after adjoined.

The first Address and Proposals of the Ministers.

May it please Your most excellent Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects cannot but acknowledge it as a very great Mercy of God, that immediately after your so wonderful and peaceable Restoration unto your Throne and Government, (for which we bless his Name) he hath stirred up your Royal Heart as to a zealous Testimony against all Prophaneness in the People, so to endeavour an happy composing of the Differences, and healing of the sad Breaches which are in the Church. And we shall according to our bounden Duty become humble Suitors at the Throne of Grace, that the God of Peace who hath put such a thing as this into your Majesty's Heart, will by his heavenly Wisdom and holy Spirit to assist you therein, and bring your Resolutions unto so perfect an Effect and Issue, that all the good People of these Kingdoms may have abundant Cause to rise up and bless you, and to bless God who hath delighted in you to make you his Instrument in so happy a Work. That as your glorious Progenitor, *Henry VII.* was happy in uniting the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*; and your Grandfather King *James* of blessed Memory in uniting the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, so this Honour may be

'be reserved for your Majesty as a Radiant Jewel in your Crown, that by your Princely Wisdom, and Christian Moderation the Hearts of all your People may be united, and the unhappy Differences and Misunderstandings amongst Brethren in matters Ecclesiastical so composed, that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the midst of your Dominions.

'In an humble Conformity to this your Majesty's Christian Design, we, taking it for granted that there is a firm Agreement between our Brethren and us in the Doctrinal Truths of the reformed Religion, and in the substantial parts of Divine Worship, and that the Differences are only in some various Conceptions about the ancient Form of Church-Government, and some particulars about Liturgy and Ceremonies, do in all humble Obedience to your Majesty represent, That in as much as the ultimate end of Church-Government and Ministry is, that Holiness of Life, and Salvation of Souls may be Effectually promoted, we humbly desire in the first place that we may be secured of those things in Practice, of which we seem to be agreed in Principles.

'1. That those of our Flocks who are serious and diligent about the matters of their Salvation, may not by Words of Scorn, or any abusive Usages be suffered to be reproachfully handled; but have Liberty and Encouragement in those Christian Duties of exhorting and provoking one another unto Love and good Works, of building up one another in their most holy Faith, and by all religious and peaceable means of furthering one another in the ways of eternal Life; they being not therein opposite to Church-Assemblies, nor refusing the guidance and due Inspection of their Pastors, and being responsible for what they do or say.

This was put in because the serious practice of Religion had been made the common Scorn, and a few Christians praying or repeating a Sermon together had been persecuted by some Prelates as a heinous Crime.

'2. That each Congregation may have a learned, orthodox and godly Pastor residing amongst them, to the end that the People might be publicly instructed and edified by preaching every Lord's Day, by Catechising and frequent Administration of the Lord's Supper, and of Baptism and other Ministerial Acts as the Occasions and the Necessity of the People may require both in Health and Sicknes; and that effectual Provision of Law be made, that such as are Insufficient, Negligent, or Scandalous, may not be admitted to, or permitted in so Sacred a Function and Employment.

This was added because we knew what had been done, and was like to be done again.

'3. That none may be admitted to the Lord's Supper, till they competently understand the Principles of Christian Religion, and do personally and publicly own their baptismal Covenant, by a credible Profession of Faith and Obedience, not contradicting the same by a contrary Profession, or by a Scandalous Life: And that unto such only Confirmation (if continued in the Church) may be administered: And that the Approbation of the Pastors to whom the catechising and instructing of those under their Charge do appertain, may be produced before any Person receive Confirmation, which Course we humbly conceive will much conduce to the quieting of those sad Disputes and Divisions which have greatly troubled the Church of God amongst us, touching Church-Members and Communicants.

This was added because that the utter neglect of Discipline by the over-hot Prelates had caused all our Perplexities and Confusions; and in this Point is the chiefest part of our Difference with them indeed, and not about Ceremonies.

'4. That an effectual Course be taken for the Sanctification of the Lord's Day, appropriating the same to holy Exercises both in publick and private without unnecessary Divertisements; it being certain and by long Experience found, that the Observation thereof is a special means of preserving and promoting the Power of Godliness, and obviating Prophaneness.

This was added because abundance of Ministers had been cast out in the Prelates Days, for not reading publicly a Book which allowed Dancing and such Sports on the Lord's Day.

'Then for the Matters in Difference, viz. Church-Government, Liturgy and Ceremonies, we most humbly represent unto your Majesty.

'1. First For Church-Government; that although upon just Reasons we do dissent from that Ecclesiastical Hierarchy or Prelacy disclaimed in the Covenant, as it was stated and exercised in these Kingdoms; yet we do not, nor ever did renounce the true Ancient and Primitive Presidency as it was ballanced and managed

‘ managed by a due Commixtion of Presbyters therewith, as a fit means to avoid
 ‘ Corruptions, Partiality, Tyranny, and other Evils which may be incident to the
 ‘ Administration of one single Person : Which kind of attempered Pefidency, if it
 ‘ fhall be your Majesty’s grave Wifdom and gracious Moderation, be in fuch a man-
 ‘ ner conftituted as that the forementioned, and other like Evils may be certainly
 ‘ prevented, we fhall humbly fubmit thereunto.

‘ And in Order to an happy Accommodation in this weighty Bufinefs, we de-
 ‘ fire humbly to offer unto your Majesty fome of the Particulars which we con-
 ‘ ceive were amifs in the Epifcopal Government, as it was praftifed before the
 ‘ Year 1640.

‘ 1. The great Extent of the Bifhops Diocefs, which was much too large for his
 ‘ own perfonal Infpection, wherein he undertook a Paftoral Charge over the Souls
 ‘ of all thofe within his Bifhoprick, which muft needs be granted to be too heavy a
 ‘ Burthen for any one Man’s Shoulders: The Paftoral Office being a Work of Per-
 ‘ fonal Miniftration and Truft, and that of the higheft Concernment to the Souls
 ‘ of the People, for which they are to give an Account to Chrift.

‘ 2. That by Reason of this Difability to difcharge their Duty and Truft perfo-
 ‘ nally, the Bifhops did depute the Administration of much of their Truft, even in
 ‘ matters of fpiritual Cognizance, to Commiffaries, Chancellors and Officials,
 ‘ whereof fome were Secular Perfons, and could not adminifter that Power which
 ‘ originally appertaineth to the Paftors of the Church.

‘ 3. That thofe Bifhops who affirm the Epifcopal Office to be a diftinct Order
 ‘ by Divine Right from that of the Presbyter, did affume the fole Power of Or-
 ‘ dination and Jurifdiction to themfelves.

‘ 4. That fome of the Bifhops exercifed an Arbitrary Power, as by fending
 ‘ forth their Books of Articles in their Vifitations, and therein unwarrantably en-
 ‘ quiring into feveral things, and swearing the Church-Wardens to prefent accord-
 ‘ ingly. So alfo by many Innovations and Ceremonies impofed upon Minifters
 ‘ and People not required by Law ; and by fufpending Minifters at their Plea-
 ‘ fure.

‘ For reforming of which Evils, we humbly crave leave to offer unto your
 ‘ Majesty,

‘ 1. The late moft Reverend Primate of *Ireland* his Reduction of Epifcopacy
 ‘ unto the Form of Synodical Government, received in the ancient Church ; as a
 ‘ Ground-work towards an Accommodation and fraternal Agreement in this Point
 ‘ of Ecclefiastical Government : Which we rather do, not only in regard of his
 ‘ eminent Piety and fingular Ability as in all other Parts of Learning, fo in that
 ‘ efpecially of the Antiquities of the Church, but alfo becaufe therein Expedients
 ‘ are offered for healing thefe Grievances.

‘ And in order to the fame end, we further humbly defire that the Suffragans or
 ‘ Corepifcopi, mentioned in the Primate’s Reduction, may be chofen by the re-
 ‘ fpective Synods, and by that Election be fufficiently authorized to difcharge their
 ‘ Truft.

‘ That the Affociations may not be fo large as to make the Difcipline impoffible,
 ‘ or to take off the Minifters from the reft of their neceffary Employments.

‘ That no Oaths or Promifes of Obedience to the Bifhops, nor any unneceffary
 ‘ Subfcriptions or Engagements be made neceffary to Ordination, Inftitution, In-
 ‘ duction, Miniftration, Communion or Immunities of Minifters ; they being re-
 ‘ fponfible for any Transgreffion of the Law.

‘ And that no Bifhops nor any Ecclefiastical Governors, may at any time exer-
 ‘ cife their Government by their own private Will or Pleafure ; but only by fuch
 ‘ Rules, Canons, and Conftitutions as fhall be hereafter by Aft of Parliament rati-
 ‘ fied and eftablifhed : and that fufficient Provision be made to fecure both Mini-
 ‘ fters and People againft the Evils of Arbitrary Government in the Church.

2. Concerning the Liturgy.

‘ 1. We are fatisfied in our Judgments concerning the Lawfulnefs of a *Liturgy*,
 ‘ or Form of publick Worfhip ; provided that it be for the matter agreeable unto
 ‘ the Word of God, and fitly fuited to the Nature of the feveral Ordinances, and
 ‘ the

‘ the necessity of the Church ; nether too tedious in the whole, nor composed of
 ‘ too short Prayers, unmeet Repetitions or Responsals, nor too dissonant from the
 ‘ Liturgies of other Reformed Churches ; nor too rigorously imposed ; nor the Mi-
 ‘ nister so confined thereunto, but that he may also make use of those Gifts for
 ‘ Prayer and Exhortation which Christ hath given him for the Service and Edifica-
 ‘ tion of the Church.

‘ 2. That inasmuch as the Book of Common Prayer hath in it many things that
 ‘ are justly offensive, and need amendment, hath been long discontinued, and ve-
 ‘ ry many, both Ministers and People, Persons of Pious, Loyal, and Peaceable
 ‘ Minds are therein greatly dissatisfied ; whereupon, if it be again imposed, will
 ‘ inevitably follow sad Divisions, and widening of the Breaches which your Ma-
 ‘ jesty is now endeavouring to heal ; We do most humbly offer to your Majesty’s
 ‘ Wisdom, that for preventing so great Evil, and for settling the Church in Unity
 ‘ and Peace, some Learned, Godly, and Moderate Divines of both Perswasions,
 ‘ indifferently chosen, may be employed to Compile such a Form as is before de-
 ‘ scribed ; as much as may be in Scripture words : or at least to Revise and esse-
 ‘ ntially Reform the old ; together with an Addition or Insertion of some other
 ‘ varying Forms in Scripture phrase, to be used at the Minister’s Choice : of which
 ‘ Variety and Liberty there be Instances in the Book of Common Prayer.

3. Concerning Ceremonies.

‘ We humbly represent, that we hold our selves obliged in every part of Divine
 ‘ Worship, to do all things decently, in order and to Edification, and are willing
 ‘ therein to be determined by Authority in such things as being meerly Circum-
 ‘ stantial, are common to Humane Actions and Societies, and are to be ordered
 ‘ by the Light of Nature and Christian Prudence, according to the General Rules
 ‘ of the Word which are always to be observed.

‘ And as to divers Ceremonies formerly retained in the Church of *England*, We
 ‘ do in all Humility offer unto your Majesty these ensuing Considerations.

‘ That the Worship of God is in it self perfect, without having such Ceremo-
 ‘ nies affixed thereto.

‘ That the Lord hath declared himself in the Matters that concern his Worship,
 ‘ to be a *Jealous God* ; and this Worship of his is certainly then most pure, and most
 ‘ agreeable to the Simplicity of the Gospel, and to his holy and jealous Eyes, when
 ‘ it hath least of Humane Admixtures in things of themselves confessedly unneces-
 ‘ sary, adjoynd and appropriated thereunto ; upon which account, many faith-
 ‘ ful Servants of the Lord, knowing his Word to be the perfect Rule of Faith and
 ‘ Worship, by which they must judge of his Acceptance of their Services, and
 ‘ must be themselves judged, have been exceeding fearful of varying from his Will,
 ‘ and of the danger of displeasing him by Additions or Detractions in such Duties
 ‘ wherein they must daily expect the Communications of his Grace and Comfort ;
 ‘ especially seeing that these Ceremonies have been imposed and urged upon such
 ‘ Considerations as draw too near to the significancy and moral efficacy of Sacra-
 ‘ ments themselves.

‘ That they have, together with Popery, been rejected by many of the Reform-
 ‘ ed Churches abroad, amongst whom notwithstanding we doubt not but the Lord
 ‘ is worshipped decently, orderly, and in the beauty of Holiness.

‘ That ever since the Reformation they have been Matter of Contention, and
 ‘ endless Disputes in this Church ; and have been a Cause of depriving the Church
 ‘ of the Fruit and Benefit which might have been reaped from the Labours of ma-
 ‘ ny Learned and Godly Ministers ; some of whom judging them unlawful, others
 ‘ unexpedient, were in Conscience unwilling to be brought under the power of
 ‘ them.

‘ That they have occasioned, by the offence taken at them, by many of the
 ‘ People, heretofore, great Separations from our Church, and so have rather pre-
 ‘ judiced than promoted the Unity thereof : and at this time, by reason of their
 ‘ long disuse, may be more likely than ever heretofore to produce the same Incon-
 ‘ veniencies.

‘ That they are at best but indifferent, and in their Nature mutable ; and that it’s
 ‘ (especially) in various Exigencies of the Church, very needful and expedient,
 ‘ that things in themselves mutable, be sometimes actually changed, lest they should
 ‘ by perpetual permanency and constant use, be judged by the People as necessary
 ‘ as the Substantials of Worship themselves.

‘ And though we do most heartily acknowledge your Majesty to be *Custos utriusque Tabulae*, and to be Supream Governour over all Persons, and in all Things and Causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, in these your Majesty’s Dominions, yet we humbly crave leave to beseech your Majesty to consider, whether as a Christian Magistrate, you be not as well obliged by that Doctrine of the Apostle touching *Things indifferent*, not occasioning an offence to weak Brethren, as the Apostle himself (then one of the highest Officers in the Church of Christ) judged himself to be obliged : and whether the great Work wherewith the Lord hath intrusted your Majesty, be not rather to provide by your Sacred Authority, that the things which are necessary by virtue of Divine Command in his Worship should be duly performed, then that Things unnecessary should be made by Humane Command necessary and penal. And how greatly pleasing it will be to the Lord, that your Majesty’s heart is so tenderly and religiously Compassionate, to such of his poor Servants differing in so small matters, as to preserve the Peace of their Consciences in God’s Worship above all their Civil Concernments whatsoever.

‘ May it therefore please your Majesty, out of your Princely Care of healing our Breaches, graciously to grant, That Kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, and such Holydays as are but of Humane Institution may not be imposed upon such as do conscientiously scruple the Observation of them. And that the use of the Surplice and Cross in Baptism, and bowing at the Name of *Jesus* rather than the Name of *Christ* or *Emanuel*, or other Names whereby that Divine Person, or either of the other Divine Persons is nominated, may be abolished ; these things being in the Judgment of the Imposers themselves but indifferent and mutable ; in the Judgment of others a Rock of Offence ; and in the Judgment of all not to be valued with the Peace of the Church.

‘ We likewise humbly represent unto your most Excellent Majesty, That divers Ceremonies which we conceive had no Foundation in the Law of the Land, as erecting Altars, bowing towards them, and such like, have been not only introduced, but in some places imposed ; whereby an Arbitrary Power was usurped, divers Ministers of the Gospel, though Conformable to the Established Ceremonies, troubled, some Reverend and Learned Bishops offended, the Protestants grieved, and the Papists pleased, as hoping that those Innovations might make way for greater Changes.

‘ May it therefore please your Majesty by such ways as your Royal Wisdom shall judge meet, effectually to prevent the imposing and using of such Innovations for the future, that so according to the pious intention of your Royal Grandfather King *James* of blessed memory, the *Publick Worship may be free, not only from blame, but from suspicion*.

‘ In obedience to your Majesty’s Royal Pleasure graciously signified to us, we have tendered to your most Excellent Majesty what we humbly conceive may most conduce to the Glory of God, to the Peace and Reformation of the Church, and to the taking away not only of our Differences, but the Roots and Causes of them. We humbly beg your Majesty’s favourable Acceptance of these our Loyal and Conscientious Endeavours to serve your Majesty and the Church of Christ, and your gracious Pardon, if in any Thing or Expression, we answer not your Majesty’s Expectation : professing before your Majesty, and before the Lord the Searcher of Hearts, that we have done nothing out of strife, vain Glory or Emulation : but have sincerely offered what we apprehend most seasonable and conducing to that happy End of Unity and Peace which your Majesty doth so piously prosecute.

‘ We humbly lay our selves, and these our Addresses, at your Majesty’s feet ; professing our unfeigned resolution to live and die your Majesty’s faithful, loyal, and obedient Subjects ; and humbly implore your Gracious Majesty, according unto your Princely Wisdom and Fatherly Compassion, so to lay your Hand upon the bleeding Rents and Divisions that are amongst us, that there may be an healing of them : so shall your Throne be greater than the Throne of your Fathers ; in your days the Righteous shall flourish, Peace shall run down like a River, and the Generations to come shall call you blessed.

This following Paper I drew up at this time, and offered to the Brethren to have been presented to the King as the Summary of our Judgment, that he might see in a few plain words what it was that we indeed desired. But it was not consented to, both because that all of us were not agreed among our selves, in granting so much of Episcopacy, and because we would not hinder our Success by adding any more to Bishop *Usher's* Model, hoping that his Authority might have facilitated the Reception of it; to which Reasons I consented.

The brief Sum of our Judgment and Desires about Church-Government.

1. **P**ower is 1. Imperial and Coercive, by Mulcts and Penalties; 2. or Doctoral and Suafory. The first belongeth only to the Magistrate; The second to the Pastors of the Church.

2. Though in Cases of Necessity the same Man may be both a Magistrate and a Pastor; yet out of such Case it is unlawful or very unmeet: Each Calling will find a Man work enough alone. And our work being *perswasive*, is successful but as it procureth Complacency and Consent; and therefore we should be put upon no such Actions as will render us more feared and hated, than desired to our Flocks. We therefore humbly beseech your Majesty to trust no Church-men with the Sword; with any degree of Imperial Coactive Power; but where it must be used, that it be by Magistrates. And that your Execution be not annexed to their Judgments; nor any Man punished by you, meerly because he is Excommunicate (that is, forely punished) by them.

3. Every stated full Congregation that had *unum Altare*, was by Divine Institution to have a Bishop of their own, or many if they could be had; which Bishops were called Elders also in the Scripture. And for Order sake, where there were many of these, the Churches soon placed the Precedency and Moderatorship in one, whom they called by Eminency the Bishop.

4. Because in the beginning there were no stated Churches or Altars (ordinarily) but in Towns and Cities; therefore the same Apostles that ordained Elders in every Church, are said also to appoint that they be Ordained *κατὰ πόλεις*, *oppidatim*, in every Town or City. And it being long before the Villages had Churches, they were the Parish or Diocess of the Bishops of the Town. And when Rural Bishops were placed in those Churches, they were subjected to the City Bishops; when every Church, as in the beginning, should have had a Bishop of their own.

5. If you will return to the Scripture Pattern, every stated Congregation that hath one Altar, must have Pastors that have the Government of the People; and if you will return to the primitive Episcopacy, eminently so called, every one of these Churches should have a Bishop with Fellow Presbyters as his Collegues, or Deacons at least in smaller Churches.

6. If you will return to the first and lowest degree of Corruption of Church-Order, you must have a Bishop and Presbytery in every City and Town only, such as our Corporations and Boroughs are, who must take care also of the adjacent Villages.

7. For the maintaining of Unity and Concord, and Edifying each other by Communion, these Bishops held ordinary Synods or Meetings, in which by Agreements called Canons (no proper Laws) they bound up themselves in things of mutable Determination, and also tied themselves to their Duties.

8. Besides these particular Bishops, there were General Overseers of the Church, such as the Apostles, Evangelists, and others that fixed not themselves in relation to any one particular Church, but the Care of many. And that these have Successors in this ordinary part of their Work, we do not gainsay. But we humbly crave, that if our Diocesans will be such, they be taken for Archbishops or General Pastors; and that they take only a General Charge of the Flock, overseeing the particular Pastors or Bishops, and receiving Appeals in some Special Cases, and not a particular Charge of each Soul as the particular Bishops have. And therefore that

that they be not charged with ordinary Confirming (or admitting into the state of Adult Members) all the People, which will bind them in Conscience to know and try them all, or most: Nor yet to receive Presentments of all Scandals, nor to Excommunicate and absolve, or impose Publick Penitence, on all that these belong to.

9. If these things may not be granted, we must be bold to leave our Testimony, that Diocesans assuming the particular Government of all the People, in so many Churches, as they have in *England*, are destructive 1. To the very being of all the particular Churches, save the Cathedral or City where they are; (It being that old Maxim, *Ubi non est Episcopus non est Ecclesia*; viz. in sensu politica): 2. And to the Pastoral Office of Christ's Institution: 3. And to the most ancient Episcopacy. Whenas by the establishing of these Parochial Bishops, (at least *Oppidatim*) the Diocesans may become of great use for the Work of General Oversight. We refuse not General Officers, so they overthrow not the particular Officers and Churches: As if General Officers in an Army or Navy would be the sole Commanders, and depose all the Captains, and consequently make the Discipline impossible.

10. We most earnestly beseech your Majesty, that in Matters of Doctrine, Discipline and Worship, the Modes and Circumstances and Ceremonies may not be made more necessary to our Ordination, Institution, Ministration, or Communion than God hath made them, either in Scripture or in the Nature of the thing; lest they be still the Engines of our Divisions and Calamity; but that we may hold our Concord and Communion in Necessary things, according to the *Primitive Simplicity*; and may have Liberty in things Unnecessary, as to Subscriptions, Promises and Practice; that so the Churches may have Peace and Charity in both. And that our Discipline which operateth on the Will, may not be corrupted by unnecessary and unseasonable violence; nor any permitted, much less constrained to be Members of our Churches and Communion that vilifie such Priviledges, and cannot be moved by our Exhortations, nor feel the weight of a meer Excommunication. Though a gentle Force is necessary to compel the Learners or Catechumens to submit to the necessary means of their Instruction: and to restrain the petulant from abusing the Worship and Worshippers of the Lord. He that will rather be cast out of the Church by Excommunication, than repent and amend his wicked Life, is so unfit to be a Member of the Church, that it is most unfit to drive him into it by Imprisonment, Mulcts, or Secular Force: And this is that which doth corrupt and undo the Church.

I shall here Annex Archbishop *Usher's* Model of Government, which we now also presented.

The Reduction of Episcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government received in the Ancient Church, proposed in the Year 1641. as an Expedient for the prevention of those Troubles which afterwards did arise about the Matter of Church-Government.

Episcopal and Presbyterial Government conjoyned.

(a) The Form of ordering of Priests. (b) *Ibidem* Acts 20. 17, 18. * *manerem*, so taken Matth. 26. 28. Rev. 12. 5. & 19. 15. (c) Rev. 2. 1.

BY the Order of the Church of *England*, all Presbyters are charged to (a) minister the Doctrine and Sacraments and the Discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Realm hath received the same. And that we might the better understand what the Lord had commanded therein, the Exhortation of St. Paul to the Elders of (b) the Church of *Ephesus*, is appointed to be read unto them at the time of their Ordination: Take heed unto your selves and to all the Flock, among whom the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers, to * rule the Congregation of God, which he hath purchased with his Blood.

Of the many Elders who in common thus ruled the Church of *Ephesus*, there was one President whom our Saviour in his Epistle to the Church, in a peculiar manner stileth the (c) Angel of the Church of *Ephesus*. And Ignatius in another Epistle

pistle written about twelve Years after to the same Church, calleth the Bishop thereof. Betwixt which Bishop and the Presbytery of that Church what an harmonious Consent there was in the ordering the Church-Government, the same Ignatius doth fully there declare by the Presbytery (with *(d)* St. Paul) understanding the Company of the rest of the Presbytery or Elders who then had a Hand, not only in the delivery of the Doctrine and Sacraments, but also in the Administration of the Discipline of Christ. For further Proof whereof we have that known Testimony of *Tertullian* in his general Apology for Christians. In *(e)* the Church are used Exhortations, Chastisements and divine Censures; for Judgment is given with great Advice as among those who are certain they are in the sight of God, and it is the chiefest foreshewing of the Judgment that is to come, if any Man hath so offended that he be banished from the Communion of Prayer, and of the Assembly, and of all holy Fellowship.

indicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu summumq; futuri Judicii præjudicium esse. Si liquerit ut a communione orationis & conventus & omnis Sancti commercii relegatur. President probati quique seniores, honorem istum non precio sed testimonio adepti. Tert. Apol. Cap. 39.

The Presidents that bear rule therein are certain approved Elders who have obtained this Honour, and not by Reward, but by good Report. Who were no other (as he himself elsewhere intimateth) but those from *(f)* whose hands they used to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

(f) Nec de aliorum manibus, quam præfidentium sumimus & idem de corona militis, Cap. 3.

For with the Bishop, who was the Chief President (and therefore styled by the same *Tertullian* in another place *Summus* *(g)* *Sacerdos* for distinction sake) the rest of the Dispensors of the Word and Sacraments were joined in the common Government of the Church. And therefore in matters of Ecclesiastical Judicature, *Cornelius*, Bishop of *Rome* used the received Form of *(h)* gathering together the Presbytery.

copus, desint Presbyteri & Diaconi Idem de Baptismo, Cap. 17. (h) Omni actu ad me perlato trahi Presbyterium, Cornel. apud Cyprian Epist. 46.

Of what Persons that did consist, *Cyprian* sufficiently declareth, when he wished him to read his Letters to *(i)* the flourishing Clergy that there did reside or rule with him.

(i) Florentissimo illi clero tecum præfidenti, Cyprian Epist. 55. ad Cornel.

The presence of the Clergy being thought to be so requisite in matters of Episcopal Audience, that in the fourth Council of *Carthage* it was concluded *(k)* that the Bishop might hear no Man's Cause, without the Presence of the Clergy, which we find also to be inserted into the Canons of *(l)* *Egbert*, who was Archbishop of *York* in the *Saxons* Times, and afterwards into the Body of the *(m)* Canon-Law itself.

orum, alioquin irrita erit sententia Episcopi nisi clericorum presentia confirmetur. Concil. Carthag. 4. Cap. 23. (l) Emersion Egberti, Cap. 43. (m) 15. qu. 7. Cap. Nullus.

True it is, that in our Church this kind of Presbyterian Government hath been long disused, yet seeing it still professeth that every Pastor hath a right to rule the Church (from whence the Name of Rector also was given at first unto him) and to administer the Discipline of Christ, as well as to dispence the Doctrine and Sacraments. And the restraint of the Exercise of that Right proceedeth only from the Custom now received in this Realm: No Man can doubt but by another Law of the Land this Hindrance may be well removed. And how easily this ancient Form of Government by the united Suffrages of the Clergy, might be revived again, and with what little shew of Alteration the Synodical Conventions of the Pastors of every Parish might be accorded, with the Presidency of the Bishops of each Diocese and Province, the indifferent Reader may quickly perceive by the perusal of the ensuing Propositions.

I.

In every Parish the Rector or the incumbent Pastor, together with the Churchwardens and Sidemen, may every Week take notice of such as live scandalously in

The Parochial Government answerable to the Church-Session in that Scotland.

that Congregation, who are to receive such several Admonitions and Reproofs as the quality of their Offence shall deserve; and if by this means they cannot be reclaimed, they may be presented unto the next Monthly Synod, and in the mean time be debarred by the Pastor from access unto the Lord's Table.

II.

The Pres-
byterical
or Month-
ly Synods
answerable
to the Scot-
tish Pres-
bytery or
Ecclesia-
stical
Meeting.

Whereas by a Statute in the Twenty sixth of King *Henry VIII.* (revived in the first Year of Queen *Elizabeth*) Suffragans are appointed to be erected in twenty six several Places of this Kingdom, the Number of them might very well be conformed unto the Number of the several rural Deaneries into which every Diocese is subdivided, which being done the Suffragan (supplying the place of those who in the ancient Church were called *Chorepiscopi*) might every Month assemble a Synod of all the Rectors, or incumbent Pastors within the Precinct, and according to the major part of their Voices conclude all Matters that should be brought into Debate before them.

To this Synod [the Rector and] Churchwardens might present such impenitent Persons, as by Admonition and Suspension from the Sacrament would not be reformed; who, if they should still remain contumacious and incorrigible, the Sentence of Excommunication might be decreed against them by the Synod, and accordingly be executed in the Parish where they lived. Hitherto also all things that concerned the Parochial Ministers might be referred, whether they did touch their Doctrine or their Conversation: As also the censure of all new Opinions, Heresies and Schisms which did arise within that Circuit, with Liberty of appeal if need so require unto the Diocesane Synod.

III.

Diocesane
Synods an-
swerable
to the pro-
vincial Syn-
ods in
Scotland.

* Επισκο-
πάρχες, i. e.
Superin-
tendentes
unde & no-
men Episcopi tractum
est. Hieron.
Epist. 85.
ad Evagri-
um.

The Diocesane Synod might be held once or twice in the Year as it should be thought most convenient, therein all the Suffragans and the rest of the Rectors or Incumbent Pastors [or a certain select Number out of every Deanery within that Diocese] might meet; with whose Consent, or the major part of them, all things might be concluded by the Bishop or * Superintendant (call him whither you will) or in his Absence by one of the Suffragans, whom he should depute in his stead to be Moderator of that Assembly. Here all matters of greater Moment might be taken into Consideration, and the Orders of the Monthly Synods revised and (if need be) reformed. And if here also any matter of Difficulty could not receive a full Determination, it might be referred to the next Provincial or National Synod.

IV.

The pro-
vincial
and nation-
al Synod
answerable
to the ge-
neral As-
sembly in
Scotland.

The Provincial Synod might consist of all the Bishops and Suffragans, and such of the Clergy as should be elected out of every Diocese within the Province. The Primate of either Province might be the Moderator of this Meeting (or in his room some one of the Bishops appointed by him) and all Matters be ordered therein by common Consent as in the former Assemblies. This Synod might be held every third Year, and if the Parliament do then sit (according to the Act for a Triennial Parliament) both the Primates and Provincial Synods of the Land might join together, and make up a National Council; wherein all Appeals from inferior Synods might be received, all their Acts examined, and all Ecclesiastical Constitutions which concern the State of the Church of the whole Nation established.

May it please your Grace,

I would desire you to consider whether Presentments are fit to be made by the Churchwardens alone and not rather by the Rector and Churchwardens. Then whither in the Diocesan Synod the Members of it be not too many, being all to judge and in their own cause, as it may fall out. Therefore after this Clause, and the rest of the Rectors or incumbent Pastors, whether it be not fit to interline, or four or six out of every Deanery.

Ri. Holdsworth.

We are of Judgment, that the Form of Government here proposed, is not in any point repugnant to the Scripture, and that the Suffragans mentioned in the second Proposition, may lawfully use the Power both of Jurisdiction and Ordination according to the Word of God, and the Practice of the ancient Church.

§ 97. When we went with these foresaid Papers to the King, and expected there to meet the Divines of the other party, according to promise, with their Proposals also containing the lowest Terms which they could yield to for Peace; we saw not a Man of them, nor any Papers from them of that Nature, no not to this Day: But it was not fit for us to expostulate or complain.

§ 98. But his Majesty very graciously renewed his Professions, (I must not call them Promises) that he would bring us together, and see that the Bishops should come down and yield on their Parts; and when he heard our Papers read, he seemed well pleased with them; and told us, he was glad that we were for a Liturgy, and yielded to the *Essence* of Episcopacy, and therefore he doubted not of our Agreement with much more; which we thought meet to recite in our following Addresses, by way of Gratitude, and for other Reasons easy to be conjectured.

§ 99. Yet was not Bishop *Usher's* Model the same in all Points that we could wish: But it was the best that we could have the least hope (I say not to obtain, but) acceptably to make them any Offers of: For had we proposed any thing below Bishops and Archbishops, we should but have suddenly furnished them with plausible Reasons for the rejecting of all further Attempts of Concord, or any other Favour from them.

§ 100. Before this time, by the King's Return many hundred worthy Ministers were displaced, and cast out of their Charges, because they were in Sequestrations where others had by the Parliament been cast out: Our earnest Desires had been that all such should be cast out as were in any Benefice belonging formerly to a Man that was not grossly insufficient or debauched; but that all that succeeded such as *these Scandalous ones* should hold their Places: but these Wishes being vain, and all the old ones restored, the King promised, that the Places where any of the old ones *were dead*, should be confirmed to the Possessors: But many got the Broad Seal for them, and the matter was not great; for we were *all* of us to be endured but a little longer. However we agreed to offer these five Requests to the King; which he received.

Agreed to be verbally requested of the King.

1. That with all convenient speed we may see his Majesty's Conclusions upon the Proposals of the mutual Condescensions, before they pass into Resolves, (and if it be thought meet, our Brethrens Proposals also.)

2. That his Majesty will publicly declare his Pleasure for the Suspension of Proceedings upon the Act of Uniformity, against Nonconformists in Case of Liturgy and Ceremonies, till our hoped for Agreement.

3. That his Majesty will be pleased to publish his Pleasure, (at least to those that are concerned in the Execution) that (till the said expected Settlement) no Oath of Canonical Obedience, nor Subscription to the Liturgy, Discipline, Ceremonies, &c. nor Renunciation of their Ordination by meer Presbyters, or confessing it to be sinful, be imposed on, or required of any, as necessary to their Ordination, Institution, Induction, or Confirmation by the Seales.

4. That His Majesty will Cause the revoking of the Broad Seal that is granted to all those Persons, that by it are put into Places where *others have Possession*, to which none before could claim a right; that is, such as they call *dead Places*.

5. That his Majesty will be pleased to provide some Remedy against the Return or Settlement of notoriously insufficient or scandalous Ministers, into the Places from which they were cast out, or into any other.

§ 101. While we waited for the promised Condescensions of the Episcopal Divines, there came nothing to us, but a Paper of bitter Oppositions, by way of Confutation of our former Proposals. We were not insensible of the unworthiness of this dealing, and

the Brethren at first desired me to write an Answer to it. But afterward they considered that this would but provoke them, and turn a Treaty for Concord into a sharp Disputation, which would increase the Discord; and so what I had written was never seen by any Man; lest it should hinder Peace.

The Bishop's Answer to the first Proposals of the London Ministers, who attempted the Work of Reconcilement; which was brought them afterward instead of their Concessions, before expected and promised. When we looked to see how much they would abate of their former Impositions, for the attaining of Unity and Peace, we received nothing but this Contradiction.

Concerning the Preamble.

§ 1. **W**E first observe that they take it for granted that there is a firm Agreement between them and us in the Doctrinal Truths of the reformed Religion, and in the Substantial Parts of Divine Worship; and that the Differences are only in some various Conceptions about the Ancient Forms of Church-Government, and some Particulars about Liturgy and Ceremonies. Which maketh all that follows the less considerable and less reasonable to be stood upon to the hazard of the Disturbance and Peace of the Church.

§ 2. They seem to intimate as if we did discountenance the Practice of those things which in Principles we allow, which we utterly deny.

In sundry Particulars therein proposed, we do not perceive what farther Security can be given, than is already provided for by the established Laws of this Realm; whereunto such Persons as shall at any time find themselves agrieved may have recourse for Remedy.

§ 3. 1. We heartily desire (as well as they) that all Animosities be laid aside, Words of Scorn, Reproach, and Provocation might be mutually forborn, and that to Men of different Persuasions such a Liberty may be left of performing Christian Duties according to their own way within their own private Families, as that yet Uniformity in the publick Worship may be preserved; and that a Gap be not thereby opened to Sectaries for private Conventicles; for the evil Consequents whereof none can be sufficiently responsible unto the State.

§ 4. 2. We likewise desire that every Congregation may have an able and Godly Minister to Preach, Catechise, administer the Sacraments, and perform other Ministerial Offices as need shall require. But what they mean by residing, and how far they will extend that Word, and what effectual Provision of Law can be made more than is already done concerning the Things here mentioned, we know not.

§ 5. 3. Confirmation (which for sundry Ends we think necessary to be continued in the Church) if rightly and solemnly performed, will alone be sufficient as to the point of Instruction. And for notorious and scandalous Offenders, provision is made in the Rubrick before the Communion, which Rules, had they been carefully observed, the Troubles of the Church by the Disputes and Divisions here mentioned had been prevented.

§ 6. 4. There cannot be taken a more effectual Course in this behalf than the Execution of the Laws already made for the due Observation of the Lord's Day: which in this particular are very much stricter than the Laws of any Foreign reformed Churches whatsoever.

Concerning Church-Government.

§ 7. They do not suggest, nor did we ever hear any just Reasons given for their dissent from the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy or Prelacy, as it was stated and established in this Kingdom. Which we believe to be for the main, the true ancient primitive

mitive Episcopacy, and that to be more than a meer presidency of Order. Neither do we find that the same was in any Time ballanced or managed by any Authoritative Commixtion of Presbyters therewith. Though it hath been then, and in all Times since usually exercised with the Assistance and Counsel of Presbyters in subordination to the Bishops.

§ 8. And we cannot but wonder that the Administration of Government by one single Person, should by them be affirmed to be so liable to Corruptions, Partialities, Tyrannies, and other Evils, that for the avoiding thereof it should be needful to have others joyned with him in the power of Government. Which if applied to the Civil State, is a most dangerous Insinuation. And we verily believe what Experience and the Constitutions of Kingdoms, Armies and even private Families sufficiently confirmeth (in all which the Government is administered by the Authority of one single Person, although the Advice of others may be requisite also; but without any share in the Government) that the Government of many is not only most subject to all the aforesaid Evils and Inconveniencies, but more likely also to breed and foment perpetual Factions both in Church and State, than the Government by one is or can be. And since no Government can certainly prevent all Evils that which is liable to the least and fewest is certainly to be preferred.

As to the four particular Instances of things amiss, &c.

§ 9. 1. We cannot grant that the Extent of any Diocess is so great, but that the Bishop may well perform that, wherein the proper Office and Duty of a Bishop doth consist; which is not the personal Inspection of every Man's Soul under his Government (which is the Work of every Parochial Minister in his Cure) but the Pastoral Charge of overseeing, directing, and taking care that the Ministers and other Ecclesiastical Officers within his Diocess, do their several respective Duties in their several Stations as they ought to do. And if some Diocesses shall be thought of too large Extent, the Bishops may have Suffragan Bishops to assist them, as the Laws allow. It being a great mistake, that the Personal Inspection of the Bishop is in all places of his Diocess at all times necessary. For by the same reason, neither Princes, nor Governours of Provinces, nor Generals of Armies, nor Mayors of great Cities, nor Ministers of great Parishes could ever be able to discharge their Duties in their several Places and Charges.

§ 10. 2. We confess the Bishops did (as by the Law they were enabled) depute part of the Administration of their Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions to Chancellors, Commissaries and Officials as Men better skill'd in the Civil and Canon Laws. But as for Matters of more Spiritual Concernment, viz. the Sentences of Excommunication, and Absolution, with other Censures of the Church, we conceive they belong properly to the Bishop to decree and pronounce, either by himself where for the present he resideth, or by some grave Ecclesiastical Person by him Surrogated for that purpose, in such Places where he cannot be Personally present. Wherein if many things have been done amiss for the time past, or shall be seasonably conceived inconvenient for the future, we shall be as willing to have the same Reformed and Remedied, as any other Persons whatsoever.

§ 11. 3. Whether a Bishop be a distinct Order from Presbyter or not, or whether they have power of sole Ordination or no? is not now the Question. But we affirm that the Bishops of this Realm have constantly (for ought we know, or have heard to the contrary) Ordained with the Assistance of Presbyters, and the Imposition of their Hands together with the Bishops. And we conceive it very fit, that in the exercise of that part of their Jurisdiction which appertaineth to the Censures of the Church, they should likewise have the Advice and Assistance of some Presbyters. And for this purpose the Colledges of Deans and Chapters are thought to have been instituted, that the Bishops in their several Diocess might have their Advice and Assistance in the Administration of their weighty Pastoral Charge.

§ 12. 4. This last dependeth upon Matter of Fact. Wherein if any Bishops have or shall do otherwise than according to Law, they were and are to be answerable for the same. And it is our desire (as well as theirs) that nothing may be done or imposed by the Bishop, but according to the known Laws.

For Reforming of which Evils, &c.

§ 13. 1. The Primates Reduction, though not published in his Life time, was formed many years before his Death, and shewed to some Persons (ready to attest the same) in the Year 1640. but it is not consistent with two other Discourses of the same Learned Primate (viz. the one of the Original of Episcopacy, and the other of the Original of Metropolitans) both printed in the Year 1641. and written with great diligence and much variety of ancient Learning. In neither of which is to be found any mention of the Reduction aforesaid. Neither is there in either of them propounded any such Model of Church-Government, as in the said Reduction is contained. Which doubtless would have been done, had that Platform been according to his settled Judgment in those Matters.

In which Reduction there are sundry things (as namely the Conforming of Suffragans to the number of Rural Deaneries) which are apparently private Conceptions of his own ; accommodated at that time for the taking off some present Animosities : but wholly destitute of any Colour of Testimony or President from Antiquity, nor is any such by him offered towards the proof thereof.

And it would be considered, whether the Final Resolution of all Ecclesiastical Power and Jurisdiction into a National Synod, where it seemeth to be placed in that Reduction without naming the King, or without any dependance upon him, or relation to him, be not destructive of the King's Supremacy in causes Ecclesiastical.

It is observable nevertheless, that even in the Reduction Archi-Episcopacy is acknowledged.

As for the super-added Particulars ;

§ 14. 1. The Appointment and Election of Suffragans is by the Law already vested in the King, whose Power therein is by the Course here proposed taken away.

§ 15. 2. What they mean by Associations in this place, they explain not ; but we conceive it dangerous that any Association (whatsoever is understood thereby) should be made or entered into without the King's Authority.

§ 16. 3. We do not take the Oaths, Promises and Subscriptions by Law required of Ministers at their Ordination, Institution, &c. to be unnecessary : although they be responsible to the Laws if they do amiss : it being thought requisite, as well by such Cautions to prevent Offences, as to punish Offenders afterwards. Upon all which Consideration it is, that Officers in the Court, Freemen in Cities, and Corporate Towns, Masters and Fellows of Colledges in the Universities, &c. are required at their Admission into their several respective places to give Oaths for well and truly performing their several respective Duties, their liableness to punishment in case of Non-performance accordingly notwithstanding. Neither doth it seem reasonable that such Persons as have themselves with great severity prescribed and exacted antecedent Conditions of their Communion not warranted by Law, should be exempted from the tye of such Oaths and Subscriptions as the Laws require.

§ 17. 4. We agree that the Bishops, and all Ecclesiastical Governours, ought to exercise their Government, not Arbitrarily but according to Law.

5. And for Security against such Arbitrary Government and Innovations the Laws are, and from time to time will be sufficient provision.

Concerning Liturgy.

§ 18. A Liturgy or Form of Publick Worship being not only by them acknowledged lawful, but by us also (for the preservation of Unity and Uniformity) deemed necessary, we esteem the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and by Law established, to be such a one as is by them desired ; according to the Qualifications here mentioned, viz.

1. For Matter agreeable to the Word of God, which we and all other lawful Ministers within the Church of *England*, have, or by the Laws ought to have attested by our Personal Subscription.

2. Fitly suited to the Nature of the several Ordinances, and the Necessities of the Church.

3. Nor too tedious in the whole. It's well known that some Mens Prayers before and after Sermon, have been usually not much shorter, and sometimes much longer than the whole Church Service.

4. Nor the Prayers too short. The Wisdom of the Church, both in ancient and latter times, hath thought it a fitter means for relieving the Infirmities of the meaner sort of People (which are the major part of most Congregations) to contrive several Petitions into sundry shorter Collects or Prayers, than to comprehend them altogether in a continued stile, or without interruption.

5. Nor the Repetitions unmeet. There are Examples of the like Repetition frequent in the *Psalms* and other parts of Scripture. Not to mention the unhandsome Tautologies that oftentimes happen, and can scarce be avoided in the Extemporary and undigested Prayers that are made; especially by Persons of meaner Gifts.

6. Nor the Responsals. Which if impartially considered, are pious Ejaculations fit to stir up Devotion, and good Symbols of Conformity betwixt the Minister and the People, and have been of very ancient practise and continuance in the Church.

7. Nor too dissonant from the Liturgies of other Reformed Churches. The nearer both their Forms and ours come to the Liturgy of the Ancient Greek and Latin Churches, the less are they liable to the Objections of the Common Enemy; To which Liturgies, if the Form used in our Church be more agreeable than those of other Reformed Churches, and that it were at all needful to make a Change in either, it seemeth to be much more reasonable that their Form should be endeavoured to be brought to a nearer Conformity with ours, than ours with theirs: Especially the Form of our Liturgy having been so signally approved by sundry of the most Learned Divines of the Reformed Churches abroad, as by very many Testimonies in their Writings may appear. And some of the Compilers thereof have Sealed the Protestant Religion with their Blood, and have been by the most Eminent Persons of those Churches esteemed as Martyrs for the same.

§ 19. As for that which followeth: Neither can we think that too rigorously imposed which is imposed by Law, and that with no more rigour than is necessary to make the Imposition effectual (otherwise it could be of no use but to beget and nourish factions). Nor are Ministers denied the use and exercise of their Gifts in praying before and after Sermon. Although such praying be but the continuance of a Custom of no great Antiquity, and grown into Common use by Sufferance only without any other Foundation in the Laws or Canons, and ought therefore to be used by all sober and godly Men with the greatest inoffensiveness and moderation possible.

§ 20. If any thing in the Established Liturgy shall be made appear to be justly offensive to sober Persons, we are not at all unwilling that the same should be changed.

The discontinuance thereof, we are sure was not our Fault. But we find by experience that the use of it is very much desired, where it is not; and the People generally are very well satisfied with it where it is used: which we believe to be a great Conservatory of the chief Heads of Christian Religion, and of Piety, Charity and Loyalty in the Hearts of the People.

We believe that the dispute thereof for sundry late years hath been one of the great Causes of the sad Divisions in the Church; and that the restoring the same, will be by (by God's blessing) a special means of making up the Breach. There being (as we have great cause to believe) many Thousands more in the Nation that desire it, than dislike it.

Nevertheless we are not against revising of the Liturgy by such discreet Persons as his Majesty shall think fit to imploy therein.

Of Ceremonies.

§ 21. We conceived there needs no more to be said for justifying the Imposition of the Ceremonies by Law established, then what is contained in the beginning of this Section : which giveth a full and satisfactory Answer to all that is alledged or objected in the following Discourse, which is for the most part rather Rhetorical than Argumentative. Inasmuch as lawful Authority hath already determined the Ceremonies in question to be decent and orderly, and to serve to Edification; and consequently to be agreeable to the General Rules of the Word.

We acknowledge the Worship of God to be in it self perfect in regard of Essentials, which hindereth not but that it may be capable of being improved to us by addition of Circumstantials in order to Decency and Edification.

As the Lord hath declared himself Jealous in Matters concerning the Substance of his Worship, so hath he left the Church at liberty for Circumstantials to determine concerning Particulars according to Prudence as occasion shall require, so as the foresaid General Rules be still observed. And therefore the imposing and using indifferent Ceremonies, is not varying from the Will of God, nor is there made thereby any addition to, or detraction from the holy Duties of God's Worship. Nor doth the same any way hinder the Communication of God's Grace or Comfort in the performance of such Duties.

§ 22. The Ceremonies were never esteemed Sacraments, or imposed as such; nor was ever any Moral efficacy ascribed to them, nor doth the significancy (without which they could not serve to Edification) import or infer any such thing.

§ 23. Ceremonies have been retained by most of the Protestant Churches abroad, which have rejected Popery, and have been approved by the Judgment of the most Learned, even of those Churches that have not retained them. Every National Church being supposed to be the best and most proper Judge what is fittest for themselves to appoint in order to Decency and Edification, without prescribing to other Churches.

§ 24. That the Ceremonies have been Matter of Contention in this or any other Church was not either from the Nature of the Thing enjoined, or the enjoying of the same by lawful Authority: but partly from the weakness of some Men's Judgments unable to search into the Reason of Things: and partly from the unsubduedness of some Mens Spirits more apt to contend, than willing to submit their private Opinions to the Publick Judgment of the Church.

§ 25. Of those that were obnoxious to the Law, very few (in comparison) have been deprived, and none of them (for ought we know) but such as after admonition and long forbearance finally refused to do, what not only the Laws required to be done, but themselves also formerly had solemnly and (as they professed) willingly promised to do.

§ 26. We do not see with what Conscience any Man could leave the Exercise of his Ministry in his peculiar Charge, for not submitting to lawful Authority in the using of such things as were in his own Judgment no more than inexpedient only. And it is certainly a great mistake at the least, to call the submitting to Authority in such things, a bringing the Conscience under the power of them.

§ 27. The Separation that hath been made from the Church, was from the taking a Scandal where none was given: The Church having fully declared her sence touching the Ceremonies imposed, as Things not in their Nature necessary, but indifferent. But was chiefly occasioned by the Practice, and defended from the Principles of those that refused Conformity to the Law, the just Rule and Measure of the Churches Unity.

§ 28. The Nature of Things being declared to be mutable, sheweth that they may therefore be changed, as they that are in Authority shall see it expedient; but it is no proof at all that it is therefore expedient that it should be actually changed. Yet it's a sufficient Caution against the Opinion (or Objection rather) of their being held by the Imposers either necessary or Substantials of Worship. Besides, this Argument, if it were of any force, would infer an expediency of the often changing even of good Laws, whereas the Change of Laws, although liable to some

some Inconveniencies, without great and evident necessity, hath been by Wise men ever accounted a thing not only Imprudent, but of evil, and sometimes pernicious Consequence.

§ 29. We fully agree with them in the acknowledgment of the King's Supremacy, but we leave it to his Majesty's Prudence and Goodness to consider, whether for the avoiding of the offence of some of his weak Subjects, he be any way obliged to Repeal the Established Laws: the Repealing whereof would be probably dissatisfactory to many more, and those (so far as we are able to judge) no less considerable a part of his Subjects. Nor do we conceive his Majesty by the Apostle's either Doctrine or Example obliged to any farther Condescension to particular Persons, than may be subservient to the general and main Ends of Publick Government.

The Lord hath entrusted Governours to provide, not only that Things necessary in God's Worship be duly performed, but also that things advisedly enjoined, though not otherways necessary, should be orderly and duly observed. The too great neglect whereof would so cut the Sinews of Authority, that it would become first infirm, and then contemptible.

As we are no way against such tender and religious Compassion in Things of this Nature, as his Majesty's Piety and Wisdom shall think fit to extend; so we cannot think that the Satisfaction of some private Persons is to be laid in the Balance against the Publick Peace and Uniformity of the Church.

Concerning particular Ceremonies.

§ 30. It being most convenient that in the Act of receiving the Lord's Supper one and the same Gesture should be uniformly used by all the Members of this Church; and Kneeling having been formerly enjoined and used therein, as a Gesture of greatest Reverence and Devotion, and so most agreeable to that Holy Service. And Holy-days of human Institution having been observed by the People of God in the Old-Testament, and by our blessed Saviour himself in the Gospel, and by all the Churches of Christ in Primitive and following times, as apt means to preserve the Memorials of the chief Mysteries of the Christian Religion. And such Holy-days being also fit times for the honest Recreation of Servants, Labourers, and the meaner sort of People.

For these Reasons, and the great Satisfaction of far the greatest part of the People, we humbly desire (as a thing in our Judgment very expedient) that they may both be still continued in the Church.

§ 31. As for the other Three Ceremonies, *viz.* the Surplice, Cross after Baptism, and bowing at the Name of Jesus; although we find not here any sufficient Reason alledged why they should be utterly abolished: Nevertheless, how far forth in regard of tender Consciences a Liberty may be thought fit to be indulged to any, his Majesty, according to his great Wisdom and Goodness, is best able to judge.

§ 32. But why they that confess that in the Judgment of all the things here mentioned are not to be valued with the Peace of the Church, should yet after they are established by Law, disturb the Peace of the Church, about them, we understand not.

§ 33. We heartily desire that no Innovations should be brought into the Church, or Ceremonies which have no foundation in the Laws of the Land imposed to the disturbance of the Peace thereof. But that all Men would use that Liberty that is allowed them in things indifferent, according to the Rules of Christian Prudence, Charity and Moderation.

§ 34. We are so far from believing that his Majesty's Condescending to these Demands will take away not only Differences, but the Roots and Causes of them, that we are confident it will prove the Seminary of new Differences, both by giving dissatisfaction to those that are well pleased with what is already established; who are much the greater part of his Majesty's Subjects; and by encouraging unquiet Spirits when these things shall be granted, to make further Demands. There being no assurance by them given, what will content all Dissenters: than which nothing is more necessary for the settling of a firm Peace in the Church.

A Defence of our Proposals to his Majesty for Agreement in Matters of Religion.

Concerning the Preamble.

§ 1. **W**E are not insensible of the great Danger of the Church, through the Doctrinal Errours of many of those with whom we are at difference also about the Points of Government and Worship now before us. But yet we chose to say of the *Party*, that we are agreed in Doctrinals, because they subscribe the same Holy Scriptures and Articles of Religion, and Books of Homilies as we do. And the Contradictions to their own Confessions, which too many are guilty of, we thought not just to charge upon the *Party*; because it is but Personal guilt. As to the differences (which in Charity and for Peace, we had rather extenuate than aggravate;) it is of *Objective Conceptions* that we speak, there being a difference in the things, as well as in our apprehensions. And we conceive that [*The Ancient Form of Church-Government, and the Soundness of the Liturgy, and freedom from corrupting unlawful Ceremonies,*] are Matters that are worthy a conscionable regard: and no such little inconsiderable things as to be received without sufficient trial, or used against the Dissensions of our Consciences. No Sin should seem so small as to be wilfully committed; especially to Divines. He that will sin for little or nothing, is not to be trusted when he hath great Temptations. *Whosoever shall break one of these least Commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven: but whosoever shall do, and teach them the same, shall be called great in the Kingdom of Heaven,* Match. 5. 19. And whether the *Imposor* or the *Forbearers* do hazard and disturb the Church, the nature of the thing declareth. To you it is indifferent before your *Imposition*; and therefore you may without any regret of your own Consciences forbear the *Imposition*, or persuade the Law-makers to forbear it. But to many of those that dissent from you, they are *sinful*; and therefore cannot be yielded to by them without the wilful violation of their Duty, to the absolute Sovereign of the World. If in the Church of *Rome*, the Conscience of a Subject forbid the use of Crucifixes, and Images, and Chrism, and Holy Water, &c. is it therefore they? or is it the Pastors that needlessly impose these Things, that are the Disturbers of the Church? The Princes might have forbore to make a Law restraining *Daniel* three days from Prayer; but *Daniel* could not forbear praying three days, though the Law commanded it: And which of them then was the Disturbers of the Peace? If you say that we are wilful, and our Consciences are peevish and misinformed; Charity and Modesty requireth you not to overvalue your own, or groundlessly vilifie the Judgments and Consciences of your Brethren. We study as hard as you; and are ready to joyn with you in the solemnest Protections, as before the Lord, that we are earnestly desirous to know the Truth: and we suppose we stand on the calmer side the Hedge, in point of Temptation: for if we err it is to our cost and loss, and have little but Reproach and Suffering to entice us willingly to mistake. And we are always ready to try by Argument which Side it is that is mistaken.

§ 2. May not we crave that necessary things may be secured to us, without being interpreted to seem to insinuate Accusations against you? As it is not the Authors of this Answer personally considered, that we could be imagined to accuse, because we knew them not; so there are others besides the party with whom we are seeking a Reconciliation, that may be averse to the practice of those things about which Divines are doctrinally agreed in, especially that part of the Vulgar who are practically of no Religion. And it is very displeasing to us to be called out to an Accusation of others; as being a Course that will tend more to exasperate than reconcile. Fain we would have had leave to Petition for our Liberty and for the security of Religion, without accusing any of being injurious to it. But it is the unhappy Advantage of those that are uppermost, that they can cut out at pleasure such work for those that they would use as Adversaries, that shall either make them *seem their Adversaries*, or appear to be really the Adversaries or Betrayers of the Truth, and cast them upon Inconveniences and Odium which way soever they go. But to be plain with you, if you would but agree with us in the practising and promoting the Practice of *those things* about which you profess to be agreed in Principles,

ples, our Differences in all other things would quickly be at an End. The great Controversies between the Hypocrite and the true Christian, whether we should be serious in the Practice of the Religion which we commonly profess? hath troubled England more than any other: None being more hated and derided as Puritans, than those that will make Religion their Business, and make it predominant in their Hearts and Lives, while others that hate them, take it up in custom, for Fashion, or in jest, and use it only in Subserviency to the Will of Man and their Worldly Ends, and honour it with Complements, and paint the Skin while they stab the Heart. Reconcile this Difference, and most others will be reconciled.

§ 3. Whether this signifie any Repentance for the voluminous Reproaches which many of you have written against those you call Puritans, your Amendment will interpret. That you will give us Liberty in our Family-Duties alone is a Courtesy that you cannot well deny a Papist or a Mahometan, because you have there no Witnesses of what they do; and yet we shall take our selves beholden for it, so low are our Expectations. But is there no Duty that private Christians owe to one another, for the furthering their Salvation, but only for their several Families? why may not those that on the Lord's Day repeat a Sermon in their Families, admit a Neighbour-Family to be present, which is not able so to help themselves? A great part of the Families among the Poor are composed of such as can neither write nor read, and therefore know not how to spend the Lord's Day when they are out of the Congregation: And a Sermon forgotten will hardly be so well practised as if it were remembred; and the Ignorant will hardly remember it if they never hear it but once. At least methinks it should be an Encouragement to you, when you have studied what to say to the People (rather than matter of Offence) to see them so far value it, as to desire to fasten it in their Memories. And if several Families join also in the singing of Psalms of Praise to God, and calling on him for a Blessing on the Minister and themselves, is this a Crime? when perhaps most of those Families either cannot pray at all, or not with such cheerful Advantage, by themselves: If you are against such mutual Helps as these, you are against the Benefit of the Peoples Souls: The Lord pity the Flocks that have such Pastors. If you are not against them, why are you against our Desires of encouragement in them? Have the Laws of the Land secured any of these to us against your Canons? If they have, why have so many Families formerly been undone, for such Exercises as these? and for fasting and praying together for the Pardon of their Sins? To deal freely with you, we are constrained so well to know with whom we have to do, that our Business is to request you of the Clergy, not to provoke the Law-givers to make any Law against this: That it may not become a Crime to Men, to pray together, and provoke one another to Love, and to good Works; when it is no Crime to talk, and play, and drink, and feast together. And that it may be no Crime to repeat a Sermon together, unless you resolve that they shall hear none which is worth their repeating and remembring. And whereas you speak of opening a Gap to Sectaries for private Conventicles, and the evil Consequents to the State, we only desire you to avoid also the cherishing of Ignorance and Prophaneness, and suppress all Sectaries, and spare not, in a way that will not suppress the means of Knowledge and Godliness. As you will not forbid all praying or preaching, lest we should have Sectarian Prayers or Sermons, so let not all the People of the Land be prohibited such Assistance to each others Souls, as Nature and Scripture oblige them to, and all for fear of the Meetings of Sectaries: We thought the Cautions in our Petition were sufficient, when we confined it *Subjectively* to those of our Flocks, and *Objectively* to their Duties of exhorting and provoking one another to Love and to good Works, and of building up one another in their most holy Faith. And only by religious peaceable means of furthering each other in the ways of eternal Life: And for the Order [They being not opposite to Church-Assemblies (but subordinate) nor refusing the Guidance and Inspection of their Pastors (who may be sometime with them and prescribe them their Work and Way, and direct their Actions) and being responsible for what they do or say (their Doors being open there will not want Witnesses against them, if they do amiss). And is not all this enough to secure you against the Fear of Sectaries, unless all such Helps and mutual Comforts be forbidden to all that are no Sectaries. This is but as the Papists do in another Case, when they deny People Liberty to read the Scriptures lest they make Men Heretics or Sectaries. And for the Danger of the State, cannot Men plot against it in Ale-houses, or Taverns, or Fields, or under Pretence of Horse-Races, Hunting, Bowles, or other Occasions, but only under pretence of Worshipping God? If they may, why are not all Men forbidden to feast, or bowl, or hunt, &c. lest Sectaries

make advantage of such Meetings, as well as to fast and pray? God and wise Men know that there is something more in all such Jealousies of Religious Duties.

§ 4. Do you really desire that every Congregation may have an able, godly Minister? Then cast not out those many Hundreds or Thousands that are approved such, for want of Re-ordination, or for doubting whether Diocesans with their Chancellors &c. may be subscribed to, and set not up ignorant ungodly ones in their Places. Otherwise the poor undone Churches of Christ will no more believe you in such Professions, than we believed that those Men intended the King's just Power and Greatness, who took away his Life.

But you know not what we mean by Residence, nor how far we will extend that Word. The Word is so plain, that it's easily understood by those that are willing: But he that would not know, cannot understand, as King Charles told Mr. Henderson. I doubt the People will quickly find that you did not understand us. And yet I more fear lest many a Parish will be glad of Non-residence, even if Priests and Curate and all were far enough from them, through whose Fault I say not.

§ 5. Two Remedies you give us instead of what we desired for the Reformation of Church-Communion: 1. You say, *Confirmation if rightly and solemnly performed will alone be sufficient as to the point of Instruction.* *Ans.* But what we desired was necessary to the right and solemn Performance of it. Doth not any Man that knoweth what hath been done in England, and what People dwell there, know that there are not more ignorant People in this Land than such as have had, and such as desire Episcopal Confirmation? Is it *Sufficient in point of Instruction*, for a Bishop to come among a company of little Children and other People, whom he he never saw before, and of whom he never heard a Word, and of whom he never asketh a Question which may inform him of their Knowledge or Life; and presently to lay his Hands on them in order, and hastily say over a few Lines of Prayer, and so dismiss them? I was confirmed by honest Bishop Morton, with a multitude more, who all went to it as a May-game, and kneeled down, and he dispatched us with that short Prayer so fast, that I scarce understood one word he said; much less did he receive any Certificate concerning us, or ask us any thing which might tell him whether we were Christians; and I never saw nor heard of much more done by any English Bishop in his course of Confirmation. If you say that more is required in the Rubrick, I say then it is no Crime for us to desire it. 2. And for your Provision in the other Rubrick again scandalous Communicants, it enableth not the Minister to put away any one of them all, save only the malicious that will not just then be reconciled. Be not angry with us, if in sorrow of Heart, we pray to God, that his Churches may have experienced Pastors, who have spent much time in serious dealing with every one of their Parishes personally, and know what they are and what they need, instead of Men that have conversed only with Books, and the Houses of great Men; or when they do sometimes stoop to speak to the ignorant, do but talk to them of the Market or the Weather, or ask them, *what is their Name.*

§ 6. To your Answer we reply, Those Laws may be well made stricter: They hinder not the Imposition of a Book to be read, by all Ministers in the Churches, for the Peoples Liberty for Dancing, and other such Sports on the Lord's Day, and this in the King's Name, to the ejecting or suspending of those Ministers that durst not read it. And those Laws which we have may be more carefully executed. If you are ignorant how commonly the Lord's Day is prophaned in England by Sporting, Drinking, Revelling and Idleness, you are sad Pastors that no better know the Flock: If you know it, and desire not the Reformation of it, you are yet worse. Religion never prospered any where so much, as where the Lord's Days have been most carefully spent in holy Exercises.

Concerning Church-Government.

§ 7. Had you well read but Gerson, Bucer, Didacrus, Parker, Baynes, Salmasius, Blondell, &c. yea, of the few Lines in Bishop Usher's Reduction which we have offered you, or what I have written of it in *Disp. 1. of Church-Government*; you would have seen just Reason given for our Dissent from the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy as stated in England; and have known that it is unlike the primitive Episcopacy: But if that which must convince you, must be brought nearer your Eyes, by God's help we undertake to do that fully whenever we are called to it.

8. The Words which you here except against with Admiration of *the Corruptions, Partialities, Tyranny*, which Church-Government by a single Person is lyable to, was taken by us out of the Book commonly ascribed to King Charles himself called *Icon. Basil.* but we purposely suppress his Name to try whether you would not be as bitter against *his Words*, as against *ours*, and did not esteem *Fidem per personas, non personas per fidem.*

And further we reply, it is one thing for a Bishop to rule alone when there are no Presbyters, or to rule the Presbyters themselves alone: and another thing when he hath Presbyters yet to rule all the Flock alone; for by this means, he *quoad Exerctium* at least degradeth all the rest, or changeth their Office; which is to *guide* as well as to *teach*: As if the General of an Army, or the Collonel of a Regiment should rule all the Souldiers alone; doth he not then depose all his Captains, Lieutenants, Cornets, Corporals, Serjeants, &c. But especially, it is one thing for Ignatius his Bishop of one Church that had but one Altar to rule it alone (though yet he commandeth the People to obey their Presbyters) and another thing for an English Diocesan to rule a Thousand such Churches alone! And when all is done, do they rule alone indeed? Or doth not a Lay-Chancellor exercise the Keys? so far as is necessary to suppress private Meetings for Fasting and Prayer, &c. and to force all to the Sacrament, and enforce the Ceremonies, and some such things; and for the great Discipline it is almost altogether left undone. We are sorry that you should be able to be ignorant of this; or if you know it, that such Camels stick not with you, but go down so easily.

Instances of things amiss.

§ 9. 1. That which you cannot grant (that the Diocesses are too great) you would quickly grant if you had ever conscionably tried the task which Dr. Hammond describeth as the Bishops Work; yea, but for one Parish, or had ever believed Ignatius and other ancient Descriptions of a Bishop's Church.

But is it faithful dealing with your Brethren or your Consciences (pardon our Freedom in so weighty a Case) to dispute as though you made a Bishop but an Archbishop to see by a general Inspection of the Parish-Pastors that they do their Office, and as if they only ruled the Rulers of the particular Flocks (which you know we never strove against)? when as no knowing English Man can be ignorant that our Bishops have the sole Government of Pastors and People, having taken all Jurisdiction or proper Government (or next all) from the particular Pastors of the Parishes, to themselves alone. Is not the Question rather as whether the King can rule all the Kingdom by the Chancellor, or a few such Officers, without all the Justices and Mayors; or whether one Schoolmaster shall only rule a thousand Schools and all the other Schoolmasters only teach them. You know that the depriving of all the Parish Pastors of the Keys of Government is the matter of our greatest Controversies: Not as it is any hurt to them, but to the Church, and a certain Exclusion of all true Discipline. And whether the Office of the Bishops of particular Churches *infimi Ordinis, vel gradus*, be not for Personal Inspection and Ministration, as well as the Office of a Schoolmaster or Physician, you will better know when you come to try it faithfully, or answer fearfully for Unfaithfulness. We know that the knowing Lord Bacon in his Considerations saith so as well as we.

And for what you say of *Suffragans*, you know there are none such.

§ 10. 2. We are glad that in so great a matter as Lay-Chancellors Exercise of the Keys in Excommunications and Absolutions, you are forced plainly, and without any Excuse to confess the Errors of the way of Government. And let this stand on Record before the World to justify us when we shall be silenced and reproached as Schismatics, for desiring the Reformation of such Abuses, and for not swearing Canonical Obedience to such a Government.

§ 11. 3. And you have almost as little to say in this Case. Mark Reader, that we must all be silenced, and cast out of our Offices, if we subscribe not to the Book of Ordination *ex Animo*, as having nothing contrary to the Word of God: And the very Preface of that beginneth with the Affirmation of this Distinction of Orders, Offices, Functions, from the Apostles Days, and one of the Prayers ascribeth it to the Spirit of God; and yet now it is here said, that [whether a Bishop be a distinct Order from a Presbyter or not, is none of the Question]: That must be none of the Question when the King calleth them to treat for a Reconciliation or Unity,

which will be out of Question against us when we are called to *subscribe*, or are to be forbidden to preach the Gospel.

And let what is here confessed for Presbyters Assistance in Ordination, stand on Record against them when it is neglected or made an insignificant Ceremony.

§ 12. 4. In the last also you give up your Cause, and yet it's well if you will amend it. Whether the Canons be Laws, let the Lawyers judge: And whether all the Bishops Books of Articles (as against making Scripture our Table talk, and many such others) be either Laws, or according to Law, let the World judge.

The Remedies offered for reforming these Evils.

§ 13. 1. Whereas to avoid all Exception, or frustrating Contentions or Delays, we offered only Bishop *Usher's* Platform (subscribed also by Dr. *Holdsworth*) that the World might see that it is Episcopacy it self that we plead for; you tell us that it *was formed many Years before his Death, and is not consistent with two other of his Discourses*: In which either you would intimate that he contradicteth himself, and could not speak consistently, or that he afterward retracted this Reduction. For the first, We must believe that many Men can reconcile their own Writings, when some Readers cannot, as better understanding themselves than others do. And that this reverend Bishop was no such raw Novice, as not to know when he contradicted himself in so publick and practical a Case, as a Frame of Church-Government; Nor was he such an Hypocrite as to play fast and loose in the things of God: But upon Debate we undertake to vindicate his Writings from this Aspersions of Inconsistency; only you must not take him to mean that *all was well done*, which as an Historian he saith *was done*. And as to any Retraction, one of us (my self) is ready to witness that he owned it not long before his Death, as a Collection of fit Terms to reconcile the Moderate in these Points, and told him that he offered it the late King.

And whereas you tell us that the *conforming of Suffraganes to Rural Deaneries*, and other such, are *his private Conceptions, destitute of any Testimony of Antiquity*: We answer, No marvel, when Rural Deaneries were unknown to true Antiquity. And when in the Ancientest Church, every Church had its proper Bishop, and every Bishop but one Church, that had also but one Altar. But surely the Corepiscopi were no Strangers to Antiquity, as may appear (before the Council at Nice) in *Concil. Ancyran. Can. 12.* and in *Concil. Antiochin. Can. 10. &c.* It was unknown in the days of *Ignatius* and *Justin Martyr*, that a Church should be as large as a Rural Deanry, containing a dozen Churches with Altars, that had none of them peculiar Bishops: But it was not strange then that every Church had a Bishop; and if it were Rural, a Chorepiscopus. As also you may gather even from *Clemens Romanus*.

The Quarrel which you pick with the Archbishops Reduction for not Naming the King, as if he destroyed his Supremacy, is such as a low degree of Charity, with a little Understanding, might easily have prevented. Either you *know* that it is the *Power of the Keys*, (called *Spiritual* and *proper-Ecclesiastical*) and not the *Coercive Power circa Ecclesiastica*, which the Archbishop speaketh of, and all our Controversie is about, or you do not *know* it. If you *do know* it, either you think this *Power of the Keys* is resolved into the King, or not: If you *do think* so, you differ from the King, and from all of your selves that ever we talked with, and you contradict all Protestant Princes, that have openly disclaimed any such Power, and published this to the World to stop the Mouths of Calumniating Papists: And we have heard the King, and some of you, disclaim it: And how can you then fitly debate these Controversies that differ from all Protestant Kings, and from the Church! But if you your selves *do not so think*, had you a Pen that would charge the Archbishop for destroying the King's Supremacy, for asserting nothing but what the King and you maintain? And if you *knew not* that this *Spiritual Power* of the Keys, as distinct from Magistratical Coercive Power, is the Subject of our Controversie, we dispute to good purpose indeed with Men that know not what Subject it is that we are to dispute about! so that which way soever it go, you see how it is like to fall; and how Men that are out of the dust and noise will judge of our Debates. And here we leave it to the Notice and Observation of Posterity, upon the perusal of all your Exceptions, How little the *English Bishops* had to say against the Form of Primitive Episcopacy contained in Archbishop *Usher's* Reduction, in the day when they rather chose the increase of our Divisions, the Silencing of many Hundred

See Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions and our 39 Articles.

faith.

faithful Ministers, the scattering of the Flocks, the afflicting of so many thousand godly Christians, than the accepting of this Primitive Episcopacy : which was the Expedient which those called *Presbyterians* offered, never once speaking for the Cause of Presbytery. And what kind of Peace-makers and Conciliators we met with, when both Parties were to meet at one time and place with their several Concessions for Peace and Concord ready drawn up, and the Presbyterians in their Concessions laid by *all their Cause*, and proposed an Archbishops frame of Episcopacy : and the other side brought not in any of their Concessions at all, but only unpeaceably rejected all the Moderation that was desired.

Lastly, They hear desire it may be observed that in this Reduction, Archiepiscopacy is acknowledged : And we shall also desire that it may be observed, that *we* never put in a word to them against Archbishops, Metropolitans or Primates, and yet we are very far from attaining any Peace with them.

And we desire that it may be observed also, that understanding with whom we had to do, we offered them not that which *we approved our selves as the best*, but that which *we would submit to*, as having some Consistency with the Discipline and Order of the Church, which was our End.

Of the Superadded Particulars.

§ 14. 1. This is scarce Serious : The Primate's Suffragans or Chorepiscopi are Rural Deans, or as many for number : The Suffragans you talk of by Law are other things, about Sixteen in all the Land. The King's Power is about the Choice of them as Humane Officers, but as Pastors of the Church or Bishops, the Churches had the Choice for a Thousand years after Christ, through most of the Christian World. And what if it be in the King's power : Is it not the more reasonable that the King be petitioned to in the Business ? The King doth not choole every Rural Dean himself : And is it any more destructive of his Power to do it by the Synods, than by the Diocesan ? This use the Name and Power of Kings is made of by some kind of Men, to make a noise against all that cross their Domination, but all that is exercised by themselves is no whit derogatory to Royalty. And yet how many Men have been Excommunicated for refusing to Answer in the Chancellor's Courts, till they profess to sit there by the King's Authority ?

§ 15. We much doubt whether you designed to read the Archbishop's *Reduction* when you answered our Papers : If you did not, why would you choole to be ignorant of what you answered, when so light a Labour might have informed you ? If you did, how could you be ignorant of what we meant by *Associations*, when you saw that, *such as our Rural Deaneries* was the thing spoken of and proposed by the *Reduction* ? And 1. Are the Rural Deaneries think you, *without the King's Authority* ? If not, what mean you by such Intimations ? unless you would make Men believe that we breathe Treason, as oft as we breathe (as the Soldier charged the Country-man for *whistling Treason*, when he meant to plunder him). 2. And what though Associations may not be entered into without the King's Authority : Do you mean that therefore we may not thus *desire his Authority* for them ? If you do not, to what fence or purpose is this Answer ? Sure we are, that for Three hundred years when Magistrates were not Christian, there was Preaching, Praying, and Associating in particular Churches hereunto without the Kings Authority, and also Associating in Synods : And after that for many a Hundred year the Christian Magistrates confirmed and over-ruled such Associations, but never overthrew them, or forbade them.

§ 16. But the Apostles of Christ, and all his Churches for many hundred years, thought all these Subscriptions and Oaths unnecessary ; and never prescribed, nor required either them or any such : So unhappy is the present Church in the happy Understandings of these Men of Yesterday, that are wiser than Christ, his Apostles and Universal Church, and have at last found out these necessary Oaths and Subscriptions. And you are not quite mistaken : Necessary they are, to set up those that shall rule by Constraint as Lords over God's Heritage, and necessary Engines for the dividing and persecuting of the Church : But judge thou, O Lord, according to thy righteousness, in the day which is coming.

But the Examples of Corporations and Colledges are brought in, who prevent Offences by Subscriptions and Oaths. And even so hath Christ (whose Spirit would impose nothing on the Churches but things necessary) appointed a Vow and Solemn

lemn Covenant to be the way of Entrance into his Church : And the Apish Spirit which followeth him (to counter-work him) by the Addition of Humane Churches, Sacraments and Ordinances, doth also imitate him in making their Oaths and Promises necessary to engage Men to their Service and Institutions, as Christ hath made Baptism necessary to engage us to his Service and Institutions. And your Arguments for Diocesans are so weak, that we wonder not that you think both Oaths, Subscriptions, Prisons, Confiscations and Banishments necessary to enforce them.

What you add of [*such Persons as have themselves exacted Conditions of their Communion not warranted by Law*], we understand not : Either the Law warranteth Men to *own Christ* for their Saviour, and to *own their own Membership* in the particular Church which they demand constant Communion with, or it doth not. If it do not, we have reason to desire more than is warranted by that Law. If it do, you should have done well to instance what Persons and what Exactions you mean. If you speak this of *all the Churches* of the Land that dislike your Prelacy, it is too gross an untruth to have been uttered in the Light. If you speak only of some Persons or Parties, that is no reason why others should be deprived of their Liberty and Ministry. Nor indeed is it good Arguing that such Oaths and Subscriptions as the Church of old did never know, may be imposed by the Laws of Men, because some Brethren have lately required such Conditions of their Communion, as are imposed by the Laws of God. But let us prevail with you to drive this no further than the Persons, (whoever they be) did drive it whom you blame : Their utmost Penalty on the Refusers of their Conditions was *Non-Communion* with them ; (A thing which many of you voluntarily chose). Let this be all our Penalty for refusing your Oaths and Subscriptions (if we can get no better from you) : But shall we be Silenced, Imprisoned, Confiscated, Banished, for refusing your Oaths and Subscriptions, because somebody imposed Things which the Law allowed not in order to their own Communion. These are no fit Proportions of Justice.

§ 17. Out of your own Mouths then is your Government condemned. What Act of Parliament ratified your Canons ? What Law imposed Altars, Rails, and the forcing of Ministers to read the Book for Dancing on the Lord's Days ? Or what Law did ratify many Articles of your Visitation Books ? And did the Laws sufficiently provide for all those poor Ministers that were Silenced or Suspended for not reading the *Dancing Book*, or any such things ? What the better were all those for the Laws that were Silenced, or driven into Foreign Lands ? But perhaps the Laws will provide for us indeed as you desire.

Concerning the Liturgy.

This is spoken of the Old Common Prayer Book, and not of the New, where the Doctrine in point of Infants Salvation is changed.

§ 18. 1. The *Doctrine* is sound. But the Apocryphal Matter of your Lessons, in *Tobith, Judith, Bell and the Dragon, &c.* is scarce agreeable to the Word of God.

2. Whether it be *fitly suited*, let our Exceptions and other Papers be heard before your Judgment go for infallible.

3. What Mens Prayers you take your Measure or Encouragement from, we know not : But we are sure that if *all* the Common Prayers be twice a day read, the time for Psalms and Sermons will be short. And yet were they free from disorder and defectiveness in Matter, we could the better bear with the length, though other Prayers and Sermons were partly excluded by them.

4. Though we live in the same Countreys, we scarce differ any where more than in our very Experiences : Our Experience unresistably convinceth us, that a continued Prayer doth more to help most of the People, and carry on their Desires, than turning almost every Petition into a distinct Prayer ; and making Prefaces and Conclusions to be near half the Prayers. And if the way of Prayer recorded in Scripture (even in the Jews Church, where Infirmary might be pleaded more than now) were such as yours, we shall say no more in that against it : But if it were not, be not wise then overmuch.

5. We are content that the Liturgy have such Repetitions as the Scriptures have, so it may have no other ! And we are content that all Extemporate Prayer be restrained which is guilty of as much Tautology and vain Repetition as the Liturgy is : If this much will satisfy you, we are agreed.

6. Nor are we against any such Responsals as are fit to the Ends you mention: If ours are all such (upon impartial Examination), let them stand.

7. But the Question is, 1. Whether the Greek and Latin Churches in the three first Ages, or those of later Ages, be more imitable. 2. And whether the other Reformed Churches have not more imitated the ancientest of those Churches, though we have more imitated the latter and more corrupt. 3. And whether our first work be to stop the Papists Mouths by pleasing them, or coming too near them, when we know they that are likest them in all their Corruptions please them best. Yet are we not for any unnecessary difference from them, or affectation of caustic singularity.

As to the Reformed Churches Testimony of our Liturgy, shall their very Charity become our Snare? If they had liked our Form of Prayers best, they would some of them have imitated us. And our Martyrs no doubt, they honoured as we do, not as suffering for the Modes and Ceremonies of that Book, as opposite to the Reformed Churches Mode (for so they suffered not); but as suffering for the Sound Doctrine and True Worship of the Protestants, as opposite to Popery and the Mass.

§ 19. Your Reasons to prove your Impositions not too rigorous, are 1. Because they are by Law: If we tell you that so is the Spanish Inquisition; you'll say, we compare our Law-givers to the Spaniards: If we say that your New-mentioned Martyrs were burnt by Law in England, you'll say that we compare them to Papists. But all these are Laws: And so are those in Reformed Countreys which are against Bishops and Ceremonies: Do you therefore think them not too rigorous? 2. Your other Reason is, that the Rigour is no more then is necessary to make the Imposition effectual. You never spake words more agreeable to your hearts, as far as by your Practices we can judge of them. Either you mean effectual to change Mens Judgments, or effectual to make them go against their Judgments, or effectual to rid them out of the Land or World. The first you know they are unfit for: If you think otherwise, would you that your Judgments should have such kind of helps to have set them right? The second way they will be effectual with none but wicked Men and Hypocrites, who dare Sin against their Consciences for fear of Men: And is it worth so much ado to bring the Children of the Devil into your Church? The third way of Efficacy, is but to kill or banish all the Children of God that are not of your Opinion: for it is they that dare not Sin against Conscience whatever they suffer: And this is but such an Efficacy as the Spanish Inquisition, and Queen Mary's Bonfires had, to send those to God whom the World is not worthy of. You know every Man that is true to his God and his Conscience, will never do that which he taketh to be Sin, till his Judgment is changed: and therefore with such it can be no lower than Blood, or Banishment, or Imprisonment at least, that is the Efficacy which you desire: And if no such rigour be too much, its pity the French, that murdered 30000 or 40000 at their Bartholomew days, or as Dr. Peter Moulin saith 100000 within a few Weeks, and the Irish that murdered 200000 had not had a better Cause: For they took the most effectual way of rigour.

But when God maketh Inquisition for the Blood of his Servants, he will convince Men that such rigour was too much, and that their Wrath did not fulfil his Righteousness.

You shew your Kindness to Men's praying in the Pulpit without your Book: Make good what you say, that such Praying is of no great Antiquity, and we will never contradict you more! Or if we prove it not the Ancientest way of Praying in the Christian Church, we will give you free leave to hang or banish us, for not Subscribing to the Common Prayer Book: which the Apostles used, and which was imposed on the Church for some hundred years. But it seems you think that we are beholden to meer Sufferance without Law or Canon for conceived Prayers: How long then it will be suffered we know not; if we must live by your Patience.

§ 20. It seemeth that our Converse and yours much differ: The most that we know or meet with had rather be without the Liturgy: and you say, That the People generally are well satisfied with it. By this time they are of another Mind. If it were so, we take it for no great honour to it; considering what the greater Number are in most places, and of what Lives those Persons are (of our Parishes and Acquaintance generally or for the most part) who are for it: Or what those are that are against it, and whom for its sake you desire your effectual rigour may be exercised against. The Lord prepare them to undergo it innocently.

§ 21. Doth there need no more to be said for the Ceremonies? How little will satisfie some Men's Consciences! *Lawful Authority* hath in other Countreys cast out the same Bishops and Ceremonies which are here received: Doth it follow that they are good in one Country, and disorderly and undecent in another? Or that our Authority only is infallible in judging of them?

Is not God's Worship perfect without our Ceremonies, in its *Integrals* as well as its *Essentials*?

As for *Circumstantial*s when you saw us allow of them, you need not plead for them as against us. But the Question is, whether our *Additions* be not more then *Circumstances*.

§ 22. We suppose that you give all to the Cross in Baptism which is necessary to a Humane Sacrament: And this we are ready to try by just Dispute.

When you say that *never was Moral Efficacy ascribed to them*, you seem to give up all your Cause: for by denying this ascribed Efficacy, you seem to grant them unlawful if it be so: And if it be not so, let us bear the blame of wronging them. The informing and exciting the dull mind of Man, in its duty to God, is a Moral Effect from Moral Efficacy. But the informing and exciting the dull Mind of Man in its Duty to God is an Effect ascribed to our Ceremonies: Ergo, a Moral Effect from Moral Efficacy is ascribed to our Ceremonies. The *major* cannot be denied by any Man that knoweth what a Moral Effect and Efficacy is: that which worketh not *per modum Naturæ in genere Causæ efficientis naturalis* only, but *per modum objecti, vel in genere causæ finalis*, upon the Mind of Man, doth work morally: but so do our Ceremonies: Ergo—sure the *Arminians* that deny all proper Physical Operations of God's Spirit, as well as his Word, and reduce all to *Moral Efficacy*, will not say that Ceremonies have such a *Physical Efficacy* more than Moral. And if not so, the good Effects here mentioned can be from no lower Efficacy than Moral. And the *minor* which must be denied, is in the words of the Preface to the Common Prayer Book, and therefore undeniable. The Word of God it self worketh but *moraliter proponendo objectum*, and so do our Ceremonies.

§ 23. There is a great difference between Sacramental Ceremonies, and meer Circumstances, which the Reformed Churches keep. These we confound not, and could have wished you would not. Our Cross in Baptism is [*A dedicating sign* (saith the Canon) or *transient Image*, made in token that this Child shall not be ashamed of Christ crucified, but manly fight under his Banner against the Flesh, the World, and the Devil, and continue Christ's faithful Servant and Soldier to his Lives end. So that

1. It is a Dedicating Sign, performed by the Minister, and not by the Person himself, as a bare *Professing Sign* is.
2. It engageth the Party in a Relation to Christ [*as his Soldier and Servant*].
3. And in the Duties of this Relation against all our Enemies, as the *Sacramentum Militare* doth a Soldier to his General; and that in plainer and fuller words than are annexed to Baptism.
4. And it is no other than the Covenant of Grace or of Christianity it self, which this Sacrament of the Cross doth enter us into, as Baptism also doth. It is not made a part of Baptism, nor called a Sacrament, but as far as we can judge, made essentially a Humane Sacrament adjoynd to Baptism. The Reformed Churches which use the Cross, we mean the *Lutherans*, yet use it not in this manner.

§ 24. This is but your unproved Assertion, That the Fault was not in the Ceremonies, but in the Contenders: we are ready to prove the contrary: but if it had been true, how far are you from *Paul's* mind, expressed *Rom. 14. & 15.* and *1 Cor. 8.* You will let your weak Brother perish, and spare not, so you can but charge the Fault on himself; and lay Stumbling-blocks before him, and then save him by your *effectual rigour*, by Imprisonment or Punishment.

§ 25. Those seem a few to you that seem many to us: Had it been but one hundred such as Cartwright, Amesius, Bradshaw, Parker, Hilderham, Dod, Nicolls, Langley, Paget, Hering, Baynes, Bates, Davenport, Hooker, Wilson, Cotton, Norton, Shephard, Cobbet, Ward, &c. they had been enough to have grieved the Souls of many Thousand godly Christians; and enough for any one of the Reformed Churches, had they possessed them, to have gloried in; and many far meaner are yet the glory of the Ancient Churches, and called, and revered as Fathers. But we doubt this same Spirit will make you think that many Hundred more are but a few to be Silenced e're long. And then your Clemency will comfort the poor People that have ignorant or deoboist Readers instead of Ministers (for too many such we have known) that it was their Pastors faults that obstinately refused to Conform, when they had promised it; that is, that repented of the Sin of their Subscription when they discerned it: And had they never been ignorant enough to Subscribe, they had never entered: And the many hundreds which you thus keep from the Ministry, you make nothing of.

§ 26. Whether Diocesanes be a lawful Authority as claiming Spiritual Government, and how far Men may own them even in lawful things, are Controversies to be elsewhere managed. We justify no Man's leaving his Ministry upon the Refusal of any thing but what he judged unlawful, yea, and what was really so.

§ 27. Whether any *Offence were given* (though not enough to warrant Separation) let our Argumentations on both sides declare. The said Declaration of the Churches Sense is not the smallest part of the Scandal. Calling a humane Sacrament, *indifferent*, or *no Sacrament*, proveth it not to be as it is called. That the Nonconformists were the Cause of Separation, who did most against it, is easily laid, and as easily proved as the Arrians proved that the Orthodox were the cause of the Schism of the Luciferans who separated from the Church for receiving the *Arrians* too easily to Communion.

§ 28. Church Matters in this much differ from Civil Matters; and its one thing to change a Church Custom when it dangerously prevaileth to corrupt Mens Understandings, and another thing when there is no such Danger. So *Hezekiah* thought when he destroyed the Brazen Serpent, and *Paul* (who before circumcised *Timothy*) when he said, *If ye be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing*. Could Men have foreseen that the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome in the imperial Churches, would have been sublimated to such a challenged Supremacy over all the Christian World, we suppose the Ancients would have held it their Duty to have removed the Primacy to some other Seat.

§ 29. According to your *Councils* will you be judged of God? The *Not-abating* of the *Impositions* is the casting off of many hundreds of your Brethren out of the Ministry, and of many thousand Christians out of your Communion: But the *abating* of the *Impositions*, will so offend you, as to silence or excommunicate none of you at all: For *e. g.* we think it a Sin to Subscribe, or swear canonical Obedience, or use the transient Image of the Cross in Baptism, and therefore these must cast us out: But you think it no Sin to *forbear* them, if the Magistrate abate them, and therefore none of you will be cast out by the Abatement. But it seemeth that your Charity judgeth the bare displeasing of your Appetite to the Ceremonies, is a greater evil than the silencing and excommunicating all us, your poor Brethren, though our Imprisonment follow: Nay, this is not all; For your Displeasure will be only that *another Adam* subscribeth not, crosseth not, &c. while you may do it your selves as much as you please.

Whether the casting out of so many Ministers and Christians, for such things do more *subserve the main ends of publick Government*, than the forbearance would do, if you know not, we leave you to God's Conviction. As also whether these things be well imposed, and Mens Obedience to Authority, and the Peace of the Church, and its Uniformity or Unity, be well and justly laid upon them: Such Concessions indeed might bear you out far.

Concerning particular Ceremonies.

§ 30. Why then is it not as meet that one Gesture be used by all in singing Psalms or hearing Sermons? Why doth the Ministers stand in Prayer, even in the Sacrament Prayer, while the People kneel? We speak against none of your Liberty in using either kneeling or Holy-days, and perhaps some of us mean to use both our selves; but only beseech you, that they may be no more imposed than the ancient Church imposed them, and we desire no more; and if you reverence Antiquity, why will you not imitate it, in point of Imposition, as well as in the thing it self. But yet that Antiquity was against Kneeling on the Lord's Day at the Sacrament, and that they had but few of our Holy-days for many hundred Years, we suppose you are not ignorant.

§ 31. It's well you have no more to say against Liberty to forbear the other three Ceremonies; the more unexcusable will you be, when you silence and excommunicate those that use them not.

§ 32. And its strange that meaner understandings than yours cannot see why Men should forbear that *which is not to be valued with the Churches Peace*: A Lye or a false Subscription, is not to be valued with the Churches Peace: And is it therefore a Wonder to you that Men should scruple them? It is fitter Matter for the Wonder of good Men, that after so long Experience, those that will needs be the Lords and Governors in spiritual Matters, should so resolutely lay the Churches

Peace upon such things as these, where they know beforehand, that Men of no Conscience will all be peaceable, and thousands of godly People are unsatisfied; and that they will needs take all for Disturbers of the Peace, who jump not with their Humour in every Ceremony, how willing soever to be ruled by the Laws of God.

§ 33. We are glad that you justify not Innovation and *Arbitrariness*; and yet desire not such a Cure as some do, by getting Laws which may do their Work.

§ 34. If your want of Charity were not extraordinary, it could not work effectually to the afflicting of your Brethren and the Church; when we tell you what will end your Differences, you know our Minds so much better than our selves, that you will *not believe us*: But you will be confident that we will come on with new Demands: This is your way of Conciliation; when you were to bring in your utmost Concessions in order to our Unity, and it was promised by his Majesty, that you should meet us half way, you bring in nothing, and persuade his Majesty also that he should not believe us in what we offer, that it would be satisfactory if it were granted! You say that it will give *Dissatisfaction* to the *greater Part of his Majesty's Subjects*! We are more charitable than to believe that a quarter of his Majesty's Subjects are so *uncharitable*, as to be dissatisfied if their Brethren be not silenced and excommunicated for not *swearing, subscribing, or using a Ceremony*, while they may do it as much as they list themselves. And whereas you say, that there is *no assurance given that it will content all Dissenters*; you know that there are many Dissenters, as Papists, Quakers, &c. for whom we never medled: And we think this an unjust Answer to be given to them, who craved of his Majesty, that they might send to their Brethren through the Land, to have the Testimony of their common Consent, and were denied it, and told that it should be our work alone, and imputed to no others.

In Conclusion, we perceive your Counsels against Peace are not likely to be frustrated: Your Desires concerning us are like to be accomplished: You are like to be gratified with our Silence and Ejection, and the Excommunication and Consequent sufferings of Dissenters. And yet we will believe that blessed are the Peacemakers, and though *Deceit be in the Heart of them that imagin Evil, yet there is Joy to the Counsellors of Peace*, Prov. 12. 20. And though we are flopt by you in our following of Peace, and are never like thus publickly to seek it more (because you think that we must hold our Tongues, that you may hold your Peace) yet are we resolved by the help of God, if it be possible, and as much as in us lieth, to live peaceably with all Men, Rom. 12. 18.

§ 102. Hereupon some very very learned, godly Men, renewed their former Speeches, [*That it was a vain Attempt to Endeavour a Reconciliation with such Men! that their Minds were exasperated, and they were resolved to monopolize the Favour of our Prince, and all Honours and Preferments to themselves: That there was no hope they would do any thing for the promoting of strict serious Godliness, or any thing that deserved the Name of Ecclesiastical Discipline: That undoubtedly they do but draw us on, partly to spin out the time till they are ready to persecute us without any danger to themselves, and partly to set us together by the Ears, and otherwise abuse us, by drawing us to grant them that which they know our Brethren cannot grant.*]

§ 103. To all this I answered for my own part, [*That though Charity commanded me to hope that there were some Men among them better than this Description doth import, yet my Reason forced me, all things considered, to have as low Expectations of this Conference as they had; and that I made no doubt but that the End would verifie much that was said; that for my own part I looked e're long to be silenced by them, with many hundred more, and that all this was but to quiet Men till the time. But yet for all that I was fully convinced that it was our Duty not only to yield to an offered Treaty, but to be the Seekers of it, and follow it on till we see the Issue: 1. Because we are commanded if possible as much as in us lieth, to live peaceably with all Men. 2. Because though we have too great a probability of such an issue as they describe, yet we are not certain of it; and the least possibility of a better Issue, may shew us that we should wait on God, in the use of the Means, till we are disappointed. 3. Because we have no other means at all to use: To keep our Flocks and publick Work we cannot: For the old Laws will be in force again, if we say nothing; and new ones will further enforce them if there be need. And for our parts we are not formidable to the Bishops at all, were our Number five times as great as theirs: For we abhor all Thoughts of Sedition and Rebellion, and they know that this is our Judgment, and therefore how should they be afraid of Men, whose Consciences bind them to*
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make no resistance to the legal Exercise of a lawful Authority, If it were the Anabaptists, Millinaries or Levellers they would fear them. But for my part, I thought it very unmeet that such a Word as intimated any formidableness in us, should ever come out of our Mouths, either to them, or to our People, or among our selves; for it seemeth to intimate either that we would resist, or would have them think so. 4. And I looked to the end of all these Actions, and the chief things that moved me next the pleasing of God and Conscience, is, that when we are all silenced and persecuted, and the History of these things shall be delivered to posterity, it will be a just Blot upon us if we suffer as refusing to sue for Peace, and it will be our just Vindication when it shall appear, that we humbly petitioned for, and earnestly pursued after Peace, and came as near them for the obtaining it, as Scripture and Reason will allow us to do, and were ready to do any thing for Peace, except to sin and damn our Souls. And for my own part, I could suffer much more comfortably when I had used these means, and been repulsed, than if I had used none. 5. And Lastly, I gave them all notice, that I hoped if we got no more, to have an opportunity by this Treaty to state our Difference right to the understanding of Foreigners and Posterity, and to bear my Testimony to the Cause of Truth, and Peace, and Godliness, openly under the Protection of the King's Authority, both by Word and Writing, which they that sat still would never do; but look on with secret silent Grief till all is gone; and then have their Consciences and others tell them, that they never made any just attempt, or spake a Word to prevent the Ruine.

§ 104. But as to the point of yielding too far to them, I told them first, that moderate Episcopacy was agreeable to my Judgment, and that they knew that I meddled not as a Presbyterian, but as a Christian that is obliged to seek the Churches Peace: And also that others may accept of those Terms as better than worse, which yet they cannot take to be the best. And if we mist it as to the way or terms, our Brethren that thought so had the Liberty to acquaint us with our Error, and to set us right.

§ 105. Shortly after this, instead of the Diocesans Concessions, it was told us that the King would put all that he thought meet to grant us into the Form of a Declaration, and we should see it first, and have Liberty to give notice of what we liked not, as not consistent with the desired Concord (and so the Diocesans cannot be charged with any mutability, as having ever granted us such Abatements which after they receded from): We thankfully accepted of this Offer, and received from the Lord Chancellor the following Copy of the Declaration.

This Copy of a Déclaration the Lord Chancellor next sent us to peruse and alter before it were published, that it might satisfie our Desires. Received on Sept. 4.

His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects of his Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

HOW much the Peace of the State is concerned in the Peace of the Church, and how difficult a thing it is to preserve Order and Government in Civil, whilst there is no Order and Government in Ecclesiastical Affairs, is evident to the World; and this little part of the World, our own Dominions hath had so late Experience of it, that we may very well acquiesce in the Conclusion, without enlarging our self in discourse upon it, it being a Subject we have had frequent occasion to contemplate upon, and to lament abroad, as well as at home.

In our Letter to the Speaker of the H. of Commons from *Breda*, we declared how much we desired the Advancement and Propagation of the Protestant Religion: That neither the Unkindness of those of the same Faith towards us, nor the Civilities and Obligations from those of a contrary Profession (of both which we have had abundant Evidence) could in the least degree startle us, or make us swerve from it, and that nothing can be proposed to manifest our Zeal and Affection for it, to which we will not readily consent. And we said then, That we did hope in due time our self to propose somewhat for the propagation of it, that will satisfie the

World that we have always made it both our Care and our Study, and have enough observed what is most like to bring disadvantage to it. And the truth is, we do think our self the more competent to propose, and with God's assistance to determine many Things now in difference, from the time we have spent, and the Experience we have had in most of the Reformed Churches abroad; in France, in the Low Countreys, and in Germany, where we have had frequent Conferences with the most Learned Men, who have unanimously lamented the great Reproach the Protestant Religion undergoes, from the Distempers and too notorious Schisms in Matters of Religion in England. And as the most Learned amongst them, have always with great Submission and Reverence, acknowledged and magnified the Established Government of the Church of England, and the great countenance and shelter the Protestant Religion received from it, before these unhappy times; so many of them have with great ingenuity and sorrow confessed, That they were too easily mislead by misinformation and prejudice, into some disesteem of it, as if it had too much complied with the Church of Rome; whereas they now acknowledge it to be the best fence God hath yet raised against Popery in the World: And we are perswaded they do with great Zeal wish it restored to its old Dignity and Veneration.

When we were in Holland, we were attended by many Grave and Learned Ministers from hence, who were looked upon as the most able and principal Assertors of the Presbyterian Opinions, with whom we had as much Conference as the multitude of Affairs, which were then upon us, would permit us to have: and to our great Satisfaction and Comfort, found them Persons full of Affection to us, of Zeal for the Peace of the Church and State; and neither Enemies (as they have been given out to be) of Episcopacy or Liturgy; but modestly to desire such Alterations in either, as without shaking Foundations, might best allay the present Distempers, which the Indisposition of the Times, and the Tenderneſs of some Mens Consciences had contracted. For the better doing whereof, we intended upon our first Arrival in this Kingdom, to call a Synod of Divines, as the most proper Expedient to provide a proper Remedy for all those Differences and Dissatisfactions which had or should arise in Matters of Religion: and in the mean time we published in our Declaration from Breda, A Liberty to tender Consciences, and that no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as shall upon mature deliberation be offered to us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

Whilst we continued in this Temper of Mind and Resolution, and have so far complied with the Perswasion of particular Persons, and the Distemper of the Time, as to be contented with the Exercise of our Religion in our own Chappel, according to the constant Practice and Laws established, without enjoying that Practice, and the Observation of those Laws in the Churches of the Kingdom, in which we have undergone the Censure of many, as if we were without that Zeal for the Church which we ought to have, and which by God's Grace we shall always retain; we have found our self not so candidly dealt with as we have deserved, and that there are unquiet and restless Spirits, who without abating any of their own Distempers in recompence of the Moderation they find in us, continue their bitterness against the Church, and endeavour to raise Jealousies of us, and to lessen our Reputation by their Reproaches; as if we were not true to the Professions we have made. And in order thereunto they have very unseasonably caused to be printed, published, and dispersed throughout the Kingdom, a Declaration heretofore printed in our Name, during the time of our being in Scotland; of which we shall say no more than that the Circumstances by which we were enforced to Sign that Declaration are enough known to the World: That we did from the moment it passed our Hand, askt God forgiveness for our part in it, which we hope, he will never lay to our Charge; and that the worst and greatest part of that Nation did even then detest and abhor the ill usage of us, in that particular, when the same Tyranny was exercised there, by the power of a few ill Men, which at that time had spread it self over this Kingdom: and therefore we had no reason to expect, that we should at this season, when we are doing all we can to wipe out the Memory of all that hath been done amiss by other Men, and we thank God, have wiped it out of our own remembrance, have been our self assaulted with those Reproaches, which we will likewise forget.

‘ Since the printing of this Declaration, several Seditious Pamphlets and Queries have been published and scattered abroad, to infuse Dislike and Jealousies into the Hearts of the People, and of the Army ; and some who ought rather to have repented their former Mischief they have wrought, than to have endeavoured to improve it, have had the hardiness to publish, That the Doctrine of the Church, against which no Man with whom we have conferred hath Excepted, ought to be reformed as well as the Discipline.

‘ This over-passionate and turbulent way of Proceeding, and the Impatience we find in many for some speedy Determination in these Matters, whereby the Minds of Men may be composed, and the Peace of the Church established, hath prevailed with us to invert the Method we had proposed to our self, and even in order to the better Calling and Composing of a Synod (which the present Jealousies will hardly agree upon) by the assistance of God’s blessed Spirit, which we daily invoke and supplicate, to give some determination our self to the Matters in difference, until such a Synod may be called, as may without passion or prejudice, give us such a further assistance towards a perfect Union of Affections, as well as Submission to Authority, as is necessary. And we are the rather induced to take this upon us, by finding upon the full Conference we have had with the Learned Men of several Perswasions, that the Mischiefs under which both the Church and State do at present suffer, do not result from any formed Doctrine or Conclusion which either Party maintains or avows ; but from the Passion and Appetite and Interest of particular Persons, who contract greater Prejudice to each other from those Affections, than would naturally arise from their Opinions ; and those Distempers must be in some degree allayed, before the Meeting in a Synod can be attended with better Success, than their Meeting in other places, and their Discourses in Pulpits have hitherto been : and till all thoughts of Victory are laid aside, the humble and necessary Thoughts for the vindication of Truth cannot be enough entertained.

‘ We must for the Honour of all those of either Perswasion, with whom we have conferred, declare, That the Professions and Desires of all for the Advancement of Piety, and true Godliness, are the same : their Professions of Zeal for the Peace of the Church, the same ; of Affection and Duty to us, the same : They all approve Episcopacy : They all approve a Set-Form of Liturgy : And they disapprove and dislike the Sin of Sacrilege, and the Alienation of the Revenue of the Church : And if upon these excellent Foundations, in Submission to which there is such a Harmony of Affections, any Super-structures should be raised to the shaking those Foundations, and to the contracting and lessening the blessed Gift of Charity, which is a Vital part of Christian Religion, we shall think our self very unfortunate, and even suspect that we are defective in that Administration of Government, with which God hath intrusted us.

‘ We need not profess the high Affection and Esteem we have for the Church of *England*, as it is established by Law ; the Reverence to which hath supported us, with God’s Blessing, against many Temptations : Nor do we think that Reverence in the least degree diminished by our Condescensions, nor peremptorily to insist upon some Particulars of Ceremony, which however introduced, by the Piety and Devotion and Order of former Times, may not be so agreeable to the present ; but may even lessen that Piety and Devotion, for the improvement whereof they might happily be first introduced, and consequently may well be dispensed with. And we hope this Charitable compliance of ours, will dispose the Minds of all Men to a chearful Submission to that Authority, the preservation whereof is so necessary for the Unity and Peace of the Church : and that they will acknowledge the Support of the Episcopal Authority, to be the best Support of Religion ; by being the best means to contain the Minds of Men within the Rules of Government. And they who would restrain the Exercise of that holy Function, within the Rules which were observed in the Primitive Times, must remember and consider, that the Ecclesiastical Power being in those blessed Times always subordinate and subject to the Civil, it was likewise proportioned to such an Extent of Jurisdiction as was agreeable to that : And as the Sanctity and Simplicity and Resignation of that Age, did then refer many things to the Bishops, which the Policy of succeeding Ages would not admit, at least did otherwise provide for ; so it can be no Reproach to Primitive Episcopacy, if where there have been great Alterations in the Civil Government from what was then, there have been likewise some Difference and Alteration in the Ecclesiastical, the Essence and Foundation being still preserved : And upon this Ground, with-

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out taking upon us to Censure the Government of the Church in other Countries, where the Government of the State, is different from what it is here, or enlarging our self upon the Reasons why, whilst there was an Imagination of Erecting a Democratical Government here in the State, they should not be willing to continue an Aristocratical Government in the Church, it shall suffice to say, That since by the wonderful Blessing of God, the Hearts of this whole Nation are returned to an Obedience to Monarchique Government in the State, it must be very reasonable to Support that Government in the Church, which is established by Law; and which with the Monarchy hath flourished through so many Ages; and which is in truth as ancient in this Island, as the Christian Monarchy thereof: and which hath always in some respects or degrees been enlarged or restrained, as hath been thought most conducing to the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom: and therefore we have not the least doubt but the present Bishops will think the present Concessions now made by us, to allay the present Distempers very just and reasonable, and will very chearfully Conform themselves thereunto.

1. We do in the first place declare, That as the present Bishops are known to be Men of Great and Exemplary Piety in their Lives, which they have manifested in their notorious and unexampled Sufferings, during these late Distempers; and of great and known Sufficiency of Learning; so we shall take special Care by the Assistance of God, to prefer no Men to that Office and Charge, but Men of Learning, Vertue, and Piety, who may be themselves the best Examples to those who are to be Governed by them: and we shall expect and provide the best we can, that the Bishops be frequent Preachers, and that they do very often preach themselves in some Church of their Diocess, except they be hindered by Sicknes, or other bodily Infirmities, or some other justifiable occasion, which shall not be thought justifiable if it be frequent.

2. If any Diocess shall be thought of too large an Extent, we will appoint Suffragan Bishops for their Assistance.

3. No Bishop shall Ordain or Exercise any part of Jurisdiction which appertains to the Censures of the Church, without the Advice of the Presbyters, and no Chancellor shall exercise any Act of Spiritual Jurisdiction.

4. As the Dean and Chapters are the most proper Council and Assistants of the Bishop both in Ordination, and for the other Offices mentioned before; so we shall take care that those Preferments be given to the most Learned and Pious Presbyters of the Diocess, that thereby they may be always at hand and ready to advise and assist the Bishop: And moreover, That some other of the most Learned, Pious, and Discreet Presbyters of the same Diocess (as namely the Rural Deans, or others, or so many of either as shall be thought fit, and are nearest) be called by the Bishop to be present and assistant together with those of the Chapter, at all Ordinations, and at all other Solemn and Important Actions in the Exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, especially wherein any of the Ministers are concerned. And our Will is, that the great Work of Ordination be constantly and solemnly performed by the Bishop in the Presence, and with the Advice and Assistance of his aforesaid Presbytery at the four set Times and Seasons appointed by the Church for that purpose.

5. We will take care that Confirmation be rightly and solemnly performed by the Information and with the Advice of the Minister of the Place, and as great diligence used for the Instruction and Reformation of notorious and scandalous Offenders as is possible; towards which the Rubrick before the Communion hath prescribed very wholesome Rules.

6. No Bishop shall Exercise any Arbitrary Power, or do or impose any thing upon the Clergy or the People, but what is according to the known Laws of the Land.

7. We are very glad to find that all with whom we have conferred do in their Judgments approve a Liturgy, or Set-Form of Publick Worship to be lawful; which in our Judgment for the preservation of Unity and Uniformity, we conceive to be very necessary; And though we do esteem the Liturgy of the Church of England, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and by Law established, to be the best we have seen, and we believe that we have seen all that are extant and used in this part of the World, and well know what Reverence most of the Reformed Churches, or at least the most Learned Men in those Churches have for it; Yet since we find some Exceptions made to many obsolete words, and other Expressions used therein, which upon the Reformation and Improvement of
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the English Language may well be altered, we will appoint some Learned Divines of different Perswasions to review the same, and to make such Alterations as shall be thought most necessary, and some such Additional Prayers as shall be thought fit for emergent Occasions, and the improvement of Devotion; the using of which may be left to the Discretion of the Ministers: In the mean time, and till this be done, we do heartily wish and desire, that the Ministers in their several Churches, because they dislike some Clauses and Expressions, would not totally lay aside the use of the Book of Common Prayer, but read those Parts against which there can be no Exception, which would be the best Instance of declining those Marks of Distinction, which we so much labour and desire to remove.

8. Lastly, Concerning Ceremonies, which have administered so much Matter of Difference and Contention, and which have been introduced by the Wisdom and Authority of the Church, for Edification and the Improvement of Piety; we shall say no more, but that we have the more Esteem of all, and Reverence for many of them, by having been present in many of those Churches where they are most abolished or discountenanced, and where we have observed so great and scandalous Indecency, and to our Understanding so much absence of Devotion, that we heartily wish that those pious Men who think the Church of *England* overburthened with Ceremonies, had some little Experience, and made some Observation in those Churches abroad which are most without them.

And we cannot but observe, That those Pious and Learned Men with whom we have conferred upon this Argument, and who are most solicitous for Indulgence of this kind, are earnest for the same out of Compassion to the Weakness and Tenderneſs of the Conscience of their Brethren, not that themselves who are very zealous for Order and Decency, do in their Judgments believe the Practice of those particular Ceremonies which they except against, to be in it self unlawful; and it cannot be doubted, but that as the Universal Church cannot introduce one Ceremony in the Worship of God that is contrary to God's Word expressed in the Scripture; so every National Church (with the approbation and consent of the Sovereign Power) may and hath always introduced such particular Ceremonies, as in that Conjunction of Time, are thought most proper for Edification, and the necessary improvement of Piety and Devotion in the People; though the necessary Practice thereof cannot be deduced from Scripture, and that which before was, and in it self is indifferent, ceases to be indifferent after it is once established by Law: And therefore our present Consideration and Work is, to gratifie the private Consciences of those that are grieved with the use of some Ceremonies, by indulging to, and dispensing with their omitting those Ceremonies, not utterly to abolish any which are established by Law (if any are practised contrary to Law, the same shall cease) which would be unjust, and of ill Example, and to impose upon the Conscience of some, and we believe much Superiour in Number and Quality, for the Satisfaction of the Conscience of others, which is otherwise provided for; as it would not be reasonable that Men should expect, that we should our self decline or enjoyn others to do so, to receive the Blessed Sacrament upon our Knees, which in our Conscience is the most humble, most devout, and most agreeable Posture for that holy Duty, because some other Men, upon Reasons best, if not only known to themselves, choose rather to do it Sitting or Standing: We shall leave all Decisions and Determinations of that kind, if they shall be thought necessary for a perfect and entire Unity and Uniformity throughout the Nation, to the Advice of a National Synod, which shall be duly called after a little time, and a mutual Conversation between Persons of different Perswasions, hath mollified those Distempers, abated those Sharpnesses, and extinguished those Jealousies which make Men unfit for those Consultations: and upon such Advice, we shall use our best endeavour that such Laws might be established as may best provide for the Peace of the Church and State.

1. In the mean time, out of Compassion and Compliance towards those who would forbear the Cross in Baptism, we are content that no Man shall be compelled to use the same, or suffer for not doing it; But if any Parent desire to have his Child Christned according to the Form used, and the Minister will not use the Sign, it shall be lawful for the Parent to procure another Minister to do it; And if the proper Minister shall refuse to omit that Ceremony of the Cross, it shall be lawful for the Parent who would not have his Child so Baptized, to procure another Minister to do it, who will do it according to his Desire.

‘ 2. No Man shall be compelled to bow at the Name of Jesus, or suffer in any degree for not doing it, without reproaching those who out of their Devotion continue that Ancient Ceremony of the Church.

‘ 3. For the use of the Surplice, which hath for so many Ages been thought a most decent Ornament for the Clergy in the Administration of Divine Service; and is in truth of a different fashion in the Church of *England*, from what is used in the Church of *Rome*; we are contented that Men be left to their Liberty to do as they shall think fit, without suffering in the least degree for the wearing or not wearing it; provided that this Liberty do not extend to our own Chappel, Cathedral, or Collegiate Churches, or to any Colledge in either of our Universities; where we would have the several Statutes and Customs observed, which have been formerly.

‘ And because some Men (otherwise Pious and Learned) say they cannot conform to the Subscription required by the Canon at the time of their Institution and Admission into Benefices, we are content (so they take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy) that they shall receive Institution and Induction, and shall be permitted to exercise their Function, and to enjoy the Profits of their Livings, without any other Subscription, until it shall be otherwise determined by a Synod called and confirmed by our Authority.

‘ In a word, we do again renew what we have formerly said in our Declaration from *Breda*, for the Liberty of tender Consciences, that no Man shall be disquieted or called in question for Difference of Opinions in Matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and if any have been disturbed in that kind since our Arrival here, it hath not proceeded from any Direction of ours.

‘ To conclude, and in this place to explain what we mentioned before, and said in our Letter to the House of Commons from *Breda*, that we hoped in due time our self to propose somewhat for the propagation of the Protestant Religion, that will satisfy the World that we have always made it both our Care and our study and have enough observed what is most like to bring disadvantage to it: we do conjure all our Loving Subjects to acquiesce in, and submit to this our Declaration, concerning those differences which have so much disquieted the Nation at home, and given such Offence to the Protestant Churches abroad, and brought such reproach upon the Protestant Religion in general from the Enemies thereof, as if upon obscure Notions of Faith and Fancy, it did admit the Practice of Christian Duties and Obedience to be discountenanced and suspended, and introduce a License in Opinions and Manners to the prejudice of the Christian Faith: And let us all endeavour, and emulate each other in those Endeavours, to countenance and advance the Protestant Religion abroad, which will be best done by supporting the Dignity and Reverence due to the best Reformed Protestant Church at home; and which being once freed from the Calamities and Reproaches it hath undergone from these late ill times, will be the best shelter for those abroad, which will by that Countenance, both be the better protected against their Enemies, and be the more easily induced to compose the Differences amongst themselves, which give their Enemies more advantage against them. And we hope and expect that all Men will henceforward forbear to vent any such Doctrine in the Pulpit, or to endeavour to work in such manner upon the Affections of the People, as may dispose them to an ill Opinion of us and the Government, and to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; which if all Men will in their several Vocations endeavour to preserve with the same Affection and Zeal we our self will do, all our Good Subjects will by God’s Blessing upon us enjoy as great a measure of Felicity, as this Nation hath ever done, and which we shall constantly labour to procure for them, as the greatest blessing God can bestow upon us in this World.

Note, That the two Papers which the King’s Declaration publisheth his Offence against, were 1. A Declaration which the Scots drew the King to publish when they Crowned him in *Scotland*, disclaiming his Father’s Wars and Actions, in Language so little tender of his Father’s Honour, that it was no wonder that the King was hardly drawn to it then, nor that *Cromwell* derided their Doings as Hypocritical, nor that the King

was angry with those rash People whoever they were, who now reprinted it.

2. A Book of Dr. *Cornelius Burges*, who (though he was for a moderate Episcopacy) had written to prove the Necessity of a Reformation in Doctrine, Discipline and Worship: whereas in all our Treaty we had never meddled with the Doctrine of the Church: Because, though the most part of the Bishops were taken to be *Arminians* (as they are called) yet the Articles of Religion we took to be sound and moderate, however Men do variously interpret them.

§ 106. When we had received this Copy of the Declaration, we saw that it would not serve to heal our Differences; Therefore we told the Lord Chancellor (with whom we were to do all our Business still before it came as from us to the King) that our Endeavours as to Concord would all be frustrate, if much were not altered in the Declaration (I pass over all our Conferences with him, both now and at other times): In conclusion, we were to draw up our Thoughts of it in writing; which the Brethren imposed on me to do. My judgment was, That all the Fruit of this our Treaty (besides a little Reprival from intended Ejection) would be but the Satisfying our Consciences and Posterity that we had done our Duty, and that it was not our Fault that we came not to the desired Concord or Coalition, and therefore seeing we had no (considerable) higher hopes, we should speak as plainly as Honesty and Conscience did require us. But when Mr. *Calamy* and Dr. *Reynolds* had read my Paper, they were troubled at the plainness of it, and thought it would never be endured, and therefore desired some Alteration; especially that I might leave out 1. The Prediction of the Evils which would follow our Non-Agreement, which the Court would interpret as a Threatning. 2. The mentioning the Aggravations of Covenant-breaking and Perjury. I gave them my Reasons for passing it as it was. To bring this to pass more effectually they told the Earl of *Manchester* (with whom as our sure Friend we still consulted, and whom the Court used, to Communicate to us what they desired): And he called the Earl of *Anglesey* and the Lord *Hollis* to the Consultation as our Friends: And these three Lords, with Mr. *Calamy* and Dr. *Reynolds*, perused all the Writing, and all with earnestness perswaded me to the said Alterations. I confess I thought those two Points material which they excepted against, and would not have had them left out, and thereby made them think me too plain and unpleasing, as never used to the Language or Converse of a Court: But it was not my unskilfulness in a more pleasing Language, but my Reason and Conscience (upon foresight of the Issue) which was the Cause. But when they told me that it would not so much as be received, and that I must go with it my self, for no body else would, I yielded to such an Alteration as here followeth. It was only in the Preface that the Alteration was desired. I shall therefore, that you may see what it was, give it you as first drawn up, and afterwards alter'd.

Our Petition to the King, upon our Sight of the First Draught of his Declaration.

May it please your Majesty,

‘SO great was the Comfort created in our Minds by your Majesty’s oft-expressed Resolution to become the effectual Moderator in our Differences, and your self to bring us together by procuring such mutual Condescensions as are necessary thereto, and also by your gracious Acceptance of our Proposals, which your Majesty heard and received not only without blame, but with Acknowledgment of their Moderation, and as such as would infer a Reconciliation between the differing Parties; that we must needs say, the least Abatement of our Hopes, is much the more unwelcome and grievous to us: And it is no small Grief that surprizeth our Hearts, from the Complaints of the Students ejected in the Universities, and of faithful Ministers removed from their beloved Flocks; and denied Institution,

M m

‘ for

‘ for want of Subscription, Re-ordination, or an Oath of Obedience to the Bishop ;
 ‘ but especially from many Congregations in the Land, that cry out *they are undone*
 ‘ by the loss of those Means of their Spiritual Welfare, which were dearer to them
 ‘ than all Worldly Riches, and by the grievous Burden of Ignorant, or Scandalous,
 ‘ or dead unprofitable Ministers let over them, to whom they dare not commit the
 ‘ Guidance and care of their Immortal Souls, and whose Ministry they dare not
 ‘ own or countenance, lest they be guilty of their Sin : And it addeth to our Grief
 ‘ and Fear in finding so much of the proposed necessary Means of our Agreement,
 ‘ especially in the point of *Government* here passed by, in your Majesty’s Declara-
 ‘ tion, as if it were denied us. But yet remembering the gracious and encouraging
 ‘ Promises of your Majesty, and observing your Majesty’s Clemency in what is here
 ‘ granted us, and your great Condescension in vouchsafing not only so graciously
 ‘ to hear us in these our humble Addresses and Requests, but also to grant us the
 ‘ Sight of your Declaration before it is resolved on, with Liberty of returning our
 ‘ Additional Desires, and hope that they shall not be rejected ; we re-assume our
 ‘ Confidence, and comfortably expect, that what is not granted in this Declara-
 ‘ tion that is reasonable and necessary to our Agreement, shall yet be granted upon
 ‘ fuller Consideration of the Equity of our Requests.

‘ As our Designs and Desires are not for any worldly Advantages or Dignities to
 ‘ our selves, so have we not presumed to intermeddle with any Civil Interest
 ‘ of your Majesty, or any of your Officers ; nor in the matters of meer
 ‘ Convenience to cast our Reason into the Ballance against your Majesty’s Pru-
 ‘ dence ; but merely to speak for the Laws and Worship and Servants of the Lord,
 ‘ and for the Peace of our Consciences, and the Safety of our own and Brethrens
 ‘ Souls. It lifts us up with Joy to think what happy Consequents will ensue, if your
 ‘ Majesty shall entertain these healing Motions : How happily our Differences
 ‘ will be reconciled, and the exasperated Minds of Men composed : How Temp-
 ‘ tations to Contention and Uncharitableness will be removed : How comfortably
 ‘ your Majesty will reign in the dearest Affections of your Subjects ; and how firm-
 ‘ ly they will adhere to your Interest as their own : How chearfully and zealously
 ‘ the united parts and Interests of the Nation will conspire to serve you : What a
 ‘ Strength and Honour a righteous Magistracy, a learned, holy, loyal Ministry,
 ‘ and a faithful praying People will be to your Throne : And how it will be your
 ‘ Glory to be the King of the most religious Nation in the World, that hath no
 ‘ considerable *Parties*, but what are Centered (under Christ) in you : What a
 ‘ Comfort it will be for the Bishops and Pastors of the Church, to be honoured and
 ‘ loved by all the most religious of their Flocks ; to see the Success of their La-
 ‘ bours and the Beauty of the Church promoted by our common Concord, and
 ‘ Brethren to assemble and dwell together in Unity ; serving one God, according
 ‘ to one Rule, with one Heart and Mouth.

‘ [And on the contrary, it astonisheth us to foresee the doleful Consequents that

All this enclosed part was left out of the Petition as presented to his Majesty : This only being inserted in the room of it.

[And on the contrary should we lose the Opportunity of our desired Reconciliation and Union, it astonisheth us to foresee what doleful Effects our Divisions would produce, which we will not so much as mention in particulars lest our Words should be misunderstood. And seeing all this may safely and easily now be prevented, we humbly beseech the Lord in Mercy to vouchsafe to your Majesty an Heart to discern a right of Time and Judgment.

‘ would follow if (which God forbid) your Majesty should re-
 ‘ fuse the most necessary, moderate Ways of Concord, and be
 ‘ engaged by a party to exalt them by the Suppression of the
 ‘ rest ! How woful a Day would it prove to your Majesty and
 ‘ your Dominions, in which you should thus espouse a Cause
 ‘ and Interest injurious to the Interest of Christ, and the Cause
 ‘ of *Unity and Love*, and contrary to your Majesty’s gracious
 ‘ Inclinations be engaged unawares in a seeming necessity to deal
 ‘ hardly with the Ministers and Servants of the Lord ! How
 ‘ considerable a part of the Three Nations for Number, Wis-
 ‘ dom, Piety and Interest, you would be drawn to govern with
 ‘ a grievous Hand ; and to lay *them* under the greatest Sorrow
 ‘ who restored and received your Majesty with Joy ! How the
 ‘ Dissent of Ministers from the Government and Ceremonies of
 ‘ the Church, were it expressed but by their Groans and Tears, and
 ‘ moderate Complaints to God, or Not-praying for that Church
 ‘ Government which they dare not pray for, would be reckoned
 ‘ as Discontent and Sedition ; and it would be judged a Crime

‘ to feel when they are hurt ! What Occasion this would give to irreligious Tempo-
 ‘ rizers to arrogate the Name of your Majesty’s best Subjects, and to let out their
 ‘ Malice against the Upright, and make Religion a Reproach ! And then what a
 ‘ Hindrance that would be to the Conversion and saving of the Peoples Souls ! and
 ‘ what a fruitful Nursery of all Vice ! How grievously Charity would be over-
 ‘ thrown,

‘ thrown, while the People are engaged in the hardest Thoughts and Speeches of each other ! What a Temptation it would be to the afflicted part, to abate their Honour and due Respect to those they suffer by, when they are deprived of that which is dearest to them in the World ; and when the Groans and Cryes of afflicted Innocents arrive at Heaven, and have awakened the Justice of the King of Kings, the greatest cannot stand before him. And what a Snare and Grief will it be to the Bishops and Pastors of the Church to be esteemed Wolves, and to be engaged to suppress them as their Adversaries, that else might be the Honour of their Ministry, and the Comfort of their Lives. And when Divisions and separated Assemblies are thus multiplied (the People being driven from the publick Congregations) either it will bring them under Trouble, or let in Papists and others that are intollerable into an equal Tolleration ; and such Discontents and Distractions in the Church, will not be without their Influence on the State. And by all this how much will Satan and the Enemies of our Religion be gratified, and God dishonoured and displeased. And seeing all this may safely and easily be now prevented, we humbly beseech the Lord, in Mercy to vouchsafe to your Majesty a Heart to discern of time and Judgment.]

‘ And as these are our General Ends and Motives, so we are induced to insist upon the *Form of Synodical Government* conjunct with a fixed Presidency or Episcopacy, for these Reasons :

‘ 1. We have reason to believe that no other Terms will be so generally agreed on. And it is no way injurious to Episcopal Power ; but most firmly establisheth all in it that can pretend to Divine Authority or true Antiquity. It granteth them much more than Reverend Bishop Hall (in his *Peace-maker*) and many other of that Judgment, do require ; who would have accepted the fixing of the President for Life, as sufficient for the Reconciliation of the Churches.

‘ 2. It being most agreeable to the Scripture and the Primitive Government, is likest to be the way of a more Universal Concord, if ever the Churches arrive on Earth at such a Blessing. However it will be most acceptable to God, and to well informed Consciences.

‘ 3. It will promote the Practice of Discipline and Godliness without Disorder ; and promote Order without the hindering of Discipline and Godliness.

‘ 4. And it is not to be silenced (though in some respects we are loath to mention it) that it will save the Nation from the Violation of the Solemn Vow and Covenant, without wronging the Church at all, or breaking any other Oath. And, whether the Covenant were lawfully imposed or not, we are assured from the Nature of a Vow to God, and from the Cases of *Saul*, *Zedekiah*, and others, that it would be a terrible thing to us to violate it on that pretence. Though we are far from thinking that it obligeth us to any Evil, or to go beyond our Places and Callings to do Good, much less to resist Authority ; yet doth it undoubtedly bind us to forbear our *own* Consent to those Luxuriences of Church-Government which we there renounced, and for which no Divine Institution can be pretended. * *It is not only the Presbyterians, but multitudes of the*

Episcopal Party, and the Nobility, Gentry, and others that adhered to his late Majesty, in the late unhappy Wars, that (at their Composition) took this Vow and Covenant † [And God forbid that ever the Souls of so many thousands should be driven upon the Sin of Perjury, and upon the Wrath of God, and the Flames of Hell : Or, that under Pretence of calling them to repent of what is evil, they should be urged to commit so great an Evil. If once the Consciences of the Nation should be so debauched, what good can be expected from them ? or what Evil shall they ever after be thought to make Conscience of ? or what Bonds can be supposed to oblige them ? or how can your Majesty place any Confidence in them, notwithstanding the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy which they take ? or how can they be taken for competent Witnesses in any Cause, or Persons meet for human converse ? or how should those Preachers be regarded by their Au-

‘ ditors that dare wilfully violate their solemn Vows ? and it would be no Comfort nor Honour to your Majesty to be the King of a Perfidious Nation. And, whatever Palliation Flattery might at Hand procure, undoubtedly at distance of time and place (where Flattery cannot silence Truth) it would be the Nations perpe-

* This was thus expressed in the Petition that was presented [not presuming to meddle with the Consciences of those many of the Nobility and Gentry, &c.]

† What follows in this double inclosure, was omitted in the Copy presented, this only being inserted in the room of it.

[We only crave your Majesty's Clemency to our selves and others, who believe themselves to be under its Obligations. And God forbid that we that are Ministers of the Word of Truth should do any thing to encourage your Majesty's Subjects to cast off the Conscience of an Oath.]

* This enclosed part was quite left out of the Copy that was presented.

‘ tual Infamy ! And what Matter of Reconciliation would it be to the guilty Papists, when we blame their impious Doctrines that have such a tendency ? How loose would it leave your Majesty’s Subjects, that are once taught to break such sacred Bonds] Till the Covenant was decried as an Almanack out of date, and its Obligation taken to be null, that odious Fact could never have been perpetrated against your Royal Father : Nor your Majesty have been so long expelled from your Dominions. And the Obligation of the Covenant upon the Consciences of the Nation, was not the weakest Instrument of your Return. We therefore humbly beseech your Majesty (with greater importunity then we think we should do for our Lives) that you will have Mercy on the Souls and Consciences of your People, [* and will not urge or tempt them to this grievous Sin, nor drive them on the insupportable Wrath of the Almighty, whose Judgment is at hand, where Princes and People must give that account, on which the irreverfible Sentence will depend : For the honour of our Religion, and of your Majesty’s Dominions, and Reign, we beseech you], suffer us not to be tempted to the violating of fuch Solemn Vows : and this for nothing ! when an Expedient is before you, that will avoid it without any detriment to the Church ; nay, to its honour and advantage.

‘ The Prelacy which we disclaimed is [That of Diocesans upon the Claim of a Superiour Order to a Presbyter, affuming the sole Power of Publick Admonition of particular Offenders, injoyning Penitence, Excommunicating and Absolving (besides Confirmation) over fo many Churches, as necessitated the Corruption or Extirpation of Discipline, and the using of Humane Officers (as Chancellors, Surrogates, Officials, Commissaries, Arch-Deacons) while the undoubted Officers of Christ (the Pastors of the particular Churches) were hindered from the Exercise of their Office].

‘ [The Restoration of Discipline in the particular Churches, and of the Pastors to the Exercise of their Office therein, and of Synods for necessary Consultation and Communion of Churches, and of the Primitive Presidency or Episcopacy for the avoiding of all shew of Innovation and Disorder] is that which we humbly offer as the Remedy : beseeching your Majesty, that if any thing asserted seem unproved, an Impartial Conference in your Majesty’s hearing may be allowed us in order to a just Determination.

Concerning the Preamble in your Majesty’s Declaration, we presume only to tender these Requests.

1. **T**HAT as we are perswaded it is not in your Majesty’s Thoughts to intimate that we are guilty of the Offences which your Majesty here reciteth, so we hope it will rather be a motive to the hastening of the Nation’s Cure, that our Unity may prevent Mens Temptations of that Nature for the time to come.

2. Though we have professed our willingness to submit to the Primitive Episcopacy, and a Reformed Liturgy, hoping it may prove an Expedient to an happy Union, yet have we expressed our dislike of the Prelacy and present Liturgy, while unreformed. And though Sacriledge and unjust Alienation of Church-Lands is a Sin that we detest, yet whether in some Cases of true Superfluities of Revenues, or true Necessity of the Church, there may not be an Alienation which is no Sacriledge, and whether the Kings and Parliaments have been guilty of that Crime that have made some Alienations, are Points of high Concernment, of which we never had a Call to give our Judgment: And therefore humbly beseech your Majesty, that concerning these Matters, we may not to our Prejudice be otherwise understood, than as we have before and here expressed.

3. That as your Majesty hath here vouchsafed us your gracious Acknowledgment of our Moderation, it might never be said, That a Ministry and People of such moderate Principles, consenting to Primitive Episcopacy and Liturgy, could not yet be received into the Settlement and countenanced Body of your People, nor possess their Stations in the Church, and Liberty in the Publick Worship of God.

4. And whereas it is expressed by your Majesty, That [the Essence and Foundation of Episcopacy might be preserved, though the Extent of the Jurisdiction might be altered], this is to us a ground of Hope, that seeing the greatning or the lessening of Episcopal Power is in your Majesty's Judgment but a Matter of Convenience, the Lord will put it into your Heart to make such an Alteration in the alterable Points, as the Satisfaction of the Consciences of sober Men, and the Healing and Union of these Nations do require.

As to our Plea for *Primitive Episcopacy*, the *Offices* and *Ordinances* of Christ must be still distinguished from the *alterable Accidents*. Though we plead not for the *Primitive Poverty, Persecution, or Restraints*, yet must we adhere to the *Primitive Order and Worship, and Administrations* in the Substance; as believing that the *Circumstantiating* of them, is much committed unto Man, but to institute the *Ordinances and Offices* is the high Prerogative of Christ, the Universal King and Law-giver of the Church.

Concerning the Matter of your Majesty's Concessions, as related to our Proposals.

1. **W**E humbly renew our Petition to your Majesty, for the effectual Security of those premised Necessaries, which are the Matter of our chiefest Care, and whereunto the Controverted Points subserve: *viz.* 1. That private Exercises of Piety might be encouraged. 2. That an able, faithful Ministry may be kept up, and the insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and non-resident, cast out. 3. That a credible Profession of Faith and Obedience be pre-required of Communicants. 4. That the Lord's Day be appropriated to Holy Exercises without unnecessary Divertisements.

2. For Church-Government. In this your Majesty's Declaration, Parish Discipline is not sufficiently granted us. Inferiour Synods with their Presidents are passed by; and the Bishop which your Majesty declareth for, is not *Episcopus Praeses*, but *Episcopus Princeps*; indued with *sole Power* both of *Ordination* and *Jurisdiction*. For though it be said, That [the Bishop shall do nothing without the Advice of Presbyters] yet their *Consent* is not made necessary, but he might go *contrary* to the Counsel of them all. And this *Advice* is not to be given by the *Diocesan Synod*, or any *chosen Representatives* of the Clergy, but by the *Dean and Chapter*, and so many and such others as he please to call. In all which there being nothing yielded us, which is sufficient to the desired Accommodation and Union, we humbly prosecute our Petition to your Majesty, that the *Primitive Presidency* with the respective Synods described by the late Reverend Primate of *Ireland*, may be the Form of Church-Government established among us: At least in these Three needful Points.

' 1. That the Pastors of the respective Parishes may be allowed, not only publicly to Preach, but personally to Catechize or otherwise Instruct the several Families, admitting none to the Lord's Table that have not personally owned their Baptismal Covenant by a credible Profession of Faith and Obedience; and to admonish and exhort the Scandalous, in order to their Repentance; to hear the Witnesses and the accused Party, and to appoint fit *Times* and *Places* for these things; and to deny such Persons the Communion of the Church in the Holy Eucharist, that remain impenitent; or that wilfully refuse to come to their Pastors to be instructed, or to answer such probable Accusations; and to continue such Exclusion of them till they have made a credible Profession of Repentance, and then to receive them again to the Communion of the Church; provided there be place for due Appeals to Superiour Power].

All this we beseech your Majesty to express under your Fifth Concession, because it is to us of very great weight, and the Rubrick is unsatisfactory to which we are referred.

' 2. That all the Pastors of each Rural Deaneries, having a stated President chosen by themselves (if your Majesty please to grant them that liberty) may meet once a Month, and may receive Presentments of all such Persons as notwithstanding

ing Suspension from Communion of the Church, continue impenitent or unrepented, and having further admonished them, may proceed to the Sentence of Solemn Excommunication, if after due patience they cannot prevail. And may receive the Appeals of those that conceive themselves injuriously Suspended, and may decide the Cause.] Or if this cannot be attained, at least [that the Pastors of each Rural Deanery with their President, may have power to meet Monthly, and receive all such Presentments and Appeals, and judge whether they be fit to be transmitted to the Diocesan or not: and to call before them and admonish the Offenders so presented].

Yet if Presentments against *Magistrates* and *Ministers* be reserved only to the *Diocesan Synod*, and *their Appeals immediately there* put in, we shall therein submit to your Majesty's pleasure.

3. That a Diocesan Synod, consisting of the Delegates of the several Rural Synods, be called as often as need requireth: and that without the Consent of the major part of them, the Diocesan may not Ordain, or Exercise any Spiritual Censures on any of the Ministers: nor Excommunicate any of the People but by consent of the Synod, or of the Pastors of the particular Parishes where they had Communion. And that not only *Chancellors*, but also *Arch-deacons*, *Commissaries*, and *Officials as such*, may pass no Censures, purely Spiritual.

But for the Exercise of *Civil Government coercively* by Mulcts or Corporal Penalties by Power derived from your Majesty, as Supreme over Persons, and in things Ecclesiastical, we presume not at all to interpose: but shall submit to any that act by your Majesty's Commission.

Our Reasons for the first part of Discipline, viz. in particular Parishes, are these:

IT is necessary to the Honour of the Christian Profession, to the integrity of Worship, to the destruction of Impiety and Vice, to the Preservation of the Sound, the raising them that are Fallen, the comforting of the Penitent, the strengthening of the Weak; the Purity, Order, Strength and Beauty of our Churches, the Vanity of Believers, and the Pleasing of Christ who hath required it by his Laws. And withal, it is agreeable to the ancient Canons and Practice of the Churches, and is consented to by our Reverend Brethren, and so is no Matter of Controversie now between us.

Yet is not the Rubrick satisfactory which we are referred to: 1. Because it leaves the People at their liberty, whether they will let us know of their intention to Communicate, till the Night or Morning before; and alloweth us *then only* to admonish them, when (in great Parishes) it is impossible for want of time.

2. Because it doth allow us to deny the Sacrament to those only that *maliciously refuse Reconciliation with their Neighbours*, and only *admonish other scandalous Sinners* to forbear: Though the *Canons* forbid us to deliver *them* the Sacrament.

The Reasons why we insist on the second Proposal, are these:

It being agreed on between us, That the younger less discreet sort of Ministers are unfit to pass the Sentence of Excommunication, without *Advice* and *Moderation* by others, and every Church is not like to be provided with grave, discreet, judicious Guides; the necessity of these frequent lesser Synods for such *Moderation* and *Advice* and *Guidance* will appear by these two general Evidences.

1. It is the very Nature and Substance of the Office of a Presbyter, to have the Power of the Keys for binding and loosing, retaining or remitting Sin; which therefore *together or apart*, as there is occasion, they are bound to Exercise. And this being the Institution of Jesus Christ, cannot be altered by Man. In their Ordination, according to the established Order in England, it is said, [*Whose sins thou dost remit, they are remitted: whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained*]. And they are commanded [*to Minister the Doctrine, Sacraments, and Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Realm hath received the same*], as expressly as the
Bishop,

Bishops are. And as the late Primate of Ireland observeth in his *Reduction*, That they may the better understand what the Lord hath commanded, the Exhortation of St. Paul to the Elders of the Church of Ephesus is appointed to be read to them at the time of their Ordination, Take heed to your selves and to all the Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers, to (feed or) rule the Congregation of God which he hath purchased with his blood. And it is apparent in this *Acts* 20. 17, 18, 28. and 15. 23, 25. and 16. 4. 1 *Thess.* 5. 12, 13. 1 *Tim.* 3. 4, 5. and 5. 17. *Heb.* 13. 7, 17, 24. and other places, that it is the Office of a Presbyter to Oversee, Rule, and Guide the Flock (which the Ministerial Rule which consisteth in the Exercise of the Keys, or Management and Personal Application of God's Word to the Consciences and Cases of particular Persons, for their Salvation, and the Order of the Church; the Coercive Power belonging to the Magistrate). And this was the Practice in the Ancient Church, as appeareth undeniably in *Ignatius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hierom, Chrysostom, &c. Concil. Carthag.* 4. *Can.* 22, 23, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37. as is confessed by the chiefest Defenders of Episcopacy.

2. If all Presentments and Appeals be made to the Bishop and his Consistory alone, it will take from us the Parish Discipline which is granted us, and cast almost all Discipline out of the Church. As is most apparent to them that by experience are acquainted with the quality of our Flocks, and with the true Nature of the Pastoral Work. Considering 1. How many hundred Churches are in a Diocess. 2. How many thousand Persons are in very many Parishes: and of those what a number are obstinate in wilful gross Ignorance or Scandal, refusing to be instructed, or admonished by their Pastors. 3. How long, and earnestly, and tenderly Sinners must be dealt with, before they are cut off by Solemn Excommunication. 4. How unsatisfactory it must be to the Conscience of a Bishop or Synod, to cut off a Man as impenitent upon the bare report of a Minister, before by full Admonition they have proved him impenitent themselves; especially when too many Ministers are (to say nothing of Passion that might cause partial Accusations) unable so to manage a Reproof and Exhortation, as is necessary to work on the Consciences of the People, and to convict Resisters of flat Impenitency. 5. What abundance of Work the Bishop will have besides: Constant preaching will require time for preparation: Visiting the several Churches: Confirming all the Souls in so many hundred Parishes: (which alone is more than any one Man can do aright, if he had nothing else to do): Ordaining, Instituting, and Examining the Persons, so far as to satisfy a tender Conscience (that takes not all on trust from others, and is but the Executor of their Judgments). These, and much more, with the care of Church-buildings, Lands, and his own Affairs and Family, and Sickneses, and necessary absence sometimes, will make this great additional Work, which must be constantly performed for so many hundred Parishes, to be impossible. 6. Reproofs and Suspension would so exasperate the Scandalous, that they would vex the Pastors with numerous Appeals. 7. The Pastors will be undone by travelling, and waiting, and maintaining such a multitude of Witnesses as is necessary for the prosecuting of Presentments, and answering so many Appeals. 8. The Business will be so odious, chargeable and troublesome, that Witnesses will not come in. 9. The Minister by these Prosecutions and Attendances, will be taken off the rest of his Ministerial Work. 10. Bishops (being but Men) will be tempted by this intolerable Burden to be weary of the Work, and slubber it over, and cast it upon others, and to discountenance the most conscionable Ministers that most trouble them with Presentments: which when the Offenders perceive, they will the more insult and vex us with Appeals.

So that the Discouragements of Ministers, and the utter Incapacity of the Bishops to perform a quarter of this Work, will nullifie Discipline, as leaving it impossible. Experience hath told us this too long.

And then when our Communion is thus polluted with all that are most incapable through utter Ignorance, Scandal, and Contempt of Piety, 1. Ministers will be deterred from their Administrations to Subjects so incapable. 2. Bishops that are tender Conscienced, will be deterred from undertaking so impossible a Work, and of so ill Success. 3. And Men that have least tenderness of Conscience, and Care of Souls, and Fear of God's Displeasure, will seek for and intrude into both places. 4. And the tender conscienced People will be tempted to speak hardly of such undisciplined Churches, and of the Officers; and to withdraw from them. 5. And hereby they will fall under the Displeasure of Superiours, and the Scorn of the Vulgar, that have no Religion but what is subservient to their Flesh. 6. And so while the most pious are brought under Discountenance and Reproach, and the most

most impious get the Reputation of being most Regular and obedient to their Rulers, Piety it self will grow into disesteem, and Impiety escape its due disgrace: And this hath been the Cause of our Calamities.

3. As to the Liturgy; it is Matter of great Joy and Thankfulness to us, that we have heard your Majesty more than once so resolutely promising, That [none shall suffer for not using the Common Prayer and Ceremonies, but you would secure them from the Penalties in the Act for Uniformity, as that which your Declaration at *Breda* intended], and to find here so much of your Majesty's Clemency in your gracious Concessions for a future Emendation. But we humbly crave leave to acquaint your Majesty, (1.) That it grieveth us after all to hear, that, yet it is given in Charge by the Judges at the Assizes, to indict Men upon that Act for not using the Common Prayer. (2.) That it is not only [*Some absolute words and other expressions*] that are offensive. (3.) That many scruple using *some part* of the Book as it is, lest they be guilty of countenancing the whole, who yet would use it when reformed.

'Therefore we humbly crave that your Majesty will here declare, [That it is your Majesty's pleasure that none be punished or troubled for not using the Book of Common Prayer, till it be effectually reformed by Divines of both Perswasions equally deputed thereunto].

'And that your Majesty would procure that *Moderation in the Imposition hereafter*, which we before desired.

4. Concerning Ceremonies. Returning our humble Thanks for your Majesty's gracious Concessions (of which we are assured you will never have cause to repent) we further crave,

1. That your Majesty would leave out those words concerning us, That we [*do not in our Judgments believe the practice of those particular Ceremonies which we except against to be in it self unlawful*]; for we have not so declared our Judgments. Indeed we have said, that treating in order to a happy uniting of our Brethren through the Land, our Work is not to say what is *our own* Opinion, or what will *satisfie us*; but what will satisfy so many as may procure the said Union. And we have said, that some think *some of them unlawful in themselves*, and others but *inconvenient*. And while the *Imposers* think them but *indifferent*, we conceived they might reasonably be entreated to let them go; for the saving of their Brethrens Consciences and the Churches Peace. We are sure that a Christian's Conscience should be tender of adding to, or diminishing from the Matter of God's Worship in the smallest Point; the Laws of God being herein the only perfect Rule, *Deut. 12. 32*. And that a Synod infallibly guided by the Holy Ghost, would lay upon the Churches no greater burden than necessary things, *Acts 15. 28*. And that for things indifferent, Christians should not *despise or judge* each other, *Rom. 14*. much less by silencing the able and faithful Ministers of the Gospel, to *punish the Flocks even in their Souls*, for the tolerable Differences and supposed Mistakes of Ministers. We doubt not but *Peter and Paul* went to Heaven without the Ceremonies in question.

And seeing your Majesty well expresseth it, [That the Universal Church cannot introduce one Ceremony in the Worship of God that is contrary to God's Word expressed in the Scriptures], and Multitudes of Protestants at home and abroad, do think that all Mystical Sacramental Rites of *Humane Institution* are contrary to the perfection of God's Law, and to *Deut. 12. 32. &c.* (though the Determination of *meer Circumstances necessary in genere*, be not so), and therefore dare not use them, for fear of the Displeasure of God the Universal Sovereign; it must needs be a great Expression of your Majesty's wisdom and tenderness of God's Honour and the Safety of your Peoples Souls, to refuse in things unnecessary to drive Men upon (apprehended) Sin, and upon the Wrath of God, and the Terroures of a Condemning Conscience.

2. We beseech your Majesty to understand, that it is not our meaning by the Word [*abolishing*] to crave a Prohibition against *your own* or other Mens Liberty in the things in question; but it is a full Liberty that we desire; such as should be in unnecessary things; and such as will tend to the Concord of your People, *viz. That there be no Law or Canon for or against them, commanding, recommending or prohibiting them*: As now there is none for any particular Gesture in singing of Psalms, where Liberty preserveth an uninterrupted Unity.

For the Particular Ceremonies.

‘ 1. We humbly crave as to *kneeling in the Act of Receiving*, that your Majesty will declare our Liberty therein, that none should be troubled for receiving it standing or sitting.

And your Majesty’s Expressions [*upon Reasons best known, if not only to themselves*] command us to render *some of our Reasons*.

1. We are sure that Christ and his Apostles sinned not, by *not receiving it kneeling*; and many are not sure that by *kneeling* they should not sin; and therefore for the better Security, though not for absolute Necessity, we crave leave to take the safer side.

2. We are sure that *kneeling in any Adoration at all, in any Worship, on any Lord’s Day in the Year, or any Week-day between Ester and Pentecost, was not only disused, but forbidden by General Councils (as Concil. Nicen. 1 Can. 20. and Concil. Trull. &c.) and disclaimed by ancient Writers, and this as a general and uncontroled Tradition: And therefore that kneeling in the Act of receiving is a Novelty contrary to the Decrees and Practice of the Church for many hundred Years after the Apostles. And if we part with the venerable Examples of all Antiquity where it agrees with Scripture, and that for nothing, we shall depart from the Terms which most Moderators think necessary for the Reconciling of the Churches. And Novelty is a Dishonour to any part of Religion: And if Antiquity be Honourable, the most ancient, or nearest the Legislation and Fountain, must be most honourable. And it is not safe to intimate a Charge of Unreverence upon all the Apostles and primitive Christians, and the Universal Church, for so many hundred Years together of its purest Time.*

3. Though our meaning be good, it is not good to shew a needles Countenance of the Papists Practice of Adoring the Bread as God, when it is used by them round about us: Saith Bishop Hall in his Life, pag. 20. [*I had a dangerous Conflict with a Sarbonist, who took occasion by our kneeling at the Receipt of the Eucharist, to persuade all the Company of our Acknowledgment of a Transubstantiation.*]

4. Some of us that could rather kneel than be deprived of Communion, should yet suffer much before we durst put all others from the Communion that durst not take it kneeling; which therefore we crave we might not be put upon it.

2. We humbly crave also [‘ that the religious Observance of Holy-days of human Institution may be declared to be left indifferent, that none be troubled for not observing them.]

3. We humbly tender your Majesty our Thanks for your gracious Concession of Liberty as to the Cross and Surplice, and bowing at the Name [*Jesus*] rather than [*Christ*] or [*God*]. But we farther humbly beseech your Majesty 1. That this Liberty in forbearing the Surplice, might extend to the Colledges and Cathedrals also] that it drive not thence all those that scruple it, and make not those Places receptive only of a Party; and that the Youth of the Nation may have just Liberty as well as the Elder. If they be engaged in the Universities, and their Liberties there cut off in their beginning they cannot afterwards be free; many hopeful Persons will be else diverted from the Service of the Church. 2. That your Majesty will endeavour the repealing of all Laws, and Canons by which these Ceremonies are imposed, that they might be left at full Liberty.

4. We also humbly tender our Thanks to your Majesty for your gracious Concession of the Forbearance of the Subscription required by that Canon. But (1.) we humbly acquaint your Majesty, that we do not dissent from the Doctrine of the Church of England, expressed in the Articles and Homilies: But it is the controverted Passages about Government, Liturgy and Ceremonies, and some By-passages and Phrases in the doctrinal Part, which are scrupled by those whose Liberty is desired. Not that we are against subscribing the proper Rule of our Religion, or any meet Confession of Faith. Nor do we scruple the Oath of Supremacy or Allegiance. Nor would we have the Door left open for Papists or Hereticks to come in. 2. We take the boldness to say that since we have had the Promises of your gracious indulgence herein, and upon divers Addresses to your Majesty and the Lord Chancellor, had comfortable Encouragement to expect our Liberty, yet cannot Ministers procure Institution without renouncing their Ordination by Presbyters, or being re-ordained, nor without Subscription and the Oath of Canonical Obedience.

3. We must observe with Fear and Grief, that your Majesty’s Indulgence and

Concessions of Liberty in this Declaration extendeth not either to the *abatement of Re-ordination*, or of *subscriptional Ordination*, or of the *Oath of Obedience to the Bishops*. We therefore humbly and earnestly crave, that your Majesty will declare your Pleasure. 1. [That Ordination, and Institution, and Induction may be conferred without the said Subscription or Oath. And 2. That none be urged to be reordained, or denied Institution for want of Ordination by Prelates, that was ordained by Presbyters. 3. And that none be judged to have forfeited his Presentation or Benefice, nor be deprived of it for not reading those Articles of the 39 that contain the controverted Points of Government and Ceremonies.

Lastly, We humbly crave that your Majesty will not only grant us this Liberty till the next Synod, but will endeavour that the Synod be impartially chosen, and that your Majesty will be pleased to endeavour the Procurement of such Laws as shall be necessary for our security till the Synod, and for the Ratification of moderate and healing Conclusions afterwards, and that nothing by meer Canon be imposed on us, without such Statute Laws of Parliament.

These Favours (which will be injurious to none) if your People may obtain of your Majesty, it will revive their Hearts to daily and earnest Prayer for your Prosperity, and to rejoice in the thankful Acknowledgment of that gracious Providence of Heaven, that hath blessed us in your Restoration, and put it into your Heart to heal our Breaches, and to have compassion on the faithful People in your Dominions, who do not petition you for Liberty to be Schismatical, Factious, Seditious, or abusive to any, but only for leave to obey the Lord, who created and redeemed them, according to that Law by which they must all be shortly judged to everlasting Joy or Misery. And it will excite them to, and unite them in the cheerful Service of your Majesty, with their Estates and Lives, and to transmit your deserved Praises to Posterity.

A little before this, the Bishops Party had appointed (at our Request) a Meeting with some of us, to try how near we could come, in preparation to what was to be resolved on. Accordingly Dr. Morley, Dr. Hinchman, and Dr. Cosins, met Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Calamy, and myself; and after a few roving Discourses we parted without bringing them to any particular Concessions for Abatement, only their general talk was from the beginning, as if they would do any thing for Peace, which was fit to be done, and they being at that time newly elect (but not consecrated) to their several Bishopricks, we called them [*my Lords*] which Dr. Morley once returned with such a Passage as this [*we may call you also I suppose by the same Title*]: by which I perceived they had some Purposes to try that way with us.

§ 107. This Petition being delivered to the Lord Chancellor was so ungrateful that we were never called to present it to the King: But instead of that, it was offered us that we should make such Alterations in the Declaration as were necessary to attain its Ends: But with these Cautions, that we put in nothing but what we judged of flat necessity. And 2. That we altered not the Preface or Language of it. For it was to be the King's Declaration, and what he spake as expressing his own Sense, was nothing to us; but if we thought he imposed any thing intollerable upon us, we had leave to express our Desires for the altering of it. Whereupon we agreed to offer this following Paper of Alterations, letting all the rest of the Declaration alone; But withal, by Word to tell those we offered it to (which was the Lord Chancellor) [That this was not the Model of Church-Government which we at first offered, nor which we thought most expedient for the healing of the Church: But seeing that cannot be obtained, we shall humbly submit, and thankfully acknowledge his Majesty's Condescension, if we may obtain what now we offer, and shall faithfully endeavour to improve it to the Churches Peace, to the utmost of our Power]. Having declared this (with more) we delivered in the following Paper.

The Alterations of the Declaration which we offered.

[1. **W**E do in the first place declare that our Purpose and Resolution is, and shall be to promote the Power of Godliness, to encourage the Exercises of Religion, both publick and private, and to take care that the Lord's Day be appropriated to holy Exercises, without unnecessary Divertisements; and that insufficient, negligent, non-resident, and scandalous Ministers be not permitted in the Church:] And as the present Bishops are known to be Men of great and exemplary Piety, &c.

2. [Because the Diocesses, especially some of them, are thought to be of too large Extent, we will appoint such a Number of suffragan Bishops in every Diocess, as shall be sufficient for the due Performance of their Work.]

3. [No Bishops shall ordain, or exercise any part of Jurisdiction which appertains to the Censures of the Church, without the Advice and Consent of the Presbyters, and no Chancellors, Commissaries, Archdeacons, or Officials shall exercise any Act of Spiritual Jurisdiction.]

4. [To the end that the Deans and Chapters may be the better fitted to afford Counsel and Assistance to the Bishops; both in Ordination, and in the other Ordinances mentioned before, we will take care that those Preferments be given to the most learned and pious Presbyters of the Diocess.]

[And moreover, that at least an equal Number of the most learned, pious, and discreet Presbyters of the same Diocess, (annually chosen by the major Vote of all the Presbyters of that Diocess) shall be assistant and consenting together with those of the Chapter at all Ordinations, and all other Acts of Spiritual Jurisdiction.]

[Nor shall any Suffragan Bishops ordain, or exercise any act of Spiritual Jurisdiction, but with the Consent and Assistance of a sufficient Number of the most Judicious and pious Presbyters, annually chosen by the major Vote of all the Presbyters in his Precincts:]

And our will is, that the great Work of Ordination be constantly and solemnly performed at the four set times and Seasons appointed by the Church for that purpose.

5. [We will take care that Confirmation be rightly and solemnly performed, by the Information, and with the Consent of the Minister of that Place. Who shall admit none to the Lord's Supper, till they have made a credible Profession of their Faith, and promised Obedience to the Will of God according as is expressed in the Consideration of the Rubrick before the Catechism; and that all possible Diligence be used for the Instruction and Reformation of scandalous Offenders, whom the Ministers shall not suffer to partake of the Lord's Table until they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented, and amended their former naughty Lives, as is partly expressed in the Rubrick, and more fully in the Canons. Provided there be place for due Appeals to superior Powers.]

6. No Bishops, &c.

7. We are very glad to find that all with whom we have conferred, do, in their Judgments, approve a Liturgy, or a set Form of publick Worship to be lawful, which in our Judgments, for the Preservation of Unity and Uniformity, we conceive to be very necessary: And although we do esteem the Liturgy of the Church of England contained in the Book of Common-Prayer and by Law established, to be the best that we have seen, (and we believe that we have seen all that are extant, and used in this part of the World) and we know what Reverence most of the reformed Churches, or at least the most learned Men in those Churches have for it; yet since we find some Exceptions made against several things therein [We will appoint an equal Number of learned Divines of both Persuasions to review the same, and to make such Alterations as shall be thought most necessary; and some additional Forms (in Scripture Phrase as near as may be) suited unto the Nature of the several Ordinances, and that it be left to the Minister's choice to use one or the other at his Discretion.] In the mean time, and till this be done, although we do heartily wish and desire that the Ministers in their several Churches because they dislike some Clauses, and Expressions, would not totally lay aside the use of the Book of Common Prayer, but read those Parts against which there can be no Exception, which would be the best Instance of declining those Marks of Distinction, which we so much labour and desire to remove: Yet in compassion to divers of our good Subjects

who scruple the use of it as now it is, our Will and Pleasure is that none be punished or troubled for not using it, until it be reviewed and effectually reformed as aforesaid.]

In the Preface concerning Ceremonies, we desire that at least these Words be left out [*Not that themselves do in their Judgments believe the Practice of these particular Ceremonies, which they except against, to be in it self unlawful.*]

As concerning Ceremonies, our Will and Pleasure is, 1. That none shall be required to kneel in the act of receiving the Lord's Supper; but left at Liberty therein.

2. That the religious Observation of Holy days of human Institution be left indifferent, and that none be troubled for not observing of them.

3. That no Man shall be compell'd to use the Cross in Baptism, or suffer for not using it.

4. That no Man shall be compelled to bow at the Name of Jesus.

5. For the use of the Surplice, we are contented that all Men be left to their Liberty to do as they shall think fit, without suffering in the least Degree for wearing or not wearing it.

And because some Men otherwise pious and learned, say they cannot conform unto the Subscription required by the Canons, nor take the Oath of Canonical Obedience, we are content, and it is our Will and Pleasure (so they take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy) that they shall receive Ordination, Institution, and Induction, and shall be permitted to exercise their Function, and to enjoy the Profits of their Livings without the said Subscription, or Oath of Canonical Obedience.

And moreover, that no Persons in the Universities shall, for the want of such Subscription be hindred in taking their Degrees.

Lastly, That such as have been ordained by Presbyters, be not required to renounce their Ordination, or to be re-ordained, or denied Institution and Induction for want of Ordination by Bishops.

And moreover, that none be judged to forfeit their Presentation or Benefice, or be deprived of it, for not reading of those of the 39 Articles that contain the controverted Points of Church-Government and Ceremonies.

§ 108. After all this a Day was appointed for his Majesty to peruse the Declaration as it was drawn up by the Lord Chancellor, and to allow what he liked and alter the rest, upon the hearing of what both sides should say: Accordingly he came to the Lord Chancellor's House, and with him the Duke of *Albermarle*, and Duke of *Ormond* (as I remember) the Earl of *Manchester*, the Earl of *Anglesey*, the Lord *Hollis*, &c. and Dr. *Skeldon* (then) Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Morley* (then) Bishop of *Worcester*, Dr. *Hinchman* (then) Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Cosins* Bishop of *Durham*, Dr. *Gauden* (after) bishop of *Exeter* and *Worcester*, Dr. *Barwick* (after) Dean of *Pauls*, Dr. *Hacket* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, with divers others; among whom, Dr. *Gunning* was most notable. On the other part stood Dr. *Reignolds*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Ash*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Spurstow*, my self, and who else I remember not. The Business of the Day was not to dispute, but as the Lord Chancellor read over Declaration, each Party was to speak to what they disliked, and the King to determine how it should be, as liked himself. While the Lord Chancellor read over the Preface, there was no Interruption, only he thought it best himself to blot out those Words about the Declaration in *Scotland* for the Covenant [*That we did from the Moment it passed our Hand, ask God Forgiveness for our Part in it.*] The great matter which we stopt at was, the Word [*Consent*] where the Bishop is to confirm by the [*Consent*] of the Pastor of that Church; and the King would by no means pass the Word *Consent* either there or in the Point of Ordination or Censures; because it gave the Ministers a negative Voice: We urged him hard with a Passage in his Father's Book of Meditations, where he expressly granteth this [*Consent*] of the Presbyters; but it would not prevail: The most that I insisted on was from the end of our Endeavours, that we came not hither for a Personal Agreement only with our Brethren of the other way, but to procure such gracious Concessions from his Majesty, as would unite all the soberest People of the Land: And we knew that on lower Terms it would not be done. Though [*Consent*] be but a little Word, it was necessary to a very desirable end; if it were purposed that the Parties and Divisions should rather continue unhealed, then we had no more to say, there being no Remedy: But we were sure that Union would not be attained if

if no Content were allowed Ministers in any part of the Government of their Flocks, and so they should be only Teachers without any Participation, and the ruling of the People, whose Rectors they are called. And when I perceived some Offence at what I said, I told them that we had not the Judgments of Men at our command : We could not in reason suppose that our Concessions, or any thing we could do, would change the Judgments of any great Numbers ; and therefore we must consider what will unite us in case their Judgments be not changed, or else we labour to no purpose.

§ 109. But Bishop Morley told them how great our Power was, and what we might do if we were willing ; and he told the King that no Man had written better of these Matters than I had done, and there my five Disputations of Church Government, &c. lay ready to be produced ; and all was to intimate, as if I now contradicted what I had there written. I told him, that I had best reason to know what I had written, and that I am still of the same mind, and stand to it all, and do not speak any thing against it. A great many words there were about Prelacy and Re-ordination ; Dr. Gunning and Bishop Morley speaking almost all on one side (and Dr. Hinchman and Dr. Cosens sometimes) : and Mr. Calamy and my self most on the other side : But I think neither Party doth value the rambling Discourses of that Day, so much, as to think them worthy the recording. Mr. Calamy answered Dr. Gunning from Scripture very well against the Divine Right of Prelacy as a distinct Order. And when Dr. Gunning told them, that Dr. Hammond had said enough against the Presbyterians Cause and Ordination, and was yet unanswered : I thought it meet to tell him, that I had answered the Substance of his Arguments, and said enough moreover against the Diocesan Frame of Government, and to prove the validity of the English Presbyters Ordination, which indeed was unanswered, though I was very desirous to have seen an Answer to it : which I said because they had got the Book by them, and because I thought the unreasonableness of their dealing might be evinced, who force so many hundreds to be Re-ordained, and will not any of them answer one Book which is written to prove the validity of that Ordination which they would have nullified, though I provoked them purposely in such a Presence.

§ 110. The most of the time being spent thus in speaking to Particulars of the Declaration as it was read, when we came to the end, the Lord Chancellour drew out another Paper, and told us that the King had been petitioned also by the Independants and Anabaptists, and though he knew not what to think of it himself, and did not very well like it ; yet something he had drawn up which he would read to us, and desire us also to give our Advice about it. Thereupon he read, as an Addition to the Declaration, That *[others also be permitted to meet for Religious Worship, so be it, they do it not to the disturbance of the Peace: and that no Justice of Peace or Officer disturb them]*. When he had read it, he again desired them all to think on it, and give their Advice : But all were silent. The Presbyterians all perceived, as soon as they heard it, that it would secure the Liberty of the Papists : and * one of them whispered me in the Ear, and intreated me to say nothing, for it was an odious Business, but let the Bishops speak to it. But the Bishops would not speak a word, nor any one of the Presbyterians neither, and so we were like to have ended in that Silence. I knew if we consented to it, it would be charged on us, that we spake for a Toleration of Papists and Sectaries : (But yet it might have lengthened out our own). And if we spake against it, all Sects and Parties would be set against us, as the Causers of their Sufferings, and as a partial People that would have Liberty our selves, but would have no others have it with us. At last, seeing the Silence continue, I thought our very Silence would be charged on us a Consent if it, went on, and therefore I only said this, That *[this Reverend Brother Dr. Gunning even now speaking against Sects, had named the Papists and the Socinians : For our parts we desired not favour to our selves alone, and rigorous Severity we desired against none ! As we humbly thanked his Majesty for his Indulgence to our selves, so we distinguish the tolerable Parties from the intolerable : For the former, we humbly crave just lenity and favour ; but for the latter, such as the two sorts named before by that Reverend Brother, for our parts we cannot make their Toleration our request]* : To which his Majesty said, That there were Laws enough against the Papists ; and I replied, That we understood the Question to be, whether those Laws should be executed on them, or not. And so his Majesty brake up the Meeting of that Day.

Dr. Wallis.

§ 111. Before the Meeting was dissolved, his Majesty had all along told what he would have stand in the Declaration, and he named four Divines to determine of

of any Words in the Alteration, if there were any difference, that is, Bishop *Maley*, Bishop *Hinchman*, Dr. *Reignolds*, and Mr. *Calamy*, and if they disagreed, that the Earl of *Anglesey* and the Lord *Hollis* should decide it. As they went out of the Room, I told the Earl of *Anglesey*, That we had no other business there that day but the Churches peace and welfare, and I would not have been the Man that should have done so much against it as he had done that day, for more than he was like to get by it. (for being called a Presbyterian, he had spoken more for Prelacy than we expected): And I think by the Consequent that this saying did some good; for when I later found the Declaration amended, and asked him how it came to pass, he intimated to me that it was his doing.

§ 112. And here you may note by the way, the fashion of these Times, and the state of the Presbyterians: Any Man that was for a Spiritual serious way of Worship (though he were for moderate Episcopacy and Liturgy), and that lived according to his Profession, was called commonly a *Presbyterian*, as formerly he was called a *Puritan*, unless he joyned himself to *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, or some other Sect which might afford him a more odious Name. And of the Lords, he that was for Episcopacy and the Liturgy, was called a *Presbyterian*, if he endeavoured to procure any Abatement of their Impositions, for the Reconciling of the Parties, or the ease of the Ministers and People that disliked them. And of the Ministers, he was called a *Presbyterian* that was for Episcopacy and Liturgy, if he conformed not so far as to Subscribe or Swear to the English Diocesan Frame, and all their Impositions. I knew not of any one Lord at Court that was a Presbyterian; yet were the Earl of *Manchester* (a good Man) and the Earl of *Anglesey*, and the Lord *Hollis* called *Presbyterians*, and as such appointed to direct and help them: when I have heard them plead for moderate Episcopacy and Liturgy my self; and they would have drawn us to yield further than we did.

§ 113. And if ever any hereafter shall say, That at King *Charles* the Second's Restoration, the Presbyterian Cause was pleaded, and that they yielded to all that was in the King's Declaration, I leave it here on Record to the Notice of Posterity, that to the best of my knowledge the Presbyterian Cause was never spoken for, nor were they ever heard to petition for it at all: for the rest of the Ministers who came not to us, sat still, and said nothing; and for my self, I ever professed my Judgment to be so far for Episcopacy, Liturgy, &c. as I have expressed in my fifth Disputation for Church-Government, and I drew on this Treaty, not as a Presbyterian, but as a Reconciler: and for Mr. *Calamy*, he pleaded for no more than I did, whatever his Judgment was; only at the Meeting before the King, he pleaded well that the words *Bishops* and *Presbyters* are in Scripture of the same signification, and that they differ but *gradu*, not *ordine*, which abundance of Episcopal Men also hold, as did Bishop *Usher*, and even many Schoolmen, and other Papists. And as for Dr. *Reignolds*, he was always of Mr. *Stillingsfleet's* mind (as I have heard him profess) That no Form of Church-Government is determined of in the Word of God, but it is variable as occasion requireth. And as for Mr. *Ash*, though he was a Presbyterian, yet that good Man being all for Holiness, and Heaven, and Peace, and being no Disputer, he went along with us, and spake for no more than we did. Never did we write or speak a word (that I knew of, who was always with them) for Ruling Elders, nor for the Government of Synods or Presbyteries without Bishops or stated Presidents, nor against Liturgy in general, nor against Holydays in general, nor against Kneeling at the Sacrament (but only against the rejecting those from the Churches-Communion who dare not kneel, as supposing it Idolatrous); nor for any one thing which is proper to Presbytery: Inasmuch that when they still supposed us to plead for Presbytery, in one Paper I drew up an Enumeration of abundance of Particulars which we never pleaded for, which the Presbyterians usually hold, and shewed that we never meddled with their proper Cause, partly because we were not all of a mind our selves in every small matter; and partly because we knew such a Plea would not now be heard; and partly because we took those Terms to be insufficient for the Churches Union, nor would our selves lay its Concord on so narrow a Foundation. But Mr. *Calamy* would not let it pass, because it might offend the Presbyterian Brethren, who expected more from us.

§ 114. But to return to the History: When I went out from the Meeting on Octob. 22. I went dejected, as being fully satisfied, that the Form of Government in that Declaration would not be Satisfactory, nor attain that Concord which was our end, because the Pastors had no Government of the Flocks; and I was resolved to meddle no more in the Business, but patiently suffer with other Dissenters:

But

But two or three days after, I met the King's Declaration cried about the Streets, and I presently went into a House to read it, and seeing the word [*Consent*] put in about Confirmation and Sacrament, though not as to Jurisdiction, and seeing the [*Pastoral persuasive power*] of Governing left to all the Ministers with the Rural Dean, and some more Amendments, I wondered at it, how it came to pass, but was exceeding glad of it, as perceiving that now the Terms were (though not such as we desired, yet) such as any sober honest Ministers might submit to. And I was presently resolved to do my best to persuade all, according to my Interest and Opportunity, to Conform according to the Terms of this Declaration; and cheerfully to promote the Concord of the Church, and Brotherly Love which this Concord doth bespeak.

§ 115. Having frequent Business with the Lord Chancellour about other Matters (of which somewhat anon) I was going to him, when I met the King's Declaration in the Street, and I was so much pleased with it, that (having told him why I was so earnest to have had it suited to the desired end) I gave him hearty thanks for the Additions, and told him that if 1. The Liturgy may be but altered, as the Declaration promisseth; 2. And this may be settled and continued to us by a Law, and not reversed, I should take it to be my Duty to do my best to procure the full Consent of others, and promote our happy Concord on these Terms, and should rejoyce to see the Day that Factions and Parties may all be swallowed up in Unity, and Contentions turned to Brotherly Love. At that time he began to offer me a Bishoprick (of which more anon).

§ 116. I shall here a little look to a passage of another Nature. Before this, I was called to preach at Court before the King (by the Lord Chamberlain who had sworn me his Chaplain, and invited me under that Name) // And after Sermon it pleased his Majesty to send the Lord Chamberlain to request me to print it. And the Earl of *Lauderdale* told me, that when he spake to the King of the great number of Citizens that wrote it in Characters, and said that some of them would publish it; the King answered, *I will prevent that, for I will have it published.* Yet when this Sermon came abroad, Dr. *Thomas Pierce* went up and down raging against me, for calling my self on the Title page [*His Majesty's Chaplain*] (which if I had not, it would have been taken as a Contempt) and for saying it was printed by his Majesty's Special Command: and he renewed all the Railings which in print he had lately vented against me. I admired that a Man, whom the Diocesan Party so much gloried in, should be guilty of so great folly, and imprudency, and could no better cloak his Malice: When he could not but know that the King himself would have sought Satisfaction if I had so foolishly belied him on my Title Page: Therefore I desired some that told me, to give it me under their Hands, that I might convince him of it. And so I received these following Testimonies, from two of his Familiars, but honest understanding Men, viz. Mr. *Griggs* of *Blackfryars*, and Mr. *Brent* of *Creed-lane*.

To my honoured Friend, Mr. William Allen, at his House in Broad-street.

S I R,

YOU being so well acquainted with Mr. Baxter, I desire you will please to ask him, whether he be the King's Chaplain in Ordinary, or not? And whether he had, as he hath printed, his Majesty's Special Command for the printing of his Sermon. For, lately Dr. *Pierce* told me, that he was the King's Chaplain no more than I was, and that he had no order from the King for the printing of his Sermon; which did so amaze me, that I took the boldness to make you this Trouble, who am,

Aug. 30. 1660.

S I R,

Your true Friend to serve you,

John Griggs.

The

The other was as followeth :

Dr. Pierce called Mr. Baxter bold, impudent, saucy Fellow; for preaching such a Sermon to the King, and for printing himself his Majesty's Chaplain, and his Sermon to be printed at his Majesty's Command, when neither were true; and called Mr. Baxter, Thief, Murderer, the greatest of Rebels, worse than a Whore-master or Drunkard, &c. Some of this I heard him speak my self; the rest I had from a Friend which heard it from Mr. Price.

George Brent.

By this taste, the Reader that knew not the Men, may judge with what sort of Men we had to do; for Dr. Pierce was not without too many Companions of his Temper. These Men that witness these Words of his were godly Men, who having been Mr. John Goodwin's Disciples, had been made *Arminians* by him; and fell in with Dr. Pierce, for his Agreement with them in the *Arminian Points*: But they could not lay by Piety and Charity in Partiality for Opinions, and being impatient of his Impudence, thus made it known to me. I purposed to have produced it before all the Bishops, when Dr. Pierce was there (having no other Opportunity to see him): But I had no fit Occasion, and was loth in Business of publick respect, to interpose any thing that meerly concerned my self; and so I never yet told him of it.

§ 117. That the Reader may understand this the better, by knowing the occasion of his Malice, this Mr. Tho. Pierce (being a confident Man, that had a notable Stile and Words at Will, and a venomous railing Pen and Tongue against the Puritans and *Calvanists*) having written somewhat in Defence of *Grotius*, as a judicious peaceable Protestant, in Opposition to some Passages in my [*Christian Concord*] where I warn the Episcopal Party to take heed of *Grotianism* that was creeping in upon them, I did thereupon write a little Collection out of the late Writings of *Grotius* (especially his *Discussio Apologetica Rivetiani*) to prove him to have turned Papist; and that Popery was indeed his Religion (though he communicated with no Church) (for he expressly pleadeth for our consenting to the Council of *Trent*, and all other general Councils as the Churches Law, and to the Pope's Sovereign Government; so it be according to those Laws, and to the Mistresship of the Church of *Rome* over all other Churches, and to Pope *Pius's* Oath, with much more to that purpose: and telleth us that he was turned from us because he saw that the Protestant Churches had no possibility of Union among themselves, &c. and there is a Book written (I think by *Vincentius*) a French Minister, called *Grotius Papizans*, which proveth it: And *Claud. Suravia*, an honourable learned Counsellor of *Paris*, in his printed Epistles publisheth the same from *Grotius's* own Mouth) But Mr. Pierce was vehemently furious at my Book, and wrote a Volume against me full of ingenuous Lies and Railing; for he had no better way to defend *Grotius* or himself. In that Book he scrapes up all the Words through all my Writings where I speak any thing of my self, and puts them together, more impudently interpreting them, than could have been expected from a Man: Because I confess that the place I liv'd in was a Sequestration (whence an ignorant Reader had been put out before my coming to them) therefore he calls me Thief, as if I liv'd on another's Bread; As if no Man must ever have been the Teacher of the People, till that ignorant Wretch were restored to his Soul-murdering Condition: Because I had written to persuade some honest scrupulous Persons, that they should not forsake the Churches Communion, though some were there that had been drunken or otherwise scandalous, and had spoken some Words to draw them to some charitable hopes of a Man that had been drunken, or adulterous, if he were not impenitent; and all this to reconcile them to the Prelatical Party, whom they took to be the scandalous People of the Land; so little Thanks doth he give me for this Excusing of his Party, that he calls me [*worse than a Drunkard or Whoremonger*] as if I had pleaded for these Sins, and yet in his former Book he had said, that [*if I came that way, and would communicate with him and his Church, no Man in the whole World should be more welcome*] (dreaming that I had disowned Communion with the Prelatists, which I never did for all their publick and personal Corruptions.) But his Venom against the Puritans is meerly Serpentine: He describeth them as the most bloody, traiterous, wicked Generation; unworthy to live; and blameth the former Bishops that used them so gently, and provoketh the Governors to hang them in greater Numbers than heretofore; and especially against *Cartwright* he fallly
but

but confidently writeth, that he was confederate with *Hacket*, *Copinger*, and *Arbington* (whom he feigneth to have been Presbyterians or Puritans, (who were distracted Fanatics, one calling himself Christ, and the other his two Witnesses.) But Mr. *Cartwright* himself long ago publish'd a Defence against the Accusations of Dr. *Sutcliffe* on this very Matter.

§ 118. But to return from this Digression: A little before the Meeting about the King's Declaration, Collonel *Birch* came to me as from the Lord Chancellor, to persuade me to take the Bishoprick of *Hereford* (for he had bought the Bishop's House at *Whitburne*, and thought to make a better Bargain with me than with another, and therefore finding that the Lord Chancellor intended me the Offer of one, he desired it might be that): I thought it best to give them no positive Denial, till I saw the utmost of their Intents: And I perceived that Coll. *Birch* came privately that a Bishoprick might not be publicly refused, and to try whether I would accept it that else it might not be offered me; for he told me that they would not bear such a Repulse. I told him that I was resolved never to be Bishop of *Hereford*, and that I did not think that I should ever see cause to take any Bishoprick, but I could give no positive Answer, till I saw the King's Resolutions about the way of Church-Government: For if the old Diocesan Frame continued, he knew we could never accept or own it. After this (having not a flat denial) he came again and again to Dr. *Reignolds*, Mr. *Calamy*, and my self together, to importune us all to accept the Offer; (for the Bishoprick of *Norwich* was offered Dr. *Reignolds*, and *Coventry* and *Litchfield* to Mr. *Calamy*): But he had no positive Answer, but the same from me as before. At last, the Day that the King's Declaration came out, when I was with the Lord Chancellor (who did all) he asked me whether I would accept of a Bishoprick: I told him that if he had asked me that Question the day before, I could easily have answered him, that in Conscience he could not do it; for though I would live peaceably under whatever Government the King should set up, I could not have a hand in executing it. But having as I was coming to him seen the King's Declaration, and seeing that by it, the Government is so far altered as it is, I take my self, for the Churches sake, exceedingly beholden to his Lordship for those Moderations; and my desire to promote the Happiness of the Church, which that Moderation tendeth to, doth make me resolve to take that Course, which tendeth most thereto: But whether to take a Bishoprick, be the way, I was in Doubt, and desired some farther time of Consideration. But if his Lordship would procure us the settlement of the matter of that Declaration, by passing it into a Law, I promised him to take that way in which I might most serve the Puplick Peace.

§ 119. Dr. *Reignolds*, Mr. *Calamy*, and my self, had some Speeches oft together about it; and we all thought that a Bishoprick might be accepted according to the Description of the Declaration, without any Violation of the Covenant, or owning the ancient Prelacy; but all the Doubt was, whether this Declaration would be made a Law (as was then expected) or whether it were but a temporary means to draw us on till we came up to all the Diocesans desired; and Mr. *Calamy* desired that we might all go together, and all refuse, or all accept it.

§ 120. But by this time the rumour of it fled abroad, and the Voice of the City made a Difference; for though they wish'd that none of us should be Bishops, yet they said, Dr. *Reignolds* and Mr. *Baxter*, being known to be for moderate Episcopacy, their acceptance would be less scandalous: But if Mr. *Calamy* should accept it, who had preached, and written, and done so much against it (which were then at large recited) never Presbyterian would be trusted for his sake; so that the Clamour was very loud against his acceptance of it: And Mr. *Matthew Newcomen*, his Brother in Law wrote to me earnestly to dissuade him, and many more.

§ 121. For my own part I resolved against it at the first, but not as a thing which I judged unlawful in it self, as described in the King's Declaration: But 1. I knew that it would take me off my Writing. 2. I looked to have most of the godly Ministers cast out, and what good could be done upon ignorant, vile, uncapable Men? 3. I feared that this Declaration was but for a present use, and that shortly it would be revok'd or nullified. 4. And if so, I doubted not, but the Laws would prescribe such work for Bishops, in silencing Ministers, and troubling honest Christians for their Consciences, and ruling the vicious with greater Lenity, &c. As that I had rather have the meanest Imployment amongst Men. 5. And my Judgment was fully resolved against the Lawfulness of the old Diocesan Frame.

§ 122. But when Dr. *Reignolds* and Mr. *Calamy* askt my Thoughts, I told them, [that distinguishing between what is simply, and what is by Accident Evil. I thought that as Episcopacy is described in the King's Declaration, it is lawful, when better cannot be had ; but yet Scandal might make it unfit for some Men more than others : Therefore to Mr. *Calamy* I would give no Counsel, but for Dr. *Reignolds* I persuaded him to accept it, so be it, he would publickly declare that he took it but on the Terms of the King's Declaration, and would lay it down when he could no longer exercise it on those terms : only I left it to his Consideration whether it be better stay till we see what they will do with the Declaration ; and for my self, I was confident I should see cause to refuse it.

§ 123. When I came next to the Lord Chancellor, (the next day save one) he asked me of my Resolution, and put me to it so suddenly, that I was forced to delay no longer, but told him that I could not accept it, for several Reasons ; and it was not the least that I thought I could better serve the Church without it, if he would but prosecute the establishment of the Terms granted : And because I thought that it would be ill taken if I refused it on any but acceptable Reasons, and also that Writing would serve best against misreports hereafter, I the next Day put this Letter into the Lord Chancellor's Hand, which he took in good Part ; In which I concealed the most of my Reasons, and gave the best, and used more Freedom in my farther Requests, than I expected should have any good Success.

My Lord,

YOUR great Favour and Condescension encourages me to give you more of my Sense of the Business which your Lordship was pleased to propound. I was till I saw the Declaration, much dejected, and resolved against a Bishoprick as unlawful. But finding there more than on Octob. 22. his Majesty granted us (in the Pastor's Consent, &c. the Rural Dean with the whole Ministry enabled to exercise as much persuasive Pastoral Power as I could desire (who believe the Church hath no other kind of Power, unless communicated from the Magistrate) Subscription abated in the Universities, &c.) And finding such happy Concessions in the great point of Parochial Power and Discipline, and in the Liturgy and Ceremonies, &c. my Soul rejoiced in thankfulness to God and his Instruments, and my Conscience presently told me it was my Duty, to do my best with my self and others as far as I had Interest and Opportunity, to suppress all sinful Discontents ; and having competent Materials now put into my Hands, (without which I could have done nothing) to persuade all my Brethren to Thankfulness, and obedient Submission to the Government. And being raised to some joyful hopes of seeing the Beginnings of a happy Union, I shall crave your Lordship's Pardon for presuming to tell you what farther endeavours will be necessary to accomplish it : 1. If your Lordship will endeavour to get this Declaration pass into an Act. 2. If you will speedily procure a Commission to the Persons that are (equally) to be deputed to that work, to review the Common-Prayer-Book, according to the Declaration. 3. If you will further effectually the Restoration of able, faithful Ministers (who have and will have great Interest in the sober part of the People) to a seiled Station of Service in the Church, who are lately removed. 4. If you will open some way for the ejection of the insufficient, scandalous and unable. 5. If you will put as many of our Persuasion as you can into Bishopricks (if it may be, more than three.) 6. If you will desire the Bishops to place some of them in inferior Places of trust ; especially Rural Deanries, which is a Station suitable to us, in that it hath no Sallery or Maintenance, nor coercive Power, but that simple, pastoral persuasive Power which we desire : This much will set us all in joint.

And for my own part, I hope by Letters this very Week to disperse the Seeds of Satisfaction into many Countries of England. But my Conscience commanding me to make this my very Work and Business (unless the things granted should be reverse, which God forbid) I must profess to your Lordship, that I am utterly against accepting of a Bishoprick (as because I am conscious that it will over-match my sufficiency, and afright me with the remembrance of my Account for so great an Undertaking, &c. so) specially because it will very much disable me from an effectual promoting of the Churches Peace. As Men will question all my Argumentations and Persuasion, when they see me in the Dignity which I plead for, but will take me to speak my Conscience impartially, when I am but as one of them, so I must profess to your Lordship, that it will stop my own Mouth, so that I cannot for Shame speak half so freely as now I can (and will if God enable me) for Obedience and Peace, while I know that the Hearers will be thinking I am pleading for my self. Therefore I humbly crave,

1. That your Lordship will put some able Man of our persuasion into the place which you intend me (Though I now think that Dr. Reignolds and Mr. Calamy may better accept of a Bishoprick than I, which I hope your Lordship will promote). I shall presume to offer some Choice to your Consideration; Dr. Francis Roberts of Wroughton in Somersetshire (known by his Works), Mr. Froyzal of Clun in Shropshire and Hereford Diocess (a Man of great worth and good interest), Mr. Daniel Cawdrey of Billing in Northamptonshire, Mr. Anthony Burgess of Sutton-Coldfield in Warwickshire (all known by their printed Works); Mr. John Trap of Gloucestershire, Mr. Ford of Exeter, Mr. Hughes of Plymouth, Mr. Bampfild of Sherborne, Mr. Woodbridge of Newbury, Dr. Chambers, Dr. Bryan and Dr. Grew both of Coventry, Mr. Brinley of Yarmouth, Mr. Porter of Whitchurch in Shropshire, Mr. Gilpin of Cumberland, Mr. Bowles of York, Dr. Temple of Brampton in Warwickshire: I need name no more.

2. That you will believe that I as thankfully acknowledge your Lordship's Favour, as if I were by it possessed of a Bishoprick: And if your Lordship continue in those Intentions, I shall thankfully accept it in any other state or relation that may further my Service to the Church and to his Majesty. But I desire for the forementioned Reasons that it may be no Cathedral Relation. And whereas the Vicar of the Parish where I have lived will not resign, but accept me only as his Curate, if your Lordship would procure him some Prebendary, or other place of Competent Profit (for I dare not motion him to any Pastoral Charge, or Place that requireth preaching), that so he might resign that Vicaridge to me, without his Loss, according to the late Act, before December, for the sake of that Town (of Kidderminster) I should take it as a very great favour. But if there be any great Inconvenience or Difficulties in the way, I can well be content to be his Curate. I crave your Lordship's pardon of this trouble (which your own Condescension hath drawn upon you) and remain

Nov. 1. 1660.

Your Lordships

much obliged Servant,

Rich. Baxter.

I have presumed to tender you the inclosed List of desired Members of the Indian Corporation, supposing your Lordship will Name what Persons of higher Quality you see meet. And also the French Project with this of London for a Corporation for the Poor, that by such Generals you may be prepared to receive the Londoner's Petition when it is offered.

§ 124. Mr. Calamy blamed me for giving in my Denial alone, before we had relolved together what to do. But I told him the truth, that being upon other necessary Business with the Lord Chancellour, he put me to it on the sudden, so that I could not conveniently delay my Answer.

§ 125. And Dr. Regnolds almost as suddenly accepted it, saying, *That some Friend had taken out the Conge d'eslier for him without his knowledge.* But he read to me a Profession directed to the King, which he had written, wherein he professed that he took a Bishop and Presbyter to differ not *ordine* but *gradu*, and that a Bishop was but the Chief Presbyter, and that he was not to Ordain or Govern but with his Presbyter's Assistance and Consent, and that thus he accepted of the place, and as described in the King's Declaration, and not as it stood before in England, and that he would no longer hold or exercise it than he could do it on these terms: To this sence it was; and he told me that he would offer it the King when he accepted of the place; but whether he did or not I cannot tell. He dy'd in the Bishoprick of Norwich An. 1676.

§ 126. On Friday Novemb. 2. being All-Souls-day, the Queen came in: And there were that day on the Thames three Tydes in about Twelve hours, to the common admiration of the People.

§ 127. Mr. Calamy long suspended his Answer, so that that Bishoprick was long undisposed of; till he saw the issue of all our Treaty, which easily resolved him. And Dr. Manton was offered the Deanery of Rochester, and Dr. Bates the Deanery

of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, which they both (after some time) refused: And, as I heard, Mr. *Edward Bowles* was offered the Deanery of *York* (at least) which he refused, (and not long after died of the stone).

§ 128. When the King's Declaration was passed, we had a Meeting with the Ministers of *London* called Presbyterian (that is, all that were neither Prelatical, nor of any other Sect,) to consult with them about their returning Thanks to the King for his gracious Declaration; that so it might appear that those that were not with us were thankful for it, as well as we. At the first Meeting the City Ministers first voted their Thanks to be given to us for our Labours in procuring it, *Nemine contradicente*: But old Mr. *Arthur Jackson* (a very worthy Man) and Mr. *Crofton*, spake against returning Thanks to the King: Not that they were not truly thankful; but because their Thanks, would signifie an approbation of Bishops and Archbishops which they had covenanted against. This I undertook to confute, by proving, that the Bishops and Archbishops in the King's Declaration are not *ejusdem speciei* with what they were before: And that there is the same Name, but not the same Thing; and withal by proving that the Covenant did not meddle against all Bishops and Archbishops, but only those of the English Diocesan Species: And that there was a Specific Difference, I proved, in that by the King's Declaration the Essentials at least of Church-Government is restored to the Pastors, whereas before the Pastors had no Government; and this altereth all the Frame, as much, as if you let the Foundation-Walls, and Roof of your House stand, and all that is visible without, but within you pull down the Partitions and turn it into a Church. For before every Bishop was the lowest and sole Governour (with his Court and Consistory) of many hundred Churches: and now every Pastor is the lowest Governour of his Flock, and the Bishop is but the Superiour Governour of the lower Governours and the Flocks: and indeed are all Archbishops, though they have the Name of Bishops still. Most of the Ministers were satisfied, but to me remained unsatisfied to the end.

§ 129. But at the next Meeting, those that were satisfied resolved upon Thank-giving to the King, and they drew up this following Writing.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty :

The humble and grateful Acknowledgment of many Ministers of the Gospel in and about the City of London, to his Royal Majesty for his gracious Concessions in his Majesty's late Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Most Dread Sovereign!

WE your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, Ministers of the Gospel in your City of *London*, having perused your Majesty's late Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, and finding it to the joy of our hearts, so full of Indulgence and gracious Condescension, we cannot but judge our selves highly obliged, in the first place to render our unfeigned Thanks to our good God, who hath so mercifully inclined your Majesty's Royal heart to this Moderation, and next our most humble and hearty Acknowledgments unto your Sacred Majesty, that we may testify to your Royal Self, and all the World, our just Resentment of your Majesty's great Goodness and Clemency therein expressed.

May it please your Majesty,

The Liberty of our Consciences and the free Exercise of our Ministry in the Work of our Great Lord and Master, for the Conversion of Souls, ought to be, and are more dear to us, than all the Profits and Preferments of this World; and therefore your Majesty's Tenderness, manifested in these so high Concernments, doth wonderfully affect us, and raise up our Hearts to an high pitch of Gratitude.

‘ We

' We cannot but adore Divine Goodness for your Majesty's steadfast adherence to the Protestant Religion, notwithstanding all Temptations and Provocations to the contrary, and your professed Zeal for the Advancement and Propagation thereof, declaring, that nothing can be proposed to manifest your Zeal and Affection for it, to which you will not readily consent.

' Your Majesty has graciously declared, That your Resolution is, and shall be, to promote the Power of Godliness, to encourage the Exercises of Religion, both publick and private, to take care that the Lord's day be applied to holy Exercises, without unnecessary Divertisements; and that insufficient, negligent and scandalous Ministers be not permitted in the Church. Your Majesty hath granted that no Bishop shall Ordain, or Exercise any part of Jurisdiction which appertains to the Censures of the Church, without the advice and assistance of the Presbyters, and neither do, nor impose any thing, but what is according to the known Laws of the Land. Excluded Chancellours, Commissaries, and Officials from Acts of Jurisdiction: so happily restored the Power of the Pastors in their several Congregations; and granted a Liberty to all the Ministers to assemble Monthly for the Exercise of the Pastoral perswasive Power, to the promoting of Knowledge and Godliness in their Flocks. Your Majesty hath graciously promised a Review, and effectual Reformation of the Liturgy, with additional Forms to be used at Choice: And in the mean time, that none be punished, or troubled for not using it. Your Majesty hath graciously freed us from Subscription required by the Canon, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience; and granted us to receive Ordination, Institution and Induction, and to exercise our Function, and enjoy the profit of our Livings, without the same. Your Majesty hath gratified the Consciences of many, who are grieved with the use of some Ceremonies, by indulging to, and dispensing with their omitting those Ceremonies, viz. Kneeling at the Sacrament, the Cross in Baptism, bowing at the Name of Jesus, and wearing of the Surplice.

' All this your Majesty's Indulgence and tender Compassion (which with delight we have taken the boldness thus largely to Commemorate) we receive with all humility and thankfulness, and, as the best Expression thereof, shall never cease to pray for your Majesty's long and prosperous Reign; and study how in our several Stations we may be most Instrumental in your Majesty's Service: And that we may not be defective in Ingenuity, we crave leave to profess, that though all things in this Frame of Government be not exactly suited to our Judgment, yet your Majesty's moderation hath so great an influence upon us, that we shall to our utmost endeavour the healing of the Breaches, and promoting the Peace and Union of the Church.

' There are some other things that have been propounded by our Reverend Brethren, which, upon our knees, with all humble Importunity, we could beg of your Majesty, especially that Re-ordination, and the Surplice in Colledges may not be imposed; and we cannot lay aside our Hopes, but that that God, who hath thus far drawn out your Majesty's Bowels and Mercy, will further incline your Majesty's Heart to gratifie us in these our humble Desires also.

' That we be not further burthensome, we humbly beg leave to thank your Majesty for the Liberty and Respect vouchsafed to our Reverend Brethren in this weighty Affair of Accommodation. The God of Heaven bless your Majesty, and all the Royal Family,

Your Majesty's
most Loyal Subjects,

<i>Sa. Clark.</i>	<i>Will. Cooper.</i>	<i>Eli. Pledger.</i>
<i>Tho. Case.</i>	<i>Will. Whittaker.</i>	<i>Will. Bates.</i>
<i>Jo. Rawlinson.</i>	<i>Tho. Jacomb.</i>	<i>Jo. Gibbon.</i>
<i>Jo. Sheffield.</i>	<i>Tho. Lye.</i>	<i>Mat. Poole.</i>
<i>Tho. Gouge.</i>	<i>Jo. Jackson.</i>	<i>With many o-</i>
<i>Gab. Sanger.</i>	<i>Jo. Meriton.</i>	<i>thers.</i>

This Address was Presented to his Majesty at *Whitehall*, Nov. 16. by some of these Ministers, to whom he was pleased to return a very gracious Answer.

London, Printed by his Majesty's Approbation for *Joh. Rothwel*, at the Sign of the Fountain in *Cheapside*, in *Goldsmiths Row*, 1660.

§ 130. Whether this came to the King's Ears, or what else it was that caused it, I know not, but presently after the Earl of *Lauderdale* came to tell me, that I must come the next day to the King: Who was pleased to tell me, that he sent for me only to signify his Favour to me: I told him, I feared my plain Speeches *Octob. 22.* which I thought that Cause in hand commanded me, might have been displeasing to him: But he told me that he was not offended at the plainness or freedom or earnestness of them, but only when he thought I was not in the right; and that for my free Speech he took me to be the honestest Man.

I suppose this Favour came from the Bishops, who having notice of what last past, did think that now I might serve their Interests.

§ 131. The Question now is, What we got by procuring this Declaration of the King's, and how it was accepted by the People?

1. I thought it no small gain, though none of it should be fulfilled, that we had got so much from the hand of a King, to take off prejudice among the People, and abate the violence of cruel Men, and to stand on record to Posterity that once so much was granted us by the King! for if ever there be any inclinations to Peace and Charity hereafter, that which *once hath been granted* will be easilier granted again, than that which was never granted before. This Testimony is more worth than all our labour for it.

2. The Ministers and People of the Land that were concerned in it, had a Twelve months time by it, in their Ministerial Liberty, and Maintenance: for this suspended the Execution of the old Laws which were in force against them, till the new ones were made.

3. We got (which was a valuable benefit) the Liberty in our Treaty to speak for our Cause under the protection of the King's Commission, and justly to state our Differences; which else would have been easily stated to our prejudice, and none might have contradicted them.

§ 132. But for the fulfilling of it, there was nothing at all done which the Declaration mentioneth, save only this years Suspension of the Law against us: And some Men were so violent at a distance in the Country, that they indicted Ministers at the Assizes and Sessions notwithstanding the Declaration, taking it for no Suspension of the Law: which put us on many ungrateful Addresses to the King and the Lord Chancellour for their Deliverance: For the Brethren complained to us from all Parts, and thought it our Duty, who had procured the Declaration, to procure the Execution of it: And when we petitioned for them they were commonly delivered from that Suffering.

But as to the Matter of Church-Government mentioned in the Declaration,

1. The Power of Godliness hath been promoted, as the *Act of Uniformity*, and the *Act against Conventicles*, and the Ejecting of 1800 Ministers at once, and many Hundred before, with much more to the same purpose, express. 2. The publick and private *Exercises of Religion*, have been encouraged, just as those two forementioned Acts express: Of which to English-men I need not give an Exposition. 3. Of the *applying the Lord's Day wholly to holy Exercises, without unnecessary Divertisements*, I have least to say; because in these Times we expect only Liberty to do so our selves, leaving all others to take their own way: And through God's mercy we have liberty to meditate or pray in our Closets; and to pray in our Families, so there be not above four others present, and to hear Common Prayer and Sermon too in Publick in those Parishes that have a Minister that can and will preach: And if others think a Play, or publick Games or Drinking, or Ryoting to be necessary *Divertisements*, they cannot constrain us to the like. 4. That Clause of not *permitting insufficient, negligent, scandalous Ministers* (for the word [*Non-resident*] could not pass) I believe is executed according to the Judgment of the Executors: for I suppose they take him that cannot discern the lawfulness of the Subscriptions, Declarations, and Practises of Conformity, about Oaths, Prelacy and Ceremonies, to be more insufficient for the Ministry (how learned and able otherwise soever) than an ignorant Reader is. And I suppose they take one that renounceth not the Obligations of the Vow and Covenant, and Subscribeth not to Prelacy and Ceremonies to be more scandalous than a Drunkard or a Whoremonger; and one that neglecteth any of these to be more *negligent* than he that neither preacheth to his Flock, nor personally instructeth them.

§ 133. As to the *Appointment of such a number of Suffragan Bishops in every Diocess* *Declar.*
as is necessary to the due performance of the Work, there was never a one appointed in *p. 11.*
 any one Diocess in the Land, that ever I heard of; but yet this may be thus far excused, that the Parliament having done so much of the Work of Church-Discipline themselves, as to cast out 1800 of us at once, there was the less need of Suffragans afterwards; and the Bishops themselves were sufficient to cast out, or keep out the rest, if ever any such more as we should seek to get into the Ministry.

§ 134. That no Bishop shall ordain or exercise any part of Jurisdiction, &c. without *p. 11.*
the Advice and Assistance of the Presbyters, may be performed, for ought I know; for perhaps the Bishop (or Chancellor) hath the *Advice* of his Chaplain in private to do it himself, and I believe many of his *Presbyters* assist him by their Information, telling him who they be that scruple Ceremonies, and who meet in private to Worship God, and what nonconformable Ministers presume to preach the Gospel.

§ 135. That no Lay Chancellor, Commissaries, or Officials as such shall excommuni- *p. 11.*
cate, absolve, &c. may for ought I know be fulfilled: For though they do it Familiarly, as they did before, and few Countries have not some that are excommunicated by them, for not receiving the Sacrament against their Consciences, or some such Matter: Yet whether they do it [as such] or in any other unknown Capacity, is more than a Stander-by can tell, and they say, that when it comes to the Sentence of Excommunication, some of them use a Priest *pro Formâ*.

§ 136. Nor did I ever yet hear of an Archdeacon who exercised his Jurisdiction by *p. 11.*
the Advice and Assistance of six Ministers chosen as is there mentioned (p. 11.)

§ 137. Nor did I ever hear that an equal Number (to the Canons and Prebends) were annually, (or ever once) chosen in any one Diocess by the Vote of the Presby- *p. 12.*
ters to be always assisting to the Bishop in all Church-censures, &c. But indeed the Suffragans did never exercise their Jurisdiction without them; because such Suffragans never were. *p. 12.*

§ 138. Nor did I ever hear that the Ministers Consent was desired for the Confirm- *p. 12.*
ing of any in his Parish; nor of any other than the old way of Confirmation, that is, for any that will run into the Church, though never so unknown, to kneel down and have the few Words mentioned in the Liturgy said with the Bishop's Hand on his Head.

§ 139. Nor did I yet ever hear of any one, who before he was admitted to the *p. 12.*
 Sacrament, was called to any other [credible Profession of Faith] and Promise of Obedience, than to stand up at the Creed, or to be present at the Common-Prayer: Nor of refusing Scandalous Offenders till they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented and amended their former naughty Lives. But I have oft heard them threatened for not receiving.

§ 140. Much less did I ever hear of any such thing as a Rural Dean with his *p. 13.*
 Neighbour Minister meeting monthly, or ever once, for any of those excellent Works there mentioned: Nor of any Attempt of such a thing.

§ 141. As for the Bishop's not using Arbitrary Power, but according to the known *p. 14.*
Law of the Land, I suppose they take the Canons to be the Law of the Land, or according to it, which other Men never dream'd of, that desired that Provision.

§ 142. And whether ever the Alterations mentioned were made of the Liturgy and the additional Forms in Scripture Phrase suited to the Nature of the several Parts of Worship, you may know by perusing it, and by that which here followeth.

§ 143. Yet I think that those Men are reproveable who say that nothing but Deceit and Jugling was from the beginning intended: For who knoweth other Mens Intents but God; Charity requireth us to think that they speak nearer to the Truth, who say, that while the Diocesan Doctors were at Breda, they little dreamt that their way to their highest Grandeur was so fair, and therefore that then they would have been glad of the Terms of the Declaration of Breda; and that when they came in, it was necessary that they should proceed safely, and feel whether the Ground were solid under them, before they proceeded to their Structure: The Land had been but lately engaged against them: The Covenant had been taken even by the Lords and Gentlemen of their own Party at their Composition: There was the Army that brought them in (who were Presbyterians as to the most of the ruling part) to be disbanded; and how knew they what the Parliament would do? Or that there would be none to contest against them in the Convocation? How could they know these things beforehand? Therefore it was necessary that moderate things should be proposed and promised; and no way was so fit as by a Declaration, which being no Law, is a temporary thing, giving place to Laws: And
 it

it was needful that the Calling of a Synod were delayed, till the Presbyterians were partly cast out, and a way to keep out the rest secured. And if when all these things were done, the former Promises were as the Independants called the Covenant, like an Almanack out of Date, and if Severities were doubled in comparison of what they were before the Wars, no Man can wonder that well understood the Persons and the Causes.

§ 144. Presently after this, Mr. Crofton writing to prove the Obligation of the solemn National Vow and Covenant; (not as binding any Man to Rebellion, or to any thing unlawful, but in his Place and Calling to endeavour Reformation, to be against Schism, Popery, Prelacy and Profaneness, and to defend the King) he was sent Prisoner to the *Tower*; where when he had laid long at great Charges, he sought to get an *Habeas Corpus*; but his Life being threatned, he was glad to let that Motion fall, and at last to petition for his Liberty, which he obtained. But going into his own Country of *Cheshire*, he was imprisoned there; and when he procured his Liberty, he was fain to set up a *Grocer's Shop* to get a maintenance for his Family. While he was in the *Tower*, he went to the Chappel Service and Sermon; his Judgment being against separating from the Parish-Churches, notwithstanding their Conformity, so be it he were not put himself to use the Common-Prayer as a Minister, or the Ceremonies. And this occasioned some that thought his Course unlawful, to write against it: to which he somewhat sharply replied, and so divers Writings were published on both sides, about such Communion.

§ 145. This calleth to my Remembrance, how earnest the Brethren of *London* and the Countries were, to have had us draw up among our selves, how far we should go when Conformity was imposed, that we might not be weakened by differing among our selves; which I could never persuade my self to attempt, considering, as I oft told them, 1. That we had no such Design, as to unite and strengthen one Party against another, but to keep up the Interest of Religion in the Land. 2. That if God permitted some able Men to conform, though sinfully, he would do good by it to his Church, by keeping the Parish-Churches in such a Case, that all of us might not be driven to forsake them. 3. That the thing desired was utterly impossible: 1. Because no Man could tell beforehand what would be imposed on us; and therefore none could tell wherein we should be forced to dissent. 2. Because the same Act (as coming to Common-Prayer, or Sacrament in the Churches) might become a *Duty* to some Men, and a Sin to others, by diversity of their Stations, Relations, Pastors, Churches, Occasions, Circumstances (as I proved). How then could all beforehand set a bound how far to go? It would be much better to persuade Censorious Brethren, to unite in *Christian Faith and Love*, and to keep Charity and Peace with all that agree in the Foundation, and not to make a Breach by their Censoriousness, and then say others make a Breach by differing from us: Nor to be of the same Spirit with Imposers, while they are in the Heat of Opposition against them; or of sufferings by them. The Difference is but in the *Expressions* of Uncharitableness: one Party silenceth, imprisoneth, and banisheth; and the other Party *censureth* those that differ from them, as Temporisers, and unfit for their Communion. 3. And if any had set down his Terms or Bounds, who can dream that all would have agreed to them, when Mens Judgments, and Interests, and Temptations are so various? 4. The thing would have seem'd intollerable to our Governors; and they would have taken us for Factious, that had more desired to strengthen a Party against them, than to live in Peace and Concord.

§ 146. About this time, there fell out an Accident that gave Occasion to the Malicious to reproach us: It was our great Grief, that so many faithful Ministers were put out, and so many unworthy Persons restored, or newly put into the Ministry. Every Day almost People talkt to us of one drunk at such a Place, and another carried in a Cart, or lying in a Ditch at such a place; or one taken drunk by the Warch at Night; and another abused and made a Scorn in his Drunkenness by the Apprentices in the Streets; and of Three that the Day when they had been Ordained, got in their Drink, three Wenches to them in the Inn or Tavern, which having their married in their manner, &c. two fled, and the third was fain to take his Wench to Wife; with abundance such News that fill'd the City. We modestly told some of it, and they made us odious by it, as malicious Slanderers; as if a Word had not been true. At last the City did ring of one *Baker*, that preached a funeral Sermon drunk at *Westminster*, and fell a railing at the People in the Church, in his Sermon, with much of the like: Because the Rumour was so common we enquired after it, till it was attested to us by the Hearers; and having
such

such unquestionable Witness, some Brethren would by all means tell the King of it, as by the by, to move him to reform such things : When we were next with him, Dr. *Manton* told him of it, and there being one *Baker* elected by the King to an Irish Bishoprick, and the common Fame and some of the Hearers saying, that it was the same Man ; I seconded Dr. *Manton*, and told the King, That we could not say upon our knowledge that it was true, but when the Fame of such things was common as to affect his Subjects, be it true or false, we thought it better for his Majesty to hear what the People said, than never to hear it : and also that it was said, That this *Baker* was one that he had elected to be a Bishop. This greatly troubled the King, and he called for the Book that had the Catalogue of the Bishops ; which Secretary *Nicholas* brought, and said there was no such Name ; But the King presently spied the Name ; and said, There it was, and charged that he should be enquired after. The next day we learned that it was another *Baker* of the same Name with the Bishop : And though we also learned that the Bishop himself was a Good-fellow, yet because it was not the same Man, I went the next day to Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, and intreated him to certify the King, that it was another *Baker*, that so the Bishop might receive no wrong by it : which he promised to do. Yet was it given out that we were Lyers and Slanders, that maliciously came to defame the Clergy : And shortly after the Bishop put it into the News-Book, That some Presbyterians had maliciously defamed him, and that it was not he, but another of his Name. So that though the Fact was never questioned or denied, yet was it a heinous matter in us to say that it was reported to be an elect Bishop, when it was as ancient a Priest of the same name, than for the Man to preach and pray in his Drunkenness. I never heard that he was rebuked for it ; but we heard enough of it.

§ 147. Upon this Fact, when we met and dined one day at the Lord Chamberlains, among other talk of this Business, I said, [*That if I wished their hurt as one of their Enemies, I should wish they were more such, that their shame might cast them down*]. Mr. *Horton* (a young Man that was Chaplain to the Lord Chamberlain, and then intended to conform) answered, *That we must not wish evil, that good may come of it*. To which I replied, *There is no doubt of it : far is it from me to say that I wish it ; but if I were their Enemy, I could scarce wish them greater hurt and injury to their Cause, than to set up such Men ; and that those are their Enemies, whoever they be, that persuade them to cast out learned, godly Ministers, and set up such in their room as these*. Yet did this Mr. *Horton*, in his complying weakness to please that Party, tell Dr. *Bolton*, *That I wished that they were all such* : And Dr. *Bolton* told it from Table to Table, and published it in the Pulpit : And when he was questioned for it, alledged Mr. *Horton* as his Author. When I went to Mr. *Horton*, he excused it, and said, *That he thought I had said so* ; and when I told him of the additional words, by which then I disclaimed such a fence, he could not remember them ; and that was all the remedy I had ; though none of the Brethren present remembered any such words as he reported. But when the Lord Chamberlain knew of it, he was so much offended, that I was fain to intercede for Mr. *Horton*, that it might not prove any hurt to him. And by this following Letter he expressed his distast—

For my esteemed Friend Mr. Baxter, These.

SIR,

I Have just Cause to intreat your Excuse for so abrupt a breaking from you : I confess I was under very great trouble, for the folly of my Chaplain, and could not forbear to express it to him. I am concerned with a very true resentment for so imprudent a Carriage. Let me intreat you that it may not reflect upon me, but that you will believe that I have so great a value of you, and am so tender of your Credit, as I cannot easily pass by my Chaplain's indiscretion : Yet I shall endeavour to clear you from any untrue Aspersions, and shall approve my self

Your assured Friend,

Ed. Manchester.

§ 148. I shall next insert some account of the Business which I had so often with the Lord Chancellour at this time : Because it was most done in the inter-space between the passing of the King's Declaration, and the Debates about the Liturgy.

In the time of *Cromwell's* Government, Mr. *John Elliot*, with some Assistant in *New-England*, having learnt the Natives Language, and Converted many Souls among them (not to be baptized and forget their Names as well as Creed, as it is among the *Spaniards* Converts at *Mexico*, *Peru*, &c. but to serious Godliness); it was found that the great hinderance of the progress of that Work was the Poverty and Barbarousness of the People, which made many to live dispersed like wild Beasts in Wildernesses, so that having neither Towns, nor Food, nor Entertainment fit for English Bodies, few of them could be got together to be spoken to, nor could the English go far, or stay long among them. Wherefore to build them Houses, and draw them together, and maintain the Preachers that went among them, and pay School-masters to teach their Children, and keep their Children at School, &c. *Cromwell* caused a Collection to be made in *England* in every Parish; and People did contribute very largely: And with the Money (beside some left in stock) was bought 7 or 800 *l.* per Annum of Lands, and a Corporation chosen to dispose of the Rents for the furthering of the Works among the *Indians*. This Land was almost all bought for the worth of it of one Colonel *Beddingfield*, a Papist, an Officer in the King's Army: When the King came in, *Beddingfield* seizeth on the Lands again; and keepeth them, and refuseth either to surrender them, or to repay the Money; because all that was done in *Cromwell's* time being now judged void, as being without Law, that Corporation was now null, and so could have no right to Money or Lands: And he pretended that he sold it under the worth, in expectation of the recovery of it, upon the King's return. The President of the Corporation was the Lord *Steele*, a Judge (a worthy Man): The Treasurer was Mr. *Henry Ashurst*, and the Members were such sober godly Men, as were best affected to *New-Englands* Work: Mr. *Ashurst* (being the most exemplary Person for eminent Sobriety, Self-denial, Piety, and Charity, that *London* could glory of, as far as publick Observation, and Fame, and his most intimate Friends Reports could testify) did make this (and all other Publick Good which he could do) his Business: He called the Old Corporation together, and desired me to meet them: where we all agreed, that such as had incurred the King's Displeasure, by being Members of any Courts of Justice, in *Cromwell's* days, should quietly recede, and we should try if we could get the Corporation restored, and the rest continued, and more fit Men added, that the Land might be recovered: And because of our other Business, I had ready access to the Lord Chancellour, they desired me to solicit him about it: so Mr. *Ashurst* and I did follow the Business. The Lord Chancellour at the very first was ready to further us, approving of the Work, as that which could not be for any Faction, or Evil end, but honourable to the King and Land. And he told me, That *Beddingfield* could have no right to that which he had sold, and that the right was in the King, who would readily grant it to the good use intended: and that we should have his best assistance to recover it. And indeed I found him real to us in this Business from first to last: yet did *Beddingfield* by the friendship of the Attorney General, and some others, so delay the Business, as bringing it to a Suit in *Chancery*, he kept Mr. *Ashurst* in a Twelve-months trouble before he could recover the Land: but when it came to Judgment, the Lord Chancellour spake very much against him, and granted a Decree for the New Corporation. For I had procured of him before, the King's Grant of a New Corporation; and Mr. *Ashurst* and my self had the naming of the Members: And we desired Mr. *Robert Boyle* (a worthy Person of Learning and a Publick Spirit, and Brother to the Earl of *Cork*) to be President (now called Governour) and I got Mr. *Ashurst* to be Treasurer again, and some of the old Members, and many other godly, able Citizens made up the rest: Only we left the Nomination of some Lords to his Majesty, as not presuming to nominate such, (And the Lord Chancellour, Lord Chamberlain, and six or seven more were added). But it was Mr. *Boyle* and Mr. *Ashurst*, with the Citizens, that did the Work: But especially the care and trouble of all was on Mr. *Ashurst*. And thus that Business was happily restored.

§ 149. And as a fruit of this his Majesty's Favour, Mr. *Elliot* sent the King, first the New Testament and then the whole Bible, translated and printed in the *Indian's* Language: Such a Work and Fruit of a Plantation, as was never before presented to a King. And he sent word, that next he would print my *Call to the Unconverted*, and then *The Practice of Piety*: But Mr. *Boyle* sent him word it would be bet-

ter taken here, if the *Practic of Piety* were printed before any thing of mine. At the present the Revenues of the Land goeth most to the maintaining of the Press. Upon the occasion of this Work, I had these Letters of Thanks from the Court and Governour in *New-England*, and from Mr. Norton and Mr. Elliot.

Reverend and much honoured Sir !

THAT we who are personally unknown to you, do in this manner apply ourselves, is rendred not only excusable, but unless we will be ingrateful, necessary, by Obligations from your self; with whom the interest of poor Strangers in a remote Wilderness hath been so regarded as to shew them kindness, and that (we believe) upon the best account, (*i. e.*) for the Lord's sake. We have understood from those that were employed by us, with what loving and cordial readines, you did upon request put forth your self to further our Concernments in our late Applications to his Majesty; for which act of favour and love we cannot but return our unfeigned thankful Acknowledgments; and the rather because we know no Argument that could move your Thoughts in it, but that of the poor Prophets Widow, *viz.* That your Charity did look upon your Servants as Fearers of the Lord, Love unto whom, we perswade our selves was the Root that bare this Fruit of Love and Kindness to us, and that at such a time as this. We trust the faithful God will not forget your Work and Labour of Love which you have shewed towards his Name, in ministring to the help of some part of his unworthy People who are Exiles in this Wilderness we hope for his Names sake.

Sir, You shall further oblige this poor People, and do that that will not be displeasing to him who is our Lord and yours, by the continuance of your Love and Improvement of your Interests and Opportunities in our behalf. What advantage God hath put into your hands, and reserved your weak Body unto, by access unto Persons of Honour and Trust, or otherways, we hope it will be no grief of heart unto you another day, if you shall improve part thereof this way: All that we desire is Liberty to serve God according to the Scriptures: Liberty unto Errour and Sin, or to set up another Rule besides the Scriptures, we neither wish to be allowed to our selves, nor would we willingly allow it unto others. If in any thing we should mistake the meaning of the Scriptures, as we hope it is not in any Fundamental Matter that we do so; (having therein the Concurrence of all the godly Orthodox of the Reformed Protestant Religion), so on the other hand, in Matters of an inferiour and more difficult Nature (wherein godly Christians may differ, and should bear difference without disturbance) we are willing and desirous to live and learn by any orderly means that God hath appointed for our Learning and Instruction; and glad shall we be of the opportunity to learn in peace. The Liberty aforesaid, we have by the favour of God, now for many years enjoyed, and the same advantaged and encouraged by the Constitution of our Civil Government, according to Concessions and Priviledges granted and established to us by the gracious Letters Patents of King *Charles the First*, the continuance of which Priviledges (concerning which his Majesty's late gracious Letter to us hath given us very great encouragement) is our earnest and just desire; for nothing that is unjust, or not honest, both in the sight of the Lord, and also of Men, do we seek, or would allow our selves in. We hope we shall continue as faithful Subjects to his Majesty (according to our Duty) and be every way as beneficial to the Interest of our Nation, under an Elective Government as under an Imposed: But sundry particular Persons, for private respects, are, as we hear, earnestly soliciting to bring Changes upon us, and do put in many high Complaints against us; in special, that the Generation of the Quakers, are our bitter and restless Enemies, complaining of Persecution, but are themselves most troublesome and implacable Persecutors of us, who desire but to keep our own Vineyard in peace. Our hope is in God who hath hitherto helped us, and who is able to keep open for us a great and effectual Door of Liberty to serve him, and opportunity to advance his Name in this Wilderness; although there be many Adversaries, among which he can raise up for us some Friends; as he hath done your self: And as a Friend loveth at all times, and a Brother is born for Adver-

'sity, so may you in this time of our threatned Adversity, still perform the part of a
' Friend, as opportunity serves, we shall be further much ingaged to Thankfulness
' unto God and you, who are,

*Boston in New-England, this
7th of August, 1661.*

S I R,

Your Friends and Brethren

in the Faith of Christ,

*Jo. Endecott Governour ;
With the Consent and by Order
of the General Court.*

*To the Reverend and much Honoured Mr. Richard Baxter one of his Majesty's Chaplains
in Ordinary.*

Reverend and dear Sir!

'T Hough you are unknown to me by Face, yet not only your Labours, but also
' your special Assistance in a time of need unto the promoting the welfare of
' this poor Country, certified unto us by Captain *Leveret* (upon which account our
' General Court thought good to return unto you their Thanks in a Letter which
' I hope before this is received) have made your Name both known and precious
' to us in these Parts. The Occasion of these, is in the behalf of one Mr. *William
' Leet* Governour of *New-Haven* Jurisdiction, whose Case is this. He being consci-
' ous of indiscretion and some neglect (not to say how it came about) in relation
' to the expediting the Execution of the Warrant according to his Duty, sent from
' his Majesty for the apprehending of the two Colonels, is not without fear of some
' displeasure that may follow thereupon, and indeed hath almost ever since been a Man
' depressed in his Spirit for the neglect wherewith he chargeth himself therein.
' His endeavours also since have been accordingly, and that in full degree, as be-
' sides his own Testimony, his Neighbours attest, they see not what he could have
' done more. Sir, If any report prejudicial to this Gentleman in this respect,
' come unto your Ear by your prudent Enquiry upon this Intimation, or other-
' wise: so far as the signification of the Premises unto his Majesty, or other eminent
' Person may plead for him, or avert trouble towards him, I assure myself, you
' may report it as a real Truth; and that according to your Wisdom, you would
' be helpful to him so far therein is both his and my desire. The Gentleman hath
' pursued both others and my self with Letters to this effect, and yet not satisfied
' therewith, came to *Boston* to disburden his heart to me formerly unacquainted
' with him, only some few times in Company where he was; upon issue of which
' Conference, no better Expedient under God, presented it self to us than this. So
' far as you shall see cause, as the matter requireth, to let the Premises be understood,
' is finally left with your self under God.

' Sir, The Author of these Lines, it shall be your favour and a pledge of Love
' undeserved, to conceal, farther than the necessity of the End desired shall call for.
' And if hereby you shall take occasion (being in place of discovery) to intelli-
' gence the Writer touching your observances with relation to the concerns of
' this People, your Advertisements may not only be of much use unto this whole
' Country, but further your account, and minister unto many much cause of Than-
' giving on your behalf. And I shall be bold upon such encouragement (if God per-
' mits) to give you a more distinct account how it fareth with us, I mean of the steps
' of Divine Providence, as to the Publick, both in our Civils and Ecclesiasticks, which
' at some spare time, may haply be looked at as a matter of contentful Meditation to
' your self. I crave now pardon for being thus bold with you, and will not presume
' any further to detain you. The Lord Jesus be with your Spirit, and let him also
' be remembred by you in your Prayers, who is in chief,

S I R,

*Boston, Sept. 23.
1661.*

*Yours in any Service of the Gospel,
John Norton.*

*For the Reverend and his much Honoured Friend Mr. Baxter, Chaplain in Ordinary to his
Majesty. Reverend*

Reverend and much esteemed in the Lord!

‘ However black the Cloud is, and big the Storm, yet by all this the Work and Design of Jesus Christ goeth on, and prospereth, and in these Clouds Christ is coming to set up his Kingdom. Yea, is he not come, in Power and great Glory? When had the Truth a greater, or so great and glorious a Cloud of Witnesses? Is not this Christ, in Power and great Glory? and if Christ hath so much Glory in the slaughter of his Witnesses, what will his Glory be in their Resurrection! Your Constancy who are in the heat of the Storm, and Numbers, ministers matter of humbling and quickning to us, who are at a distance, and ready to totter and comply at the noise of a probable approach of our Temptation. We are not without our Snares, but hitherunto the Lords own Arm hath brought Salvation. Our Tents are at *Ebenezer*. However the trials and troubles be, we must take care of the present Work, and not cease and tarry for a calm time to work in. And this Principle doth give me occasion to take the boldness to trouble you with these Lines at present. My Work about the *Indian Bible* being (by the good hand of the Lord, though not without difficulties) finished, I am meditating what to do next for these Sons of this our Morning: they having no Books for their private use, of ministerial composing. For their help, though the Word of God be the best of Books, yet Humane Infirmary is, you know, not a little helped, by reading the holy Labours of the Ministers of Jesus Christ. I have therefore purposed in my heart (seeing the Lord is yet pleased to prolong my life) to translate for them a little Book of yours, intituled, [*A Call to the Unconverted*]: The keenness of the Edge, and liveliness of the Spirit of that Book, through the blessing of God, may be of great use unto them. But seeing you are yet in the Land of the Living, (and the good Lord prolong your days) I would not presume to do such a thing, without making mention thereof unto your self, that so I might have the help and blessing of your Counsel and Prayers. I believe it will not be unacceptable to you, that the Call of Christ by your holy Labours, shall be made to speak in their Ears, in their own Language, that you may preach unto our poor *Indians*. I have begun the Work already, and find a great difference in the Work from my former Translations: I am forced sometime to alter the Phrase, for the facilitating and fitting it to our Language, in which I am not so strict as I was in the Scripture. Some things which are fitted for *English* People, are not fit for them, and in such cases, I make bold to fit it for them. But I do little that way, knowing how much beneath Wisdom it is, to shew a Man’s self witty, in mending another Man’s Work. When this Work is done, if the Lord shall please to prolong my Life, I am meditating of Translating some other Book, which may prescribe to them the way and manner of a Christian Life and Conversation, in their daily Course; and how to worship God on the Sabbath, fasting, feasting Days, and in all Acts of Worship, publick, private, and secret; and for this purpose I have Thoughts of translating for them, the *Practice of Piety*; or some other such Book: In which Case I request your Advice to me; for if the Lord give opportunity, I may hear from you (if you see cause so far to take Notice hereof) before I shall be ready to begin a new work; especially because the *Psalms of David* in Metre in their Language, are going now to the Press, which will be some Diversion of me, from a present Attention upon these other proposed Works.

‘ Sir, I am very well satisfied with your Explications of the Point of Free-will in fallen Man, which I have read in a small Treatise of yours, which I once had the happiness to see. I doubt not but you will give me leave to talk a little according to my weakness, *Gen. i. 26. God made Man after his own* } Image,
} Likeness.

‘ I have oft perplexed my mind to see the difference of these two Divine Stamps upon Man. That God’s Image consisteth in Knowledge, Holiness, and Righteousness, is clear and agreed, expressed in Scripture. But what our likeness to God is, is the Question: Why may it not admit this Explication? that one chief thing is, to act like God, according to our light freely; by choice without compulsion, to be Author of our own act, to determine our own choice: this is spontaneity. The Nature of the Will lyeth in this.

Between God’s Image in Man, and the Likeness of God in Man, are these two Differences:

‘ 1. God’s Image was lost and changed, and in the room of it, Original Sin

' Sin was infused, inflicted upon the Soul ; and in this Change the Will suffer-
' ed.

' But the Spontaniety was not lost ; nor changed. But the Will doth freely act
' according to these new ill Qualities, and freely chooseth to Sin, as afore this
' Change it freely acted according to the good Qualities which it was endued with-
' all.

' So likewise at Conversion, and in Sanctification, the Will suffereth the Power-
' ful Work of the Spirit to change these Qualities, to kill the old Habits of Sin,
' and to create the new Habits of Grace ; that it may freely act according to Grace,
' as afore it freely acted in Sin.

' 2. Difference is, that God's Image are separable Qualities of the Will, and the
' moral Ground which maketh our Actions good, legal, regular, and virtuous : As
' original Sin is the ground that maketh our Actions illegal and sinful. But Sponta-
' niety is the Form and Nature of the Will, which if it cease, we should cease to
' be Men, and to act by Choice ; and so not capable to sin, or to act virtuously.

' Sir, I pray pardon my Boldness and Weakness thus to talk ; but it is for my
' Information in this Point. I observe also in yours, a thing which I have not so
' much observed in other Mens Writings ; viz. That you often inveigh against the
' Sin of Gluttony, as well as Drunkenness. It appeareth to be a very great point of
' Christian Prudence, Temperance and Mortification, to rule the Appetite of eating
' as well as drinking, and were that Point more inculcated by Divines, it would
' much tend to the Sanctification of God's People, as well as to a better Preservati-
' on of Health, and lengthening of the Life of Man on Earth.

' I lately met with an excellent Book of learned Dr. *Charleton's*, about the Im-
' mortality of the human Soul, composed in a gallant Dialogue, where speaking of
' the admirable Advancement of Learning in these late Days, he, among other
' excellent matters, speaketh of that long talk'd of and desired Design of a univer-
' sal Character and Language, and what Advance hath been made towards it, by
' some of the learned of these Times, and that by the way of Symbols. Of this
' he speaketh, p. 45, 46. I doubt not, but that it is a divine Work of God, to
' put it into the Heart of any of his Servants, to promote this Design, which so
' great and eminent a Tendency, to advance the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, which
' shall be extended over all the Kingdoms and Nations of the Earth, *Rev. xi. 15.*
' Not by the personal Presence of Christ, but by putting Power and Rule into the
' Hands of the Godly, Learned in all Nations : Among whom, a universal Cha-
' racter and Language, will be both necessary, and a singular Promotion of that
' great Design of Christ : Now, whereas the Proposal of it is by way of Symbols,
' I would make bold to propose a way, which seemeth to be of more Hopes of
' Success, and that is by the Hebrew Language, which above all other Languages,
' is most capable to be the Instrument of so great a Design. If you please to look
' into a Book called, *Jordini Hebraeae radices*, composed by *Decads* into Heroick Ver-
' ses ; the Hebrew *Radix*, with the Signification in Latin, helping to smoothe it in-
' to a Verse ; a worthy Work, wherein *bene meruit de Lingua Hebraica*. This Au-
' thor in his Preface, speaketh most honourably of the Hebrew Tongue ; and
' sheweth that by the trigramical Foundation, and divine Artifice of that Lan-
' guage, it is capable of a regular Expatiation into Millions of Words, no Lan-
' guage like it. And it had need be so, for being the Language which shall be spo-
' ken in Heaven, where knowledge will be so enlarged, there will need a spaci-
' ous Language ; and what Language fitter than this of God's own making and
' composure ? And why may we not make ready for Heaven in this Point, by
' making and fitting that Language, according to the Rules of the divine Artifice
' of it, to express all imaginable Conceptions and Notions of the Mind of Man,
' in all Arts and Sciences ? Were this done, (which is so capable of being done,
' and it seemeth God hath fitted Instruments to fall to the Work) all Arts and Sci-
' ences in the whole Eucyclopaëdie would soon be translated into it ; and all Pagan-
' ish and prophane Trash would be left out : It would be (as now it is) the purest
' Language in the World : And it seemeth to me, that *Zeph. 3. 9.* with other Texts,
' do prophesie of such a universal and pure Language. Were this done, all Schools
' would teach this Language, and all the World, especially the Commonwealth of
' Learning, would be of one, and that a divine and heavenly Lip.

' Moreover, This learned Doctor speaketh very honourably of that renowned
' Society, the Colledge of Physicians in *London*, and no whit above their Deserts,
' as appeareth by the admirable Effects by the blessing of God, upon their Studies
' and Labours, which they have found out and produced for the Benefit of the Life

of Man. In which Art, by the Blessing of God upon them, they seem to me to design such a Regiment of Health, and such an exact Inspection into all Diseases, and Knowledge of all Medicament, and Prudence of Application of the same, that the Book of divine Providence seemeth to provide for the lengthning of the Life of Man again, in this latter End of the World, which would be no small Advantage unto all kinds of good Learning and Government. And doth not such a thing seem to be Prophefied, *Esay. 65. 20. If the Child shall die one hundred Years old, of what Age shall the old Man be?* But I would not be too bold with the Holy Scriptures.

If unto all this, it may please the Lord to direct his People into a Divine Form of Civil Government, of such a Constitution, as that the Godly, Learned in all Places, may be in all Places of Power and Rule, this would so much the more advance all Learning, and Religion, and good Government; so that all the World would become a Divine Collège. And *Lastly*, when Antichrist is overthrown, and a divine Form of Church-Government is put in practice in all Places; then all the World would become Divine: or at least, all the World would become very Divine or very Prophane, *Rev. 22. 11, 15.* And so the World should end as it began, *Gen. 4. 26.* some calling on the Name of the Lord, and some prophaning it; eminently distinguish'd from each other. I rejoice to see and taste the wonderful gracious Savour of God's Spirit among his Saints, in their humble Retirements. Oh! how sweet is the trodden Cammomile! How precious and Powerful is the Ministry of the Cross! It is a dryer time with us, who are making after Compliances with the Stream. Sir, I beseech you, let us have a share in your holy Prayers, in your holy Retirements, in your blessed Chambers, when the Lord shuts the Door, and yet is among you himself, and maketh your Hearts to burn by the Power of his Presence. Thus commending you and all your holy Labours to the Lord, and to the Word of his Grace, I rest

Roxbury, this 6th of the 5th.
1663.

Your unworthy Fellow-Labourer

In the Lord's Vineyard,

John Eliot.

To his Reverend Friend and Brother, Mr. Baxter.

The Answer.

Nov. 30. from Acton, near London.

Reverend and much honoured Brother,

THOUGH our Sins have separated us from the People of our Love and Care, and deprived us of all publick Liberty of preaching the Gospel of our Lord, I greatly rejoice in the Liberty, Help and Success which Christ hath so long vouchsafed you in his Work. There is no Man on Earth, whose Work I think more Honourable and Comfortable than yours: To propagate the Gospel and Kingdom of Christ, unto those dark Parts of the World, is a better Work than our hating and devouring one another. There are many here that would be ambitious of being your Fellow-Labourers, but that they are informed, you have access to no greater a Number of the Indians, than you your self, and your present Assistants are able to instruct. An honourable Gentleman (Mr. Rob. Boyle, the Governor of the Corporation for your Work, a Man of great Learning and Worth, and of a very publick universal Mind) did Motion to me a publick Collection, in all our Churches, for the maintaining of such Ministers, as are willing to go hence to you, partly while they are learning the Indian Language, and partly while they after labour in the Work, as also to transport them: But I find those backward to it, that I have spoke to about it, partly suspecting it a Design of those that would be rid of them; (but if it would promote the Work of God, this Objection were too carnal to be regarded by good Men) partly fearing that when the Money is gathered, the Work may be frustrated by the alienation of

of it (but this I think they need not fear, so far as to hinder any) ; partly because they think there will be nothing considerable gathered ; because the People that are unwillingly divorced from their Teachers, will give nothing to send them further from them, and those that are willingly separated from them, will give nothing to those that they no more respect : But specially because they think (on the aforesaid Grounds) that there is no work for them to do if they were with you. There are many here I conjecture, that would be glad to go any whither (to *Persians, Tartarians, Indians*, or any unbelieving Nation) to propagate the Gospel, if they thought they could be serviceable, but the Defect of their Languages is their great Discouragement : For the universal Character that you speak of, many have talked of it, and one hath printed his Essay, and his way is only by numeral Figures, making such and such Figures to stand for the Words of the same signification in all Tongues ; but no body regards it. I shall communicate your Motion here about the Hebrew, but we are not of such large and publick Minds as you imagin ; every one looks to his own Concernment, and some to the things of Christ that are near them, at their own Doors. But if there be one *Timothy* that naturally careth for the State of the Churches, we have no Man of a Multitude more likeminded, but all seek their own things ; we had one *Dury* here, that hath above thirty Years laboured the reconciling of the Churches, but few regarded him, and now he is glad to escape from us into other Countries. Good Men that are wholly devoted to God, and by long Experience are acquainted with the Interest of Christ, are ready to think all others should be like them, but there is no hope of bringing any more, than here, and there an experienced, holy, self-denying Person, to get so far above their personal Concernments, and narrowness of Mind, and so wholly to devote themselves to God. The Industry of the Jesuits and Fryars, and their Successes in *Congo, Japan, China, &c.* shame us all, save you : But yet for their personal Labours in the Work of the Gospel, here are many that would be willing to lay out, where they have Liberty and a Call, though scarce any that will do more in furthering great and publick Works. I should be glad to learn from you, how far your Indian Tongue extendeth ; how large or populous the Country is that useth it (if it be known) ; and whether it reach only to a few scattered Neighbours, who cannot themselves convey their Knowledge far, because of other Languages. We very much rejoice in your happy Work (the Translation of the Bible) and bless God that hath strengthened you to finish it. If any thing of mine may be honoured to contribute in the least measure to your blessed Work, I shall have great cause to be thankful to God, and wholly submit the Alteration and use of it to your Wisdom. Methinks the *Assemblies Catechism* should be next the holy Scriptures, most worthy of your Labours. The Lord prolong your Days, and prosper you.

As to your Case about God's Image and Likeness, 1. The Controversy *de Nomine* is of no great Moment : I know the Schoolmen make the two Words signify two things : I think it's a groundless Conceit. But *de re* (call them what you will, *Image* or *Likeness*) it consisteth of three parts, or a Trinity in Unity. 1. The natural substantial Part. 2. The qualitative moral part. 3. The relative honorary part. (I rather call them three Parts of God's Image, than three Images, though here also the Controversy *de Nomine* is small) : 1. Man's high superanimal or rational Life in *Unity*, hath his Trinity of noble Faculties ; an Intellect or Reason capable of knowing God, a free or self-determining Will, capable of adhearing to him, and an executive Power capable of serving him : That these Natural Essential Powers, are the Natural Part of God's Image, appears, *Gen. 9. 6.* where Man, as Man is supposed to have it ; else the Murder of none but Saints is there forbidden : This no Man loseth. 2. *Holiness*, or the Spirit in *Unity* containeth, 1. The Wisdom of the Mind, which is the Knowledge of God. 2. The Rectitude of the Will, which is the Love of God. And 3. The Promptitude, Obedience and Fortitude of the Executive Power, in and for the Service of God ; and this is the moral Part of God's Image. 3. God, having the only Aptitude by his three great Properties, Infinite POWER, WISDOM, and GOODNESS, and the only Right Jure Creationis [and since Redemptionis & Regenerationis] immediately stood related to Man, in the three great Relations contained expressly in the Name God ; 1. Our absolute proprietary Owner or Lord. 2. Our Supreme Rector. 3. Our bountiful Benefactor, or Father, and End, all flowing from his Relation, of our most potent, wise, good CREATOR. Man is related to him, 1. As his own, to be wholly at his dispose. 2. As his Subject, to be wholly at his Government. 3. As his Beneficiary, or Child to love him with all the Heart. Now God

God hath given Man to bear his Image in these Relations, which is in Unity called his *Dominion over the brut Creatures*, And in Trinity containeth, 1. That we are their *Owners*, and they our *own*. 2. we are their *Governors* (according to their Capacities). 3. We are their *Benefactors*, and they have (and had more) dependence on us, and were made for us as their *End*, as we were *immediately* for God as our *End*. This part of God's Image is partly, not totally lost. The *moral* part is that which the *Spirit* restoreth: The Wisdom of the Mind, the Righteousness or Rectitude of the Will, and the Holiness and Obedience of the Life. If we had a right Scheme of Theology (which I never yet saw) Unity in Trinity would go through the whole Method: It's easy to follow it a little way, and to see how God's three grand Relations of Owner, Ruler, and Father or End and chief God, and the Correspondent Relations in Man, and the mutual Expressions go far in the great parts of Theology: But when we run it up to the Numerous and small Branches, our narrow Minds are lost in the search. But the Day is coming when all God's Works of Creation and Providence, and all his Truths shall be seen to us *uno intuitu*, as a most entire, perfect Frame. Pardon my too many words to you on this.

As for the divine Government by the Saints which you mention, I dare not expect such great Matters upon Earth, lest I encroach upon the Privilege of Heaven, and tempt my own Affections downwards, and forget that our Kingdom is not of this World. Certainly if Christianity be the same thing now that it was at first, it is much unsuitable to a reigning State on Earth: Bearing the Cross, Persecution, Self-denial, &c. found something of another Nature. The Rich will rule in the World, and few rich Men will be Saints. He that surveyeth the present State of the Earth, and considereth that scarcely a sixth Part is Christian, and how small a Part of them are reformed, and how small a part of them have much of the Power of Godliness, will be ready to think that Christ hath called almost all his Chosen, and is ready to forsake the Earth, rather than that he intendeth us such blessed Days below as we desire. We shall have what we would, but not in this World. As hard as we think God dealeth with us, our King's Dominions are yet for the Power of Godliness, the Glory and Paradise of the Earth. Success tempted some here into reigning Expectations, and thence into sinful Actions and Attempts, and hardened them in all; but God hath done much already to confute them. Through Faith and Patience we must inherit the Promise. May I know Christ crucified on Earth, and Christ glorified in Heaven, I shall be happy. Dear Sir, the Lord be your Support and Strength: I rest

Your Weak Fellow-Servant,

Richard Baxter.

§ 403. That you may the better understand these Letters, and many other such Passages, you must know that the great Reason why my self, and some of my Brethren were made the King's Chaplains (in Title) was, that the People might think that such Men as we were favoured and advanced, and consequently that all that were like us should be favoured, and so might think their Condition happy. And though we our selves made no doubt but that this was the life that was to be made of us, and that afterward we should be silenced with the rest in time, yet we thought that it was not meet to deny their Offer. The People at London, who were near, judged as we did, and were not much deceived: But those in the Country that were further off, understood not how things went above. But especially those in France and in New-England who were yet more remote, were far more deceived by these Appearances, and the more ready to bless us in our present State, and almost wish it were their own: Insomuch that there grew on a sudden in New-England a great Inclination to Episcopal Government; For many of them saw the Inconveniencies of Separations, and how much their way did tend to Divisions, and they read my Books, and what I said against both the Souldiers and Schismatics in England; and they thought that the Church-Government here would have been such as we were pleased with; so that these and many other Motives made them begin to think of a Conformity: Till at last Mr. Norton, with one Mr. Broadstreet, a Magistrate, came over and saw how things went, and those in New-England heard at last how we were all silenced and cast out: And then they began to remember again, that there is something beside Schism to be feared, and that there lyeth as perilous an Extreme

on the other side. But they have in their Synod past some such moderating Conclusions about Baptism and constant Synods, as have ended most of the Differences between them and the moderate Presbyterians.

§ 151. I am next to insert some Business of my own, which fell in at this same time. When I had refused a Bishoprick, I did it on such Reasons as offended not the Lord Chancellor; and therefore instead of it, I presumed to crave his Favour to restore me to preach to my People at *Kidderminster* again; from whence I had been cast out (when many hundreds of others were ejected) upon the Restoration of all them that had been sequestred. It was but a Vicaridge, and the Vicar was a poor unlearned, ignorant, silly Reader, that little understood what Christianity and the Articles of his Creed did signifie; but once a Quarter he said something, which he called a Sermon, which made him the Pity or Laughter of the People. This Man being unable to preach himself, kept always a Curate under him to preach: Before the Wars I had Preached there only as a Lecturer, and he was bound in a Bond of 500 *l.* to pay me 60 *l.* per An. and afterward he was sequestred, as is before sufficiently declared; my People were so dear to me, and I to them, that I would have been with them upon the lowest lawful Terms: Some laughed at me for refusing a Bishoprick, and petitioning to be a reading Vicar's Curate. But I had little Hopes of so good a Condition, at least for any considerable time.

§ 152. The Ruler of the Vicar, and all the Business there was, Sir *Ralph Clare*, an old Man, and an old Courtier, who carried it towards me all the time I was there with great Civility and Respect, and sent me a Purse of Money when I went away (but I refused it). But his Zeal against all that scrupled Ceremonies, or that would not preach for Prelacy, and Conformity, &c. was so much greater than his Respects to me, that he was the principal Cause of my Removal (though he has not owned it to this Day: I suppose he thought that when I was far enough off, he could so far rule the Town as to reduce the People to his way. But he little knew (nor others of that Temper) how firm conscientious Men are to the Matters of their everlasting Interest, and how little Mens Authority can do against the Authority of God, with those that are unfeignedly subject to him. Openly he seemed to be for my Return (at first) that he might not offend the People; and the Lord Chancellor seemed very forward in it; and all the Difficulty was, how to provide some other Place for the old Vicar (Mr. *Dance*) that he might be no loser by the Change: And it was so contrived, that all must seem forward in it, except the Vicar; the King himself must be engaged in it; the Lord Chancellor earnestly presseth it; Sir *Ralph Clare* is willing, and very desirous of it; and the Vicar is willing, if he may but be recompenced with as good a Place (from which I received but 90 *l.* per Annum heretofore): Either all desire it, or none desire it. But the Hindrance was, that among all the Livings and Prebendaries of England, there was none fit for the poor Vicar: A Prebend he must not have, because he was insufficient; and yet he is still thought sufficient to be the Pastor of near 4000 Souls. The Lord Chancellor to make the Business certain, will engage himself for a valuable stipend to the Vicar, and his own Steward must be commanded to pay it him: What could be desired more? But the poor Vicar was to answer him, that this was no security to him; his Lordship might withhold that Stipend at his Pleasure, and then where was his Maintenance? give him but a legal Title of any thing of equal value, and he would resign (and the Patron was my sure and intimate Friend). But no such thing was to be had; and so Mr. *Dance* must keep his Place.

§ 153. Though I requested not any Preferment of them, but this, yet even for this, I resolved I would never be importunate: I only nominated it as the Favour which I desired, when there Offers in general invited me to ask more: and then I told them that if it were any way inconvenient to them, I would not request it of them. And at the very first I desired, that if they thought it best for the Vicar to keep his Place, I was willing to take the Lecture, which by his Bond was secured to me, and was still my Right; or if that were denied me, I would be his Curate while the King's Declaration stood in force. But none of these could be accepted, with Men that were so exceeding willing. In the end it appeared, that two Knights of the Country, Sir *Ralph Clare*, and Sir *John Packington*, who were very great with Dr. *Morley*, newly made Bishop of *Worcester*, had made him believe, that my Interest was so great, and I could do so much with Ministers and People in that Country, that unless I would bind my self to promote their Cause and Party, I was not fit to be there: And this Bishop (being greatest of any Man with the Lord Chancellor) must obstruct my Return to my ancient Flock. At last Sir *Ralph*
Clare

This occasioned Mr. *Durel* after to say, how hardly I was persuaded to let go the Place.

Clare did freely tell me, that if I would conform to the Orders and Ceremonies of the Church, and preach Conformity to the People, and labour to set them right, there was no Man in *England* so fit to be there; for no Man could more effectually do it: but if I would not, there was no Man so unfit for the place; for no Man could more hinder it.

§ 154. I desired it as the greatest favour of them, that if they intended not my being there, they would plainly tell me so, that I might trouble them and my self no more about it: But that was a favour too great to be expected: I had continual encouragement by Promises, till I was almost tired in waiting on them. At last, meeting *Sir Ralph Clare* in the Bishop's Chamber, I desired him before the Bishop to tell me to my face, if he had any thing against me, which might cause all this ado. He told me that I would give the Sacrament to none kneeling; and that of Eighteen hundred Communicants, there was not past Six hundred that were for me, and the rest were rather for the Vicar. I answered, That I was very glad that these words fell out to be spoken in the Bishop's hearing. To the first Accusation, I told him, That he himself knew that I invited him to the Sacrament, and offered it him kneeling, and under my hand in that writing; and openly in his hearing in the Pulpit, I had promised and told both him and all the rest, that I never had, nor never would put any Man from the Sacrament on the account of kneeling, but leave every one to the Posture which they should choose: And that the reason why I never gave it to any kneeling, was, because all that came would sit or stand, and those that were for kneeling only followed him, who would not come, unless I would administer it to him and his Party on a day by themselves, when the rest were not present: and I had no mind to be the Author of such a Schism, and make as it were two Churches of one: But especially the consciousness of notorious Scandal, which they knew they must be accountable for, did make many kneelers stay away. And all this he could not deny. And as to the second Charge, there was a Witness ready to say as he: for the truth is, among good and bad, I knew but one Man in the Town against me; which was a Stranger newly come, one *Ganderton* an Attorney, Steward to the Lord of *Abergeveny* (a Papist) who was Lord of the Maner: and this one Man was the Prosecutor, and witnessed how many were against my Return. I craved of the Bishop that I might send by the next Post to know their Minds, and if that were so, I would take it for a favour to be kept from thence. When the People heard this at *Kidderminster*, in a days time they gathered the hands of Sixteen hundred of the Eighteen hundred Communicants, and the rest were such as were from home: And within four or five days I happened to find *Sir Ralph Clare* with the Bishop again, and shewed him the hands of Sixteen hundred Communicants, with an offer of more, if they might have time, all very earnest for my Return. *Sir Ralph* was silenced as to that point: but he and the Bishop appeared so much the more against my Return.

§ 155. The Letter which the Lord Chancellour (upon his own offer) wrote for me to *Sir Ralph Clare*, he gave at my request, unsealed: and so I took a Copy of it before I sent it away, as thinking the chief use would be to keep it, and compare it with their Dealings; and it was as followeth.

To my noble Friend Sir Ralph Clare, These.

S I R,

I Am a little out of Countenance, that after the discovery of such a desire in his Majesty, that Mr. Baxter should be settled at *Kidderminster*, as he was heretofore, and my promise to you by the King's Direction, that Mr. Dance should very punctually receive a Remittance by way of a Rent, upon his or your Bills charged here upon my Steward; Mr. Baxter hath yet no fruit of this his Majesty's good intention towards him: so that he hath too much reason to believe that he is not so frankly dealt with in this particular as he deserves to be. I do again tell you, that it will be very acceptable to the King, if you can persuade Mr. Dance to surrender that Charge to Mr. Baxter: and in the mean time, and till he is preferred to as profitable an Employment, whatever Agreement you shall make with him for an Annual Rent, it shall be paid Quarterly upon a Bill from you charged upon my Steward Mr. Clutterbucke; and for the exact performance of this, you may securely pawn your full Credit. I do most earnestly intreat you, that you will with all speed inform me what we may depend upon in this particular, that we may not keep Mr. Baxter in suspense, who

hath deserved very well from his Majesty, and of whom his Majesty hath a very good Opinion, and I hope you will not be the less desirous to Comply with him for the particular Recommendation of,

SIR,

Your very affectionate Servant,

Edw. Hyde.

§ 156. Can any thing be more serious and cordial and obliging than all this : For a Lord Chancellour that hath the Business of the Kingdom upon his hand, and Lords attending him, to take up his time so much and often about so low a Person, and so small a thing ? And should not a Man be content without a Vicaridge or a Curatship when it is not in the power of the King and the Lord Chancellour to procure it for him, when they so vehemently desire it ? But, O thought I, how much better a Life do poor Men live, who speak as they think, and do as they profess, and are never put upon such Shifts as these for their present Conveniences ! Wonderful ! thought I, that Men who do so much over-value worldly Honour and Esteem, can possibly so much forget futurity, and think only of the present day, as if they regarded not how their Actions be judged of by Posterity. For all this extraordinary favour, since the Day that the King came in, I never received as his Chaplain, or as a Preacher, or upon any account, the value of one farthing of any Publick Maintenance : so that I and many a hundred more had not had a piece of bread, but for the voluntary Contribution (whilst we preached) of another sort of People. Yea, while I had all this excess of favour, I would have taken it indeed for an excess, as being far beyond my expectations, if they would but have given me liberty to preach the Gospel, without any Maintenance, and leave me to beg my Bread.

§ 157. And this bringeth to my remembrance the Motion which I oft made to my Brethren when they were oft admitted to the King, and thought themselves in so great favour, and had Bishopricks and Deaneries offered them, and the Ministers of the Land had such high Expectations : I motioned to them that now while the World would blush at the denial, we might Petition for a bare Liberty to preach for nothing, in the Publick Churches, at those hours of the Lord's Day, and those days of the week, when the Ministers that are put into our Places are vacant, and are not there. But the Brethren thought this was to come down our selves before they took us down. But the time quickly came when we would have been glad of this much.

§ 158. A little after this, Sir Ralph Clare, and others, caused the Houses of the People of the Town of *Kidderminster* to be searcht for Arms, and if any had a Sword, it was taken from them ! And meeting him after with the Bishop, I desired him to tell us why his Neighbours were so used, as if he would have made the World believe that they were Seditious, or Rebels, or dangerous Persons that should be used as Enemies to the King. He answered me, That it was because they would not bring out their Arms when they were commanded, but said they had none, whenas they had Arms upon every occasion to appear with on the behalf of *Cromwell*. This great dissingenuity of so ancient a Gentleman, towards his Neighbours whom he pretended kindness to, made me brake forth into some more than ordinary freedom of reproof ; and I answered him, That we have thought our Condition hard in that by Strangers that know us not, we should be ordinarily traduced and misrepresented ; but this was most sad and marvellous, that a Gentleman so Civil, should before the Bishop speak such words against a Corporation, which he knew I was able to confute, and are so contrary to truth ! I asked him whether he did not know that I publickly and privately spake against the Usurpers, and declared them to be Rebels ; and whether he took not the People to be of my mind : and whether I and they had not hazarded our Liberty by refusing the Engagement against the King and House of Lords, when he and others of his Mind had taken it ? He confessed that I had been against *Cromwell*, but they had always on every occasion appeared in Arms for him. I told him that he struck me with admiration, that it should be possible for him to live in the Town, and yet believe what he said, to be true, or yet to speak it in our hearing, if he knew it to be untrue. And I professed, that having lived there Sixteen years since the Wars, I never

ver knew that they once appeared in Arms for *Cromwell* or any *Ufurpers*; and challenged him upon his word to name one time. I could not get him to name any time till I had urged him to the utmost; and then he instanced in the time when the *Scots* Army fled from *Worcester*. I challenged him to name one Man of them that was at *Worcester* Fight; or bare Arms there, or at any time for the *Ufurpers*: And when he could name none, I told him that all that was done to my knowledge in Sixteen years of that kind, was but this, that when the *Scots* fled from *Worcester*, as all the Country sought in covetousness to catch some of them, for their Horses, so two idle Rogues of *Kedderminster*, that never communicated with me any more than he did, had drawn two or three of their Neighbours with them in the Night as the *Scots* fled to catch their Horses: And I never heard of three that they catcht: And I appealed to the Bishop and his Conscience, whether he that being urged could name no more but this, did ingenuously Accuse the Corporation, Magistrates and People to have appeared on all occasion in Arms for *Cromwell*. And when they had no more to say, I told them, by this we saw what measures to expect from *Strangers* of his mind, when he that is our Neighbour, and noted for eminent Civility, never sticketh to speak such things even of a People among whom he hath still lived!

§ 159. About the same time, about Twenty or Two and twenty furious Fanaticks, called *Fifth-Monarchy-men* (one *Venner* a Wine-Cooper, and his Church that he preached unto) being transported with Enthusiastick Pride, did rise up in Arms, and fought in the Streets like Mad-men against all that stood in their way, till they were some kill'd and the rest taken, judged and executed. I wrote a Letter at this time to my Mother-in-law, containing nothing but our usual matter, even Encouragements to her in her Age and Weakness, fetcht from the nearness of her Rest, together with the Report of this News, and some sharp and vehement words against the Rebels. By the means of Sir *John Packington*, or his Soldiers, the Post was searched, and my Letter intercepted, opened, and revised, and by Sir *John* sent up to *London* to the Bishop and the Lord Chancellour: so that it was a wonder that having read it, they were not ashamed to send it up: But joyful would they have been, could they but have found a word in it, which could possibly have been distorted to an evil sense, that Malice might have had its Prey. I went to the Lord Chancellour and complained of this usage, and that I had not the common liberty of a Subject, to converse by Letters with my own Family. He disowned it, and blamed Mens rashness, but excused it from the Distempers of the Times; and he and the Bishops confessed they had seen the Letter, and there was nothing in it but what was good and pious. And two days after came the Lord *Windsor* Lord Lieutenant of the Country, and Governour of *Jamaica*, with Sir *Charles Littleton* the King's Cup bearer, to bring me my Letter again to my Lodgings; and the Lord *Windsor* told me, The Lord Chancellour appointed him to do it: After some expression of my sense of the Abuse, I thanked him for his great Civility and Favour. But I saw how far that sort of Men were to be trusted.

§ 160. And here I will interpose a short Account of my Publick Ministry in *London*: Being removed from my ancient Flock in *Worcestershire*, and yet being uncertain whether I might return to them or not, I refused to take any other Charge, but preached up and down *London* (for nothing) according as I was invited. When I had done thus above a year, I thought a fixed place was better, and so I joyned with Dr. *Bates* at St. *Dunstan's* in the West in *Fleetstreet*, and preached once a week, for which the People allowed me some Maintenance. Before this time I scarce ever preached a Sermon in the City, but I had News from *Westminster* that I had preached seditiously, or against the Government, when I had neither a thought nor a word of any such tendency. Sometimes I preached purposely against Faction, Schism, Sedition and Rebellion, and those Sermons also were reported to be Factious and Seditious. Some Sermons at *Covent Garden* were so much accused, that I was fain to print them, (the Book is called *The Formal Hypocrite detected*, &c.) But when the Sermons were printed, I had not a word more against them. The Accusations were all general (of Sedition and Faction, and against the Church) but not one Syllable charged in particular.

§ 161. The Congregations being crowded was that which provoked Envy to accuse me: And one day the Crowd did drive me from my place. It fell out that at *Dunstan's* Church in the midst of Sermon, a little Lime and Dust (and perhaps a piece of a Brick or two) fell down in the Steeple or Belfray near the Boys, which put the whole Congregation into sudden Melancholy, so that they thought that the Steeple and Church were falling; which put them all into so confused a haste

to get away, that indeed the Noise of the Feet in the Galleries sounded like the falling of the Stones; so that the People crowded out of Doors; the Women left some of them a Skarf, and some a Shoe behind them, and some in the Galleries cast themselves down upon those below, because they could not get down the Stairs. I sat still down in the Pulpit, seeing and pitying their vain Distemper, and as soon as I could be heard, I intreated their Silence, and went on. The People were no sooner quieted, and got in again, and the Auditory composed, but some that stood upon a Wainscot-Bench near the Communion Table, brake the Bench with their weight, so that the Noise renewed the Fear again, and they were worse disordered than before; so that one old Woman was heard at the Church Door asking forgiveness of God, for not taking the first warning, and promising if God would deliver her this once, she would take heed of coming thither again. When they were again quieted, I went on. But the Church having before an ill name (as very old, and rotten, and dangerous) this put the Parish upon a Resolution to pull down all the Roof and build it better, which they have done with so great Reparation of the Walls and Steeple, that it is now like a new Church, and much more commodious for the Hearers.

§ 162. While I was here also the daily Clamours of Accusers even wearied me: No one ever questioned me; nor instanced in any culpable words, but in general all was against the Church and Government: Upon which (and the request of the Countess of Balcarres, one of my Hearers, a Person of exemplary worth) I was fain to publish many of my Sermons *verbatim*, on 2 Cor. 13. 5. in a Book called [*The Mischiefs of Self-ignorance, and Benefits of Self-acquaintance*]: And when the Book was printed (without alteration) then I heard no more of any Fault.

§ 163. Upon this Reparation of Dunstan's Church, I preached out my Quarter at Brides Church in the other end of Fleetstreet; where the Common Prayer being used by the Curate before Sermon, I occasioned abundance to be at Common Prayer which before avoided it: And yet my Accusations still continued.

§ 164. On the Week days, Mr. Ashurst with about Twenty more Citizens, desired me to preach a Lecture in Milkstreet; for which they allowed me 40 l. per Annum, which I continued near a year, till we were all Silenced. And at the same time I preached once every Lord's Day at Blackfryars (where Mr. Gibbons a judicious Man was Minister.) In Milkstreet I took Money because it came not from the Parishioners, but Strangers, and so was no wrong to the Minister (Mr. Vincent, a very holy, blameless Man): But at Blackfryars I never took a Penny, because it was the Parishioners who called me, who would else be less able and ready to help their worthy Pastor (who went to God by a Consumption a little after he was silenced and put out). At these two Churches I ended the Course of my Publick Ministry (unless God cause an undeserved Resurrection).

§ 165. Here also my Accusations followed me as maliciously and falsely as before; and I was fain to clear my self by printing some of my Sermons, in a little Book called *Now or Never*, and in part of another called *a Saint or a Bruit*.

§ 166. Before this I resolved to go to the Archbishop of Canterbury (then Bishop of London) to ask him for his License to preach in his Diocese: Some Brethren blamed me for it, as being an owning of Prelatical Usurpation. I told them that the King had given him a power to suffer or hinder me; and if he had no power at all, I might lawfully desire any Man not to hinder me in my Duty; much more having power as the Church-Magistrate or Officer of the King: And though I was under no necessity, I would not refuse a lawful thing, when Authority required it. The Archbishop received me with very great expression of Respects; and offered me his License, and would let his Secretary take no Money of me: But he offered me the Book to Subscribe in: I told him that he knew that the King's Declaration exempted us from Subscription: He bid me write what I would: I told him that what I resolved to do, and I thought meet for him to expect, I would do of choice, though I might forbear: And so (in Latin) I subscribed my promise not to preach against the Doctrine of the Church, or the Ceremonies established by Law, in his Diocese, while I used his License. And I told him how grievous it was to me to be daily haunted with such general Accusations behind my back, and asked him why I was never accused of any Particulars: And he confessed to me, That if they had got any Particulars that would have deserved it, I should have heard particularly from him. I scarce think that I ever preached a Sermon without a Spy to give them his report of it.

§ 167. But my last Sermon that ever I preached in Publick being at *Blackfryars*, was defamed with this particular Accusation, That I told them that the Gospel was now departing from them : Inſomuch as the Lady *Balcarras* told me, That even the old Queen of *Bohemia* told her, ſhe wondered that I was ſo impudent, as to ſay, the Gospel was going away, becauſe that I, and ſuch as I were ſilenced, while others were put into our places. But all this was the breath of Miſ-reporters, without any colour of ground from any thing that I had ſaid, as may be ſeen in the printed Sermons.

§ 168. For when the Miniſters were all ſilenced, ſome covetous Bookſellers got Copies of the laſt Sermons of many of them, from the Scribes that took them from their Mouths. Some of them were taken word by word (which I heard my ſelf) : but ſome of us were much abuſed by it ; and eſpecially my ſelf : for they ſtilled it *A Farewel Sermon*, and mangled ſo both Matter and Style, that I could not own it ; beſides the printing it to the offence of Governours. So that afterwards I writ out the Sermon more at large my ſelf (on *Col. 2. 6, 7.*) with another Diſcourſe, and offered them to the Preſs, but could not get them Licensed * : for

*But ſince it is licenſed and printed, called *Diſſections for weak Chriſtians*, &c.

§ 169. On *April 23.* was his Maſteſty's Coronation Day ; the Day being very ſerene and fair, till ſuddenly in the Afternoon, as they were returning from *Weſtminſter-hall*, there was very terrible Thunders, when none expected it. Which made me remember his Father's Coronation, on which, being a Boy at School, and having leave to play for the Solemnity, an Earthquake (about two a Clock in the Afternoon) did affright the Boys, and all the Neighbourhood. I intend no Commentary on theſe, but only to relate the Matter of Fact.

§ 170. To return at laſt to our Treaty with the Biſhops : If you obſerve the King's Declaration, you will find, that though Matters of Government ſeemed to be determined, yet the *Liturgy* was to be reviewed, and reformed, and new Forms drawn up in Scripture phraſe, ſuited to the ſeveral parts of Worſhip, that Men might uſe which of them they pleaſed (as already there were ſome ſuch variety of Forms in ſome Offices of that Book). This was yet to be done, and till this were done, we were uncertain of the Iſſue of all our Treaty : but if that were done, and all ſettled by Law, our Diviſions were at an end. Therefore being often with the Lord Chancellour on the forementioned occaſions, I humbly intreated him to haſten the finiſhing of that Work, that we might rejoyce in our deſired Concord. At laſt Dr. *Reignolds* and Mr. *Calamy* were authorized to name the Perſons on that ſide, to manage the Treaty ; and a Commiſſion was granted under the Broad Seal to the Perſons nominated on both ſides. I intreated Mr. *Calamy* and Dr. *Reignolds* to leave me out : for though I much deſired the Expedition of the Work, I found that the laſt Debates had made me unacceptable with my Superiours ; and this would much more increaſe it, and other Men might be fitter, who were leſs diſtaſted. But I could not prevail with them (unleſs I would have peremptorily reſuſed it) to Excuse me. So they named, as Commiſſioners, Dr. *Tuckney*, Dr. *Conant*, Dr. *Spurſlow*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Calamy* and my ſelf, Mr. *Jackson*, Mr. *Cafe*, Mr. *Clark*, and Mr. *Newcomen*, beſides Dr. *Reignolds* then Biſhop of *Norwich* : And for Aſſiſtants (being the other Party had Aſſiſtants) Dr. *Horton*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Rawlinſon*, Mr. *Cooper*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, Dr. *Collins*, Mr. *Woodbridge*, and Dr. *Drake*. According to the King's Commiſſion we were to meet and manage our Conference, in order to the Ends therein expreſſed. The Commiſſion is as followeth :

‘ **C**HARLES the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our truſty and well-beloved the moſt Reverend Father in God accepted Archbiſhop of York, the Right Reverend Father in God Gilbert Biſhop of London, John Biſhop of Durham, John Biſhop of Rochefter, Henry Biſhop of Chicheſter, Humphrey Biſhop of Sarum, George Biſhop of Worceſter, Robert Biſhop of Lincoln, Benjamin Biſhop of Peterburgh, Bryan Biſhop of Cheſter, Richard Biſhop of Carlisle, John Biſhop of Exeter, Edward Biſhop of Norwich, and to our truſty and well-beloved the Reverend Anthony Tuckney Dr. in Divinity, John Conant Dr. in Divinity, William Spurſlow Dr. in Divinity, John Wallis Dr. in Divinity, Thomas Manton Dr. in Divinity, Edmund Calamy Batchelour in Divinity, Richard Baxter Clerk, Arthur Jackson Clerk, Thomas Cafe, Samuel Clark, Matthew Newcomen Clerks, and to our truſty and well-beloved Dr. Earles Dean of Weſtminſter, Peter Heylin Dr. in Divinity, John Hacket Dr. in Divinity, John Barwick Dr. in Divinity, Peter Gunning Dr. in Divinity, John Pierson

Pierſon Dr. in Divinity, *Thomas Pierce* Dr. in Divinity, *Anthony Sparrow* Dr. in Divinity, *Herbert Thorndike* Batchelour in Divinity, *Thomas Horton* Dr. in Divinity, *Thomas Jacomb* Dr. in Divinity, *William Bates*, *John Rawlinſon* Clerk, *William Cooper* Clerk, Dr. *John Lightfoot*, Dr. *John Collins*, Dr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*, and *William Drake* Clerk, Greeting. Whereas by our Declaration of the Five and twentieth of *October* laſt concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, we did amongſt other things expreſs an eſteem of the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and yet ſince we find ſome Exceptions made againſt ſeveral things therein, we did by our ſaid Declaration declare we would appoint an equal number of Learned Divines of both Perſwaſions, to review the ſame, and to make ſuch Alterations therein as ſhall be thought moſt neceſſary; and ſome additional Forms in the Scripture phraſe, as near as might be, ſuited to the nature of the ſeveral Parts of Worſhip, we therefore in accompliſhment of our ſaid Will and Intent, and of our continued and conſtant Care and Study for the Peace and Unity of the Churches within our Dominions, and for the removal of all Exceptions and Differences, and Occaſions of Differences, and Exceptions from amongſt our good Subjects for or concerning the ſaid Book of Common Prayer, or any thing therein contained, do by theſe our Letters Patents require, authorize, conſtitute and appoint you the ſaid accepted Archbiſhop of *York*, *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London*, *John* Biſhop of *Durham*, *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Henry* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Humphrey* Biſhop of *Sarum*, *George* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Robert* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Benjamin* Biſhop of *Peterburgh*, *Bryan* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Carlisle*, *John* Biſhop of *Exeter*, *Edward* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Anthony Tuckney*, *John Conant*, *William Spurſtow*, *John Wallis*, *Thomas Manton*, *Edmund Calamy*, *Richard Baxter*, *Arthur Jackson*, *Thomas Caſe*, *Samuel Clark* and *Matthew Newcomen*, to adviſe upon and review the ſaid Book of Common Prayer, comparing the ſame with the moſt ancient Liturgies which have been uſed in the Church, in the primitive and pureſt Times: And to that end to aſſemble and meet together, from time to time, and at ſuch times, within the ſpace of four Kalender Months now next enſuing, in the Maſters Lodgings in the *Savoy* in the *Strand* in the County of *Middleſex*, or in ſuch other place or places as to you ſhall be thought fit and convenient, to take into your ſerious and grave Conſiderations, the ſeveral Directions, Rules and Forms of Prayer, and Things in the ſaid Book of Common Prayer contained, and to adviſe and conſult upon and about the ſame, and the ſeveral Objections and Exceptions which ſhall now be raiſed againſt the ſame. And if occaſion be, to make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary Alterations, Corrections and Amendments therein, as by and between you and the ſaid Archbiſhop, Biſhops, Doctors, and Perſons hereby required and authorized to meet and adviſe as aforeſaid, ſhall be agreed upon to be needful or expedient for the giving Satisfaction unto tender Conſciences, and the reſtoring and continuance of Peace and Unity, in the Churches under our Protection and Government. But avoiding, as much as may be, all unneceſſary Alterations of the Forms and Liturgy where-with the People are already acquainted, and have ſo long received in the Church of *England*. And our will and pleaſure is, that when you the ſaid Archbiſhop, Biſhops, Doctors and Perſons authorized and appointed by theſe our Letters Patents, to meet, adviſe and conſult upon about the Premises aforeſaid, ſhall have drawn your Conſultations to any Reſolution and Determination which you ſhall agree upon as needful or expedient to be done for the altering, diminiſhing or enlarging the ſaid Book of Common Prayer, or any part thereof, that then you forthwith certiſie and preſent unto us in Writing, under your ſeveral Hands, the Matters and Things whereupon you ſhall ſo determine, for our Approbation. And to the end the ſame, or ſo much thereof as ſhall be approved by us, may be eſtabliſhed. And forasmuch as the ſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhops, having ſeveral great Charges to attend, which we would not diſpenſe with, or that the ſame ſhould be neglected upon any great occaſion whatſoever, and ſome of them being of great Age and Infirmities, may not be able conſtantly to attend the Execution of the Service and Authority hereby given and required by us in the Meetings and Conſultations aforeſaid, We Will therefore, and do hereby require and authorize you the ſaid Dr. *Earles*, *Peter Heylin*, *John Hacket*, *John Barwick*, *Peter Gunning*, *John Pearſon*, *Thomas Pierce*, and *Anthony Sparrow*, and *Herbert Thorndike*, to ſupply the place or places of ſuch of the ſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhops (other than the ſaid *Edward* Biſhop of *Norwich*) as ſhall by Age, Sickneſs, Infirmity, or other occaſion, be hindred from attending the ſaid Meeting or Conſultations, (That is to ſay) that one of you the ſaid Dr. *Earles*, *Peter Heylin*, *John Hacket*, *John Barwick*,

‘ Peter Gunning, John Pearson, Thomas Pearce, Anthony Sparrow, and Herbert Thorn-
 ‘ like shall from time to time supply the Place of each one of them, the said Arch-
 ‘ bishop and Bishops, other than the said Edward, Bishop of Norwich, which shall
 ‘ happen to be hindred, or to be absent from the said Meeting or Consultations,
 ‘ and shall and may advise, and consult, and determine, and also certifie and exe-
 ‘ cute, all, and singular the Power and Authority before mentioned, in and about
 ‘ the Premises as fully and absolutely, as such Archbishop or Bishops, which shall
 ‘ so happen to be absent, should or might do by Vertue of these our Letters Pa-
 ‘ tents, or any thing therein contained, in case he or they were personally present.
 ‘ And whereas in regard of the Distance of some, the Infirmities of others, the
 ‘ multitude of constant Employments, and other incidental Impediments; some of
 ‘ you the said Edward Bishop of Norwich, Anthony Tuckney, John Conant, William
 ‘ Spurstow, John Wallis, Thomas Manton, Edmund Calamy, Rich. Baxter, Arthur
 ‘ Jackson, Thomas Case, Samuel Clarke, and Matthew Newcomen may be hindred
 ‘ from the constant Attendance in the Execution of the Service aforesaid, We
 ‘ therefore will, and do hereby require and authorize you the said Tho. Horton, Tho-
 ‘ mas Jacomb, William Bates, John Rawlinson, William Cooper, John Lightfoot, John
 ‘ Collins, Benjamin Woodbridge, and William Drake to supply the Place or Places of
 ‘ such the Commissioners last above mentioned, as shall by the means aforesaid, or
 ‘ any other Occasion be hindred from the said Meeting and Consultations (that is
 ‘ to say) that one of you the said Thomas Horton, Thomas Jacomb, William Bates,
 ‘ John Rawlinson, William Cooper, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Collins, Mr. Woodbridge, and
 ‘ Mr. Drake shall from time to time supply the Place of each one of the said Com-
 ‘ missioners last mentioned, which shall happen to be hindred, or be absent from
 ‘ the Meetings and Consultations, and shall and may advise, consult and determine,
 ‘ and also certifie and execute all and singular the Powers and Authorities before
 ‘ mentioned, in and about the Premises, as fully and absolutely as such of the said
 ‘ last mentioned Commissioners which shall so happen to be absent, should or might
 ‘ do by vertue of these Our Letters Patents, or any thing therein contained, in
 ‘ case he or they were personally present.

*In Witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patent. Witness Our
 self at Westminster, the five and twentieth Day of March, in the Thirteenth
 Year of Our Reign.*

Per ipsum Regem

Boocker.

Note that Dr. Roger Drake's Name being miswritten William Drake, he there-
 fore went not publickly with us.

§ 171. A Meeting was appointed, and the Savoy (the Bishop of London's Lodg-
 ings) named by them for the Place. There met us Dr. Frewen, Archbishop of
 York; Dr. Sheldon, Bishop of London; Dr. Morley, Bishop of Worcester; Dr. Saur-
 derfon, Bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Cosins, Bishop of Durham; Dr. Hinchman, Bishop of
 Salisbury; Dr. Walton, Bishop of Chester; Dr. Lany, Bishop of Peterborough; Dr.
 King, Bishop of Rochester; Dr. Sterne, Bishop of Carlisle (but the constantest
 Man after was, Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter). On the other side there met,
 Dr. Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich, Mr. Clerk, Dr. Spurstow, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Wallis,
 Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, Dr. Jacomb, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Rawlinson, Mr. Case and my
 self. The Commission being read, the Archbishop of York (a peaceable Man)
 spake first, and told us, that he knew nothing of the Business, but perhaps the Bi-
 shop of London knew more of the King's Mind in it, and therefore was fitter to
 speak in it than he. The Bishop of London told us, that it was not they, but we that
 had been the Seekers of this Conference, and that desired Alterations in the Litu-
 rgy; and therefore they had nothing to say or do, till we brought in all that we had
 to say against it in Writing, and all the additional Forms and Alterations which we
 desired. Our Brethren were very much against this Motion, and urged the King's
 Commission, which requireth us to [meet together, advise and consult]: They told
 him that by Conference we might perceive as we went what each would yield to,
 and might more speedily dispatch, and probably attain our End; whereas Writing
 would be a tedious, endless Business, and we should not have that Familiarity and
 Acquaintance

Acquaintance with each others Minds, which might facilitate our Concord. But the Bishop of *London* resolutely insisted on it, not to do any thing, till we brought in all our *Exceptions, Alterations* and *Additions* at once. In this I confess, above all things else, I was wholly of his Mind, and prevailed with my Brethren to consent; but I conjecture, upon contrary Reasons. For I suppose he thought that we should either be altogether by the Ears, and be of several Minds among our selves, at least in our new Forms; or that when our Proposals and Forms came to be scanned by them, they should find as much Matter of Exception against ours, as we did against theirs; or that the People of our Persuasion would be dissatisfied or divided about it: And indeed our Brethren themselves thought either all, or much of this would come to pass, and our Disadvantage would be exceeding great. But I told them the Reasons of my Opinion: 1. That we should quickly agree on our Exceptions, or offer none but what we were agreed on. 2. That we were engaged to offer them new Forms (which was the Expedient which from the Beginning I had aimed at and brought in, as the only way of Accommodation, considering that they should be in Scripture Words, and that Ministers should choose which Forms they would.) 3. That verbal Disputes would be managed with much more Contention. 4. But above all, that else our Cause would never be well understood by our People, or *Foreigners*, or *Posterity*; but our Conference and Cause would be misrepresented and published as the Conference at *Hampton-Court* was to our Prejudice, and none durst contradict it. And that what we said for our Cause, would this way come fully and truly to the Knowledge of *England* and of other Nations; and that if we refused this Opportunity of leaving upon Record our Testimony against Corruptions, for a just and moderate Reformation, we were never like to have the like in hast again. And upon these Reasons I told the Bishops that we accepted of the Task which they imposed on us; yet so as to bring all our Exceptions at one time, and all our Additions at another time, which they granted.

§ 172. When we were withdrawn, it pleased our Brethren presently to divide the undertaken Work: The drawing up of *Exceptions against the Common-Prayer*, they undertook themselves, and were to meet from day to day for that end: The drawing up of the *Additions or new Forms* they imposed upon me alone, because I had been guilty of that Design from the beginning, and of engaging them in that piece of Service (and some of them thought it would prove odious to the Independents, and others who are against a Liturgy as such): Hereupon, I departed from them, and came among them no more till I had finished my Task (which was a Fortnight's time). My leisure was too short for the doing of it with that *Accurateness*, (which a Business of that Nature doth require) or for the consulting with Men or Authors: I could not have time to make use of any Book, save the Bible and my Concordance (comparing all with the Assemblies Directory, and the Book of Common-Prayer, and *Hammond L'Estrange*.) And at the Fortnight's end I brought it to the other Commissioners.

§ 173. And here for the better understanding of this Work, I must give the Reader these few Advertisements.

1. That one of my chief Reasons for the doing of this Work was, that if really the Declaration were in force and executed, our Brethren that scrupled the use of the Common Prayer, might have the Liberty of using such Forms taken out of the Word of God, which they need not Scruple.

2. And another was, That the Nation might see that in our Desires of reforming the Liturgy we were not for *none*, or for a worse.

3. That it might be a standing Witness to Posterity, both against the Sectarians, who would have all Reformers run into Extreame, and against our Slanderrers who would make the World believe that we do run into Extreame, and are against all Liturgies, and a Record that once such a thing was proposed which we could our selves agree in.

4. I made it an *intire Liturgy*, but might not call it so, because our Commission required us to call it *Additions to, or Alterations of the Book of Common-Prayer*.

5. I put in the *Directive Part* called Rubricks, that therest might not be unintelligible, and the whole defective.

6. I put in the *Forms and Order of Discipline*, partly because else we should never have had Opportunity therein to express our Minds; and partly because indeed it belongeth to the Integrity of the Work, and to shew the difference between their kind of Discipline in Chancellors Courts, and ours by Pastors in Christian Congregations.

7. Note that the method of the *Litany and general Prayers*, is according to the Direction of the *Lord's Prayer*, of which and the Ten Commandments it is a Commentary. The first Commandment falleth in with the Preface, and the three first Petitions of the Lord's Prayer: All the other Commandments, with the Evangelical Precepts, come in under the third Petition, *Thy Will be done*; and then I proceeded to the other three Petitions and the Conclusion. Doubtless the Lord's Prayer is the most perfect method for universal Prayer or holy Desires, that can be possibly invented.

§ 174. When I brought my Draught to the Brethren, I found them but entering on their Work of Exceptions against the Common-Prayer, and so I was fain to lay by mine above a Fortnight longer, till their work was done: In which divers of them took their Parts. The chief Actors in that part were, Dr. *Reignolds*, Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Newcomen*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Clarke*, Dr. *Jacomb*, &c. Dr. *Horton* never came among us at all, nor Dr. *Tuckney* (alleging his backwardness to speak, though he had been the Doctor of the Chair in *Cambridge*) nor Dr. *Lightfoot* but once or twice; nor Mr. *Woodbridge* but twice or thrice (dwelling far off): Mr. *Clarke* brought in that large Enumeration of Corruptions in the Liturgy recited in the Abridgment of the *Lincolnshire* Ministers; but it was refused, because we would be as little querulous as possible, lest it should offend, and hinder our desired Accommodation: and what Passages soever seemed to make the Common-Prayer-Book odious, or favour of Spleen and Passion, they did reject whoever offered them. My principal Business was to keep out such Accusations as would not bear weight, and to repress the Opinions of one of the Brethren (who came from far, and so came not till late among us) who was absolutely against all parts of the Common-Prayer, because they had been used by Papists to Idolatry. And I drew up such Faults as in perusing the Common-Prayer-Book it self, did occur to me; and which were they which I most disliked in the Forms; being not so much offended with some other things, as some others were: But the Brethren reduced it to a few brief Exceptions in general, and would not by so particular an Enumeration of Faults provoke those that we had to do with (which I disliked not). But from the beginning I told them that I was not of their Mind who charged the Common-Prayer with false Doctrine, or Idolatry, or false Worship in the Matter or Substance, nor that took it to be a Worship which a Christian might not lawfully join in, when he had not Liberty and Ability for better: And that I always took the Faults of the Common Prayer to be chiefly *Disorder* and *Defectiveness*: and so that it was a true Worship, though imperfect; and Imperfection was the Charge that we had against it (considered as distinct from the Ceremonies and Discipline). I looked at it as at the Prayers of many a weak Christian that I have heard, who prayed with Disorder and Repetitions and unfit Expressions: I would not prefer such a weak Christian in Prayer before a better; but yet if I separated from such an one, or thought it unlawful to join with him, I should be sinfully Curious and Uncharitable. And I think this was the Mind of all our Brethren, save one, as well as mine: And old Mr. *Ash* hath often told us, that this was the Mind of the old Nonconformists, and that he hath often heard some weak Ministers so disorderly in Prayer, especially in Baptism and the Lord's Supper, that he could have wish'd that they would rather use the Common-Prayer. Yet when we desired the Reformation of it, especially at a time when the Peoples Hearts were so much set against it, I thought it best to open the true Disorders that they might be reformed. The Paper which I offered, and we laid by, lest it should offend them, was this following.

The Exceptions against the Common-Prayer which I offered the Brethren when they were drawing up theirs.

The Common-Prayer-Book is guilty of great Defectiveness, Disorder and vain Repetitions; and therefore unfit to be the common imposed Frame of Worship to the God of Order, without Amendment, when we may do it.

1. **O**R D E R requireth that we begin with Reverent Prayer to God, for his Assistance and Acceptance, which is not done.
2. That the Creed and Decalogue, containing the Faith, in which we profess to assemble for God's Worship, and the Law which we have broken by our Sins, should go before the Confession and Absolution; or at least before the Praises of the Church; which they do not.
3. The Confession omitteth not only Original Sin, but all actual Sin as specified by the particular Commandments violated; and almost all the Aggravations of those Sins; and instead thereof, it containeth only the repeated Confession, that [*we have erred and strayed from God's ways: That we have followed the Devices and Desires of our Hearts: That we have offended against his Laws: That we have left undone those things that we ought to have done, &c.*] which is but to say, [*We have sinned by Omission and Commission:*] Whereas Confession being the Expression of Repentance, should be more particular, as Repentance it self should be.
4. When we have craved help for God's Prayers, before we come to them, we abruptly put in the Petition for speedy Deliverance [*O God make speed to save us: O Lord make haste to help us.*] without any Intimation of the Danger that we desire deliverance from; and without any other Petition conjoined.
5. It is disorderly in the Manner, to sing the Scripture in a plain Tune after the manner of reading.
6. [*The Lord be with you. And with thy Spirit*] being Petitions for Divine Assistance, come in abruptly, in the midst or near the end of Morning Prayer: And [*Let us Pray*] is adjoined when we were before in Prayer.
7. *Lord have Mercy upon us: Christ have Mercy upon us: Lord have Mercy upon us* seemeth an affected Tautologie, without any special Cause, or Order here: And the *Lord's Prayer* is annexed that was before recited: And yet the next Words are again but a Repetition of the foresaid oft repeated General [*O Lord shew thy Mercy upon us.*]
8. The Prayer for the King [*O Lord save the King*] is without any Order put between the foresaid Petition, and another General Request only for Audience [*And mercifully bear us when we call upon thee.*]
9. The second Collect is intitled [*for Peace*] and hath not a Word in it of Petition for Peace, but only for [*Defence in Assaults of Enemies, and that we may not fear their Power.*] And the Prefaces [*In knowledge of whom standeth our eternal Life, and whose Service is perfect Freedom*] have no more evident respect to a Petition for [*Peace*] than to any other. And the Prayer it self comes in disorderly, while many Prayers or Petitions are omitted, which according both to the method of the *Lord's Prayer*, and the Nature of the things, should go before.
10. The third Collect intitled [*for Grace*] is disorderly, in that it followeth that *for Peace*; which belongs to the last Petition of the *Lord's Prayer*; and in that in the Conclusion of Morning Prayer, we begin to beg the *Mercies for the Day*. And it is defective, in that it is but a General Request for defence from Sin and Danger. And thus the main parts of Prayer, according to the Rule of the *Lord's Prayer*, and our common Necessities are omitted, as may be seen by comparing our Forms with these.
11. Most of our Necessities are passed over in the like defective Generals also in the Evening Prayer.
12. The *Litany*, which should contain all the ordinary Petitions of the Church, omitteth very many particulars, as may appear in our offered Forms compared with

with it: It were tedious to number the half of its omissions. And it is exceeding disorderly, following no just Rules of method: Having begged pardon of our sins, and deprecated vengeance, it proceedeth to *Evil in general*, and some few Sins in particular, and thence to a more particular enumeration of *Judgments*; and thence to the recitation of the parts of that Work of our *Redemption*, and thence to the deprecation of *Judgments* again, and thence to Prayers for the *King* and *Magistrates*, and then for all *Nations*, and then for *Love and Obedience*, and then for several *states of men*, and then for *all men*, and for *Enemies*, and then for the *Fruits of the Earth*, and then for *Repentance, Forgiveness and Grace* again, and then turneth to Repetitions of the same Petitions for *Pardon and Mercy*, and after the Lord's Prayer, returneth to the same request again. Next this, in the midst of Prayer, it repeateth [*Let us pray*]. Next is a Prayer against *Adversity and Persecutions*, which was done before: and both here and through the rest of the Prayers, the deprecation of *bodily suffering* hath very much too large a proportion, while *spirituals* are too generally and briefly touched; which is unbeseeming the Church of Christ, which mindeth not the things of the *flesh*, but of the *spirit*, Rom. 8. 5, 6, 7.

Next followeth a reduplicate Petition that God would [*arise and help us and deliver us*] with an interposed Argument from his Ancient Works: which comes in without any reason or order, and is the same that was before petitioned; and seems to be fitted to some special distress or danger of the Church, and yet mentioneth not that distress or danger; and is to be used equally in the prosperity of the Church. Next this followeth the Doxology, as if we were concluding, and then we go on to the same Requests so oft before repeated, for deliverance from [*afflictions and sorrows*], though perhaps it be not a time of Affliction with us, but of Joy: and so it proceeds to ask *forgiveness*, so often asked, and then four time repeats the Petition for *Audience*, when we draw near an end, and twice repeats the general Petition for *Mercy*. Next this, while we are praying, we again say, *Let us pray*. And then again pray against deserved Evils, and for Holiness in general, all out of any order, and oft repeated, while abundance of most weighty Particulars are never mentioned. Next this the Prayer for the *King* and the *Royal Family* is again repeated, which went before: If that were the due place, why should not our Petitions have been there put in together for them? but the minds of the Church are thus tossed up and down like the Waves of the Sea, from one thing to another; and then to the first again, without any regard to order, in the presence of the God of Order.

Next this, the *Bishops and Curates* are prayed for without the *Parish Incumbent, Presbyters*, or else it's intimated that *they* are but the *Bishops Curates*, or else they are called Bishops themselves; and no Man can tell certainly which of these is the sense: And the *Preface* would intimate to the People, that it is some special great *marvel* for Bishops and Curates to have Grace: And after all this, there are no particular petitions for them, according to the nature and necessity of their Work, or of their Congregation, but only this one General Request, that they may have God's Grace and Blessing to please him. Lastly (before the Blessing) is *Chrysostom's* Prayer, meerly for the granting of our Requests, with two Petitions, one for *Knowledge*, the other for *Life Eternal*. The following Prayers and Thanksgivings on particular extraordinary Occasions, are (with the Confession, the Prayers for the *King*, and the *Church Militant*) the best composed of all the daily Common Prayers: But that these Prayers and Thanksgivings are all placed after the Benediction, is disorderly. And though it's most probable that yet it was intended they should go before it in use, there is no such thing expressed in the Book. And thus we see how unlike the *Litany* is to the *Lord's Prayer*, and how far from all just Order, which is a deformity that such Holy Works should not be guilty of.

13. The like *defectiveness and disorder* is in the Communion Collects for the Day. That for the first Sunday in Advent, hath no Petition for any thing in this Life, but the Generals [*To cast away the Works of Darkness, and put on the Armour of Light*].

That for the second Sunday in Advent is a very good Prayer, (*viz. to learn and obey the Scripture*): but there is no more reason why it should be appropriate to that day than another, or rather be a common Petition for all days.

The same is true of that for the third Sunday in Advent, which begs no more but [*bearing our prayers and lightning our darkness*].

As little reason is there for the appropriating that for the fourth Sunday in Advent to that day: which is a General Request, that God would *come among us and succour*

us, and speedily deliver us, who through our sin and wickedness are sore let and hindered without acquainting us what the wickedness or the lett is which is meant.

The Prayer on Christmas-day determineth that Christ was born as on that day, when the world of learned Men are not agreed of the Month or Year, much less the Day : And the same Prayer is appointed for divers days after : so that if by [day] is meant any other space of time than a Natural Day, then it is no fitter for Christmas day than another. If it mean a Natural Day, then it is an untruth on the following days, in the sense of the Imposers.

The Collect on St. Stephen's day hath but one Petition.

That on St. John's day hath nothing in it proper to him in the reason of it.

That the Jews Children are called *Innocents*, that were two years old ; and that they are said to confess Christ by dying, and so must have a Holy-day, when they confessed him but objectively as Sacrifices did ; that hence we take occasion to pray for the killing of Vices in us, that our Lives may express our Faith, is partly uncertainty (at the best) and partly incoherence.

The Collect for the Epiphany hath no Petition, but one, for [*the fruition of the glorious Godhead after this Life*].

The Collect for the first Sunday after the Epiphany is no more pertinent to that day than to another ; and is only for the Generals [*the bearing of our Prayers, the knowing our duty and doing it*].

That for the second Sunday after Epiphany is no more pertinent, and is only for audience and peace.

That on the third Sunday after the Epiphany is no more pertinent ; and hath nothing but in General, that God will look upon our Infirmities, and help us in all dangers and necessities.

The same is to be said of that for the fourth Sunday after Epiphany, which is only for [*health of body and soul to pass and overcome Sufferings*].

The Collect for the keeping of the Church in the true Religion, is no more pertinent to the fifth Sunday after the Epiphany, than to another day.

The Collect on Septuagesima Sunday is, [*that we that are justly punished for our offences, may be mercifully delivered*] ; when perhaps the Church is under no special Punishment : nor is there any reason for the order of this Prayer.

That on the Sunday called Sexagesima hath no reason of its location or order there : and hath no Petition but that so oft repeated one, to be [*defended against all adversity*].

The Petition for Charity on Quinquagesima Sunday, hath no reason for disorder ; nor for appropriation to that day, but should be part of every days Requests.

The same is to be said of the Collect on the first day of Lent ; which also unhandsonly saith, that [*God hateth nothing that he hath made*], which is true only in a formal sense, *quâ talis* ; For he hateth all the works of iniquity, Psal. 5. 5.

The General Petitions on the second Sunday in Lent, [*to keep our bodies from adversity, and our souls from evil thoughts*] have no reason for their order.

The same is true of that on the third Sunday in Lent, which hath no Petition, but that God will look upon our desires, and stretch forth his right hand to be our defence against Enemies.

There is no more reason for that order of that on the fourth Sunday in Lent, which is only a Petition [*for relief to us that are worthily punished*], when perhaps we are under no special Punishment, but in Prosperity.

The same Ataxie is in that on the fifth Sunday in Lent, which asketh nothing but to be [*governed and preserved evermore*].

That on the Sunday before Easter, and divers days after, giveth no reason of Christ's Incarnation and Death, but that [*all mankind should follow the example of his humility*], and yet must be used rather then that on the second Sunday after Easter, which in fewer words conjoyneth [*both a Sacrifice for Sin, and also an Ensamble of Godly Life*].

The first Collect on Good-fryday hath no Petition, but that God will [*graciously behold this his Family*] (inconveniently also expressed: the Pronoun [*this*] seeming plainly to mean, that particular Congregation ; which is not to be called God's Family, but part of it).

The following Collects for the day are good, but have no order as to their location.

Even the Collect on *Easter-day* is disorderly, and dry, having no Request annexed to the mention of Christ's Resurrection, but that [*by God's help we may bring the good desires he hath given us to good effect*], which also is repeated the next day, and also on the first Sunday after *Easter*.

That on the second Sunday after *Easter* is fitter for *Good-friday*, but indeed must be a daily Petition.

That on the third Sunday after *Easter* hath no reason of its order or placing there.

The same is true of that for the fourth Sunday after *Easter*: and that on the fifth Sunday: which are but Generals (*to think and do good*).

That on *Whitsunday* and divers days after, useth the words [*as upon this day*] of which before: and petitioneth for no gift of the Spirit, but [*a right judgment and rejoicing*].

That on *Trinity Sunday* asketh nothing at all, but [*through the steadfastness of our Faith to be defended evermore from all adversity*]. A Petition so frequently repeated, even alone, as if we would perswade the Enemies of the Church, that we are a worldly carnal People; and principally seek the things that perish: when indeed it is a sin to pray to be [*evermore defended from all adversity*]; when God hath told us, *that through many tribulations we must enter into his kingdom*, and that *he that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution*, and that *God chasteneth every son whom he receiveth*, and that *he that will be Christ's Disciple must deny himself, and forsake all and take up his Cross and follow him, accounting the afflictions of this present time unworthy to be compared with the glory to be revealed*.

That on the first Sunday after *Trinity* is as the rest; having no special respect to the day, or order of Requests: and containeth only the General Request, so oft repeated, of *Grace to keep God's Commandments and please him*.

No more reason is there for the order of the Petition for [*fear and love*] on the second Sunday after *Trinity*.

Nor of that on the third Sunday, which only asketh *aid*, and that God [*by his mighty aid will defend us*] without any instancing from what.

No more reason is there for the order of the Requests on the fourth Sunday after *Trinity*, the fifth, the sixth, the seventh, the eighth (which only prays God, whose Providence is never deceived, to put away from us all hurtful things, and give us those things that be profitable: all meer Generals; in which no particular repentance or desires are expressed). So also on the ninth Sunday (that hath the like Generals) and on the tenth Sunday, which asketh nothing but that we may obtain our petitions, and ask that which pleaseth God: and that on the eleventh Sunday (that we running to the Promises may be partakers of the heavenly Treasure): and that on the twelfth (which asketh for that which we dare not presume to ask): and that on the thirteenth (that we may so run to the promises as to attain them) which is all the Petition: and that on the fourteenth; and that on the fifteenth (*keep us ever by thy help, and lead us to all things profitable to our salvation*); and that on the sixteenth, the seventeenth, the eighteenth (where [*the infections of the Devil*] is an inconvenient phrase); the nineteenth, the twentieth, the one and twentieth, the two and twentieth (which again prays that the Church may be free from all adversities): the three and twentieth (which is nothing but in general, that *what we ask may be granted*); the four and twentieth (for forgiveness); the five and twentieth (for Good works); all which are without any special reason both appropriated to the several days, and placed where they stand in the order of our Requests.

The Petition on *St. Thomas's day*, for *so perfect a Faith as shall never be reproved in the sight of God*, is of doubtful conveniency, because contrary to the Scripture prediction of the event.

In the Collect on *St. John Baptist's day*, the preaching of Penance, is a word of a more misleading tendency, as now used, than the preaching of Repentance.

14. The Lord's Prayer is a third time to be recited before the Communion: when yet as it is a Rule of Prayer as to order, it is forsaken through the Book.

The next Prayer for *loving and magnifying God's Name*, is most necessary, but there out of order.

The Commandments come in also out of order, without any special reason of connexion to what goeth before and followeth.

So do the following Prayers for the King, which yet in themselves are very good. And the Epistle, and Gospel, and Creed.

The Churchwardens are not directed to an orderly collection for the Poor.

In the Sentences exciting to remember the Poor, the Scriptures and Apochryphal Passages of *Tobit* are confounded, without any note of sufficient distinction, as if we would have the People believe that *Tobit* is Canonical Scripture.

The Prayer for the *Church Militant* (one of the best) is very defective, having no Petition for the *Church*, but those for [*Truth, Unity, Love and Concord*].

The Exhortation biddeth all (and intreateth them for the Lord Jesus sake) even the worst and most unprepared that be *present*, to come to the Lord's Table, as invited thereto by God himself: which is a great wrong to him and them. And it misinterpreteth the Parable, *Matth. 22.* (to which it seemeth plainly to allude) which speaketh not of our coming to the Sacrament, but of our coming to Christ, and into his Church: Though indeed the Exhortation is very good, if it were made at a sufficient distance before the Sacrament, that they might have time of Preparation.

The next Admonition against unworthy Receiving is very good; but impertinent and unseasonable, while it perswadeth them to come to the Minister for Advice, in order to the Sacrament which is perfectly to be administered.

It is a disorder, for *one of the Communicants* to be invited to be the *Mouth of the rest* in Confession of Prayer. If the People may *pro tempore* make a Minister, why not for continuance; and so the Common Prayer Book is for the Principles of Popular Separatists.

The proper Prefaces for *Christmas-day* and *Whitsunday*, repeat the word [*at this day*] which is either a falshood or impertinent; and non-intelligible to the most.

It is a disorder in the next words to begin in a Prayer and end in a Narrative.

It is disorderly for the Minister to receive the Sacrament in both kinds himself before the other Ministers, or People do receive it in either.

There is no sufficient Explication of the Nature and Use of the Sacrament premised: which is the greater defect where the Sacrament is allowed to be administered without a Sermon; and where so many of the People never learned the Catechism, or understood what a Sacrament is.

The Exhortation is too defective for the exciting the Faith and other Graces of the Communicants; which yet we can bear with, if the Minister may be allowed himself to speak such other quickening Words of Exhortation as he findeth suitable to the temper of the Communicants.

The Confession of Sin before the Communion is too general and defective.

The Consecration, Commemoration, and Delivery, and Participation are not distinctly enough performed.

Sometime the Minister is to kneel at Prayer, and sometime to stand up, without any special reason given for it.

It were more orderly to make the Delivery distinct in Scripture words; and not to confound Prayer and the Delivery together.

It is more suitable to Christ's Example, that the Words of Delivery be (ordinarily) in the Plural Number, and to the Church, or to many at once, [*Take ye, Eat ye, Drink ye,*] than in the Singular Number recited to each one.

It is disorderly for the People to repeat every Petition of the following Prayers, after the Minister.

That the Hymn be sung in Prose seemeth disorderly.

The Collects appointed to be said after the Offertory, have no reason of order or connexion with what went before, or followeth after.

The first of them begs [*Assistance in these our Supplications and Prayers*]; which should rather be towards the beginning than when we are concluding. And it begs but the oft repeated benefit of *Defence against the Changes* and (as it is inconveniently called) *the Chances of this Life*. And another of them again asketh *those things which we dare not ask*.

But it is the greatest disorder of all, that every Parishioner shall Communicate at least thrice in the year, whether he be fit or unfit, and be forced to it.

In Baptism it is the greatest disorder, that Ministers must be forced, though against their Consciences, to baptize all Children without Exception; the Children of Atheists, Infidels, Hereticks, unbaptized Persons, Excommunicate Persons, or Impenitent Fornicators, or such like.

It is disorderly that the Parents are neither of them required (ordinarily) to be present, and present their Child to Baptism, but it is left to Godfathers and Godmothers, that have no power to consent for them, or enter them into the Covenant, unless it be in the Parents name, or they be Pro-parents, taking the Child as their own.

And it frustrateth due Enquiry and Assistance, when the Parents may choose whether they will come before to the Minister to be instructed about the Nature and Use of Baptism; and may choose whether they will let him know of it till the Night or Morning before.

The Exhortation before Baptism is very defective, omitting many weighty Points.

So are the two Prayers before it: where also it is inconveniently said, That God by Christ's Baptism did sanctify the Flood Jordan, and all other Waters, to the mystical washing away of Sin.

The ascribing of the Gift of the Holy Ghost to Infants by their Baptism, as its ordinary Effect and necessary to their Regeneration, is to bring an undetermined uncertain Opinion into our Liturgy.

The Arguments for Infant-Baptism are so defectively exprest, as have tempted many into Anabaptism.

The third Prayer saith very little, but what was said in one of those foregoing.

Sureties that have not the Parents power, are unjustly required to promise in the Infant's Name, or the Infant by them: And so it is a doubt whether many Infants have ever indeed been entered into the Covenant of God, when they cannot be said to Promise or Covenant by Persons, whom neither Nature or Scripture, or any sufficient Authority hath enabled to that Office.

The Sureties are unjustly and irregularly required, to profess present Actual Faith in the Infant's name, when it is a thing not required of the Infant; but only that he be the Child of a Believer, and by the Parent dedicated to God in Baptism, and there engaged in his Covenant, to Believe and Obey when he is capable.

Of the Cross in Baptism we have said more in due place; but here only add that it is a very great disorder (besides the other faults) to express the Terms of the Covenant as signified by the Cross, more fully than as signified by baptizing; viz. [*We sign him with the sign of the Cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the Faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his Banner, against Sin, the World and the Devil, and to continue Christ's faithful Soldier and Servant unto his lives end: Amen.*]

The Conclusion that [*the Child is Regenerate*] and the Thanksgiving for [*Regenerating it by the Spirit*] are doubly faulty: First, in concluding that all Children baptized are Regenerate, when we admit those (before-mentioned) whose Interest in the Covenant, which Baptism sealeth, cannot be proved: that is, such whose Parents can lay no just claim to the Grace of the Covenant: At least, here is a private Opinion thrust into our Liturgy. Secondly in concluding all Infants regenerate by the Holy Ghost, when so many Learned Divines think that it is but a Relative Regeneration, that is ascertained them; and the Controversie is yet undecided.

The Exhortation to the Godfathers and Godmothers imposeth on them the Duty of the Parents, to see to the holy Education, which ordinarily they cannot do, nor are to be required to do; nor is it ordinarily done, and yet we go on in the abuse.

The concluding Rubrick hasteneth Children too soon to Confirmation, contrary to some Clauses in the Rubrick for Confirmation.

Divers Defects besides these expressed, will appear, by comparing this part of the Common Prayer, with the Forms which we offer.

In the Private Baptism it is disorderly to make the Godfathers and Godmothers renew solemnly the Covenant-Engagement of the Child, when before we are to [*certifie them that all is well done, and according to due order*]; and the solemnizing of the Covenant is the principal use of Baptism; so that its doubtful whether the repeating of so great a part of Baptism, be not a great part of Anabaptism.

And it is not orderly that twice we must say to the Godfathers and Godmothers [*Doest thou in the Name of this Child*] as if we spoke but to one of them: and the third time we say [*Do you in his Name*].

Also the Prayer of [*giving the Spirit to the Infant, that he being born again*] seems to import the Effects of *Baptism* on Christ's part, (as understood by the Common Prayer Book) to be not given by the Private Baptism.

In the Rubrick for Confirmation, the Order that Children shall be Confirmed when they can say the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and answer the Questions of the Catechism, seems contrary to the first and third Reasons, which require that *Solemn Renewal* or *owning of their Covenant*, which ordinarily they are not ripe for, of many years after they can say the Catechism.

And though we suppose, the meaning was only to exclude the Necessity of any other Sacrament to baptized Infants, yet these Words are dangerous, as to mislead the Vulgar, [*He shall know for a Truth, that it is certain by God's Word, that Children being baptized have all things necessary for their Salvation, and be undoubtedly saved*]. The meaning is *ex parte Ecclesiæ* but it hath mislead many to think it is absolute, and comprehendeth all things necessary in every respect.

In a Catechism where so many necessary Points are passed over, it's disorderly to put two such frivolous Questions in the beginning, as [*What is your Name? and Who gave you this Name?*]

In the Catechism there is omitted some of the *Essential Attributes of God*, without which he cannot be rightly known. There is also omitted the Doctrine of the *Law made to Adam*, and of *Man's Fall*, and the Doctrine of our *Misery* is insufficiently touched: The Person, Office, and Properties of the Redeemer, are so insufficiently opened, as that we should think the Essentials of Christianity are omitted, were it not that they are (generally at least) expressed in the *Creed itself*, which is more full than the Explication of it. There is no mention of the Holy Scriptures in it: and the Doctrine of the Covenant of Grace is very defectively expressed; and so is the Doctrine of Sanctification, and other parts of the Work of the Holy Ghost; and the whole Doctrine of God's Judgment and Execution: and that of Man's Duty, and even the Nature and Use of the Sacraments, in which it is fullest: as will appear by a true comparing it with what we offer.

The Prayers and Administration of Confirmation suppose all the Children brought to be Confirmed, to have the Spirit of Christ and the forgiveness of all their Sins; whereas a great number of Children at that Age (that we say not the far greater part) do live a carnal, careless Life, and shew no Love to God above all, no prevalent Self-denial, Mortification, nor Faith in Christ, and Heavenly-mindedness, nor serious Repentance for the Life of Sin which they continue in after Baptism: Therefore to these Children Confirmation is not to be Administred, till besides the saying of the Catechism, they make a credible Profession of Faith, Repentance and Obedience: And to them that do not thus, Confirmation is a gross and perillous Abuse.

In the concluding Rubrick there is no care taken for the multitude that being past Childhood, understand not what it is to be a Christian: who also have need of Catechizing.

In Matrimony these Words [*For be ye well assured that so many as be coupled together otherwise than God's Word doth allow, are not joined together by God, neither is their Matrimony Lawful*] do dangerously speak that of Irregularities in General, which is true only of some greater Faults that are contrary to the Essentials of Matrimony: For in many Cases *quod fieri non debet, factum valet*.

The Ring should not be forced on those that scruple it.

The obsolete Phrases [*With my Body I thee Worship, &c.*] should be changed.

The Prayers at the Table are disorderly Repetitions, not delivering that in many Words, which may be expressed in few.

It is unfit to keep all Persons unmarried that are unmeet for the *Communion*, being Infidels and unbaptized and prophane Persons may marry: and it is unmeet to force such to receive the Communion the same Day that they Marry.

If it were requisite to put the private Work of visiting the Sick, into the publick Liturgy of the Church; yet the Variety of the Cases of the Sick is such, that these Forms are not suitable to all.

In the Communion of the Sick, the ancient Custom of the Church was, where time and place allowed it, to send the Deacon to the Sick, at the time of the Celebration, with a Portion of the Consecrated Bread and Wine, which is here omitted.

The Minister is causelessly tied to meet the Corps just at the Church Style, and to use the oft-repeated [*Lord have Mercy upon us, Christ have Mercy upon us, Lord have Mercy upon us*]: And it is a Confusion perilous to the living, that we are to presume that *all we bury* be of *one sort viz. Elect and Saved*: when contrarily we see multitudes die without any such Signs of Repentance, as rational Charity can judge sincere.

It is a disorder that Women be not at all required beforehand to desire any publick Prayers for their safe Deliverance; and yet when they are delivered, that a Thanksgiving on the Lord's Days, such as is for other great Deliverances will not serve the turn, without a special Office; which if performed on the Lord's Day, will be an Impediment or Disturbance to the publick Worship: And while ~~an~~ inconvenient Psalms, and Repetitions, and Responds be used, the Prayer is defective, as will appear by comparing it with what we offer.

It is a perilous Disorder, that Penance (as it is called) be used by notorious Sinners at a stated time, the beginning of *Lent*, which should be used (rightly) to restore the Person whenever he is fallen: And this is not to be wished (in this Disorder) to be restored again; no more than that Physick be given only at *Lent* in acute Diseases, which must be medicated out of Hand.

In the repeating of the Curses, the People should be better taught to know the difference of the Law and Gospel, and then that excellent dehortation may be well used: But this pertaineth to the ordinary preaching of the Word.

Of the Responds, and the doubtful Phrase [*thou hatest nothing that thou hast made*] we have spoke before.

Other Omissions and Disorders appear by comparing it with what we offer.

We only add upon the whole, these further general Remarks.

1. It is a great Disorder that we have so many Prayers, instead of many Petitions in one Prayer: The Gravity and Seriousness requisite in our Prayers to God, and the Examples left on Record in Scripture, do persuade us, when we have many Petitions at once to put up to God, which all have a Connexion in Nature and Necessity, that there should be such a Connexion of our Desires and Requests, and many of them should constitute one Prayer, whereas the Common-Prayer-Book, in its numerous Collects, doth make oft times as many Prayers as Petitions; and we undecently begin with a solemn Preface, and as Solemnly conclude, and then begin again; as if before every Petition of the Lord's Prayer, we should repeat [*Our Father which art in Heaven*] and after every Petition [*For thine is the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory*]. Yet we deny not that when we have but some one Particular Request to put up, without Connexion with others, we may then make a Prayer of that alone.

2. Hence it comes to pass that the holy and reverend Name of God is made the matter of unnecessary Tautologies, while half the Prayer is made up of his Attributes and Addresses to him, and with Conclusions containing the Mention of his Name and Kingdom, and the Merits of his Son; even in holy Worship we should fear using God's Name unreverently and in vain.

3. And it is a great Disorder, that so much of the publick Prayers should be uttered by the People, as in the Responds, and that they only should put up the petitioning part, while the Minister doth but suggest to them, or recite the Matter of the Petitions, as in the Litany: seeing the Minister is by Office to be the Mouth of the People and God, and Scripture intimateth, that ordinarily their Part was but to say, [*Amen*]; and it seemeth to many sober People, who are much offended at it, to be a very confused and unseemly Murmur, that is caused in most Congregations by the Peoples speaking. Especially when in reading the Psalms the People say every second Verse, which cannot be heard and understood by such as cannot read, or have no Books; and then the other Verse which the Minister

faith, is not understood, because we hear not the annexed Verse, which containeth part of the Sense. And so the whole reading Psalms, are almost as in Latin to them that cannot read themselves.

And that all this is really *Disorder* and *contrary* to Edification, appeareth both in the Reason of the thing, and in that the Prayers mentioned in Scripture are of another Order; and in that they are not according to the Method of the Lord's Prayer, which is the perfect Rule of Prayer in all universal Prayers, which consists not of occasional Particulars; and in that the most sensible experienced praying Christians find it by Experience to hinder their Edification (and their Testimony should be preferred before that of ignorant, unexperienced, partial, or ungodly Men; or at least a Course taken which is agreeable to both sorts, and hindereth the Edification of neither): And lastly those very Men that will not reform any of this Disorder in the Liturgy, do nauseate and condemn the Prayers of a weak Minister, or private Christian, if they have but the fourth part of the very like Disorders, Repetitions, Tautologies, or Defects as the Liturgy hath.

For these Reasons a proportionable Reformation is desired.

Besides all forementioned, there is in two months space no less than one hundred and nine Chapters of the Apocrypha appointed to be read as Lessons, just in the time, manner, and Title as the Chapter of the holy Scriptures be; even the Stories of *Tobit*, and *Judith* being part; and also of *Bel and the Dragon*, and *Susanna*, which Protestants hold to be but Fables. But those Exceptions which we actually offered to the Bishops were as follows.

The Exceptions against the Book of Common-Prayer.

Acknowledging with all humility and thankfulness, his Majesty's most Princely Condescension and Indulgence, to very many of his Loyal Subjects, as well in his Majesty's most gracious Declaration, as particularly in this present Commission, issued forth in pursuance thereof; we doubt not but the right Reverend Bishops; and all the rest of his Majesty's Commissioners intrusted in this Work, will, in imitation of his Majesty's most prudent and Christian Moderation and Clemency, judge it their Duty (what we find to be the Apostles own Practice) in a special manner to be tender of the Churches Peace, to bear with the Infirmities of the weak, and not to please themselves, nor to measure the Consciences of other Men by the Light and Latitude of their own, but seriously and readily to consider and advise of such Expedients, as may most conduce to the healing of our Breaches, and uniting those that differ.

And albeit we have an high and honourable esteem of those godly and learned Bishops, and others, who were the first Compilers of the publick Liturgy, and do look upon it as an excellent and worthy Work, for that time, when the Church of *England* made her first step out of such a Mist of Popish Ignorance and Superstition wherein it formerly was involved; Yet considering that all human Works do gradually arrive at their Maturity and Perfection; and this in particular being a Work of that Nature, hath already admitted several Emendations since the first compiling thereof.

It cannot be thought any Disparagement or Derogation either to the Work it self, or to the Compilers of it, or to those who have hitherto used it, if after more than an hundred Years, since its first compofure, such further Emendations be now made therein, as may be judged necessary for satisfying the Scruples of a multitude of sober Persons, who cannot at all (or very hardly) comply with the use of it, as now it is, and may best sute with the present times after so long an Enjoyment of the glorious light of the Gospel, and so happy a Reformation. Especially considering that many Godly and learned Men, have from the beginning all along earnestly desired the Alteration of many things therein, and very many of his Majesty's pious, peaceable, and loyal Subjects, after so long a discontinuance of it, are more averse from it than heretofore. The satisfying of whom (as far as may be) will very much conduce to that Peace and Unity which is so much desired by all good Men, and so much endeavoured by his most excellent Majesty.

And therefore in pursuance of this his Majesty's most gracious Commission, for the satisfaction of tender Consciences, and the procuring of Peace and Unity amongst our selves, we judge meet to propose,

First, That all the Prayers, and other Materials of the Liturgy may consist of nothing *doubtful or questioned* amongst pious, learned, and orthodox Persons, inasmuch as the professed end of composing them is for the declaring of the *Unity and Consent* of all who join in the publick Worship; it being too evident that the limiting of Church-Communion to things of *doubtful Disputation*, hath been in all Ages the ground of Schism and Separation according to the saying of a learned Person.

'To load our publick Forms, with the private Fancies upon which we differ, is Mr. Hales. the most sovereign way to perpetuate Schism to the World's End. Prayer, Confession, Thanksgiving, reading of the Scriptures, and administration of the Sacraments in the plainest, and simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish out a sufficient Liturgy, though nothing either of private Opinion, or of Church-polity, of Garments, or prescribed Gestures, of Imagery, of Musick, or matter concerning the Dead, of many Superfluities which creep into the Church under the Name of Order, and Decency, did interpose it self. To charge Churches and Liturgies with things unnecessary, was the first beginning of all Superstition, and when Scruple of Conscience began to be made or pretended, then Schism began to break in. If the special Guides and Fathers of the Church would be a little sparing of incumbering Churches with Superfluities, or not over-rigid, either in reviving obsolete Customs, or imposing new, there would be far less Cause of Schism, or Superstition; and all the Inconvenience were likely to ensue, would be but this, they should in so doing yield a little to the imbecillity of their Inferiors; a thing which St. Paul would never have refused to do: Mean while, wheresoever false or suspected Opinions are made a piece of Church-Liturgy; he that separates is not the Schismatick; for it is alike unlawful to make profession of known, or suspected Falshood, as to put in practice unlawful or suspected Action.

2. Further, we humbly desire that it may be seriously considered, that as our first Reformers out of their great Wisdom, did at that time so compose the Liturgy, as to win upon the Papists, and to draw them into their Church-Communion, by varying as little as they well could, from the *Romish* Forms before in use; so whether in the present Constitution, and State of Things amongst us, we should not according to the same Rule of Prudence and Charity, have our Liturgy so composed, as to gain upon the Judgments and Affection of all those who in the Substantials of the Protestant Religion are of the same Persuasions with our selves: Inasmuch as a more firm Union and Consent of all such, as well in Worship, as in Doctrine, would greatly strengthen the Protestant Interest against all those Dangers and Temptations which our intestine Divisions and Animolities do expose us unto, from the common Adversary.

3. That the Repetitions, and Responsals of the Clerk and People, and the alternate reading of the Psalms and Hymns which cause a confused Murmur in the Congregation, whereby what is read is less intelligible, and therefore unedifying, may be omitted: The Minister being appointed for the People in all publick Services appertaining unto God and the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, intimating the Peoples Part in publick Prayer to be only with Silence and Reverence to attend thereunto, and to declare their Consent in the Close, by saying *Amen*.

4. That in regard the Litany (though otherwise containing in it many holy Petitions) is so framed, that the Petitions for a great part are uttered only by the People, which we think not to be so consonant to Scripture, which makes the Minister the Mouth of the People to God in Prayer, the Particulars thereof may be composed into one solemn Prayer to be offered by the Minister unto God for the People.

5. That there be nothing in the Liturgy which may seem to countenance the Observation of *Lent*, as a *Religious Fast*; the Example of Christ's fasting Forty Days and Nights, being no more imitable, nor intended for the Imitation of a Christian, than any other of his Miraculous Works were, or than *Moses* his forty Days Fast was for the Jews: And the Act of Parliament, 5 *Eliz.* forbidding abstinence from Flesh to be observed upon any other than a Politick Consideration, and punishing all those who by Preaching, Teaching, Writing, or open Speeches, shall notifie that the forbearing of Flesh, is of any necessity for the saving of the Soul, or that it is the Service of God, otherwise than as other politick Laws are.

6. That the religious Observation of Saints-days appointed to be kept as Holy-days, and the Vigils thereof without any Foundation (as we conceive) in Scripture, may be omitted. That if any be retained, they may be called *Festivals*, and not *Holy-days*, nor made equal with the *Lord's-day*, nor have any peculiar service appointed for them, nor the People be upon such Days forced wholly to abstain from Work, and that the Names of all others now inserted in the Calender which are not in the first and second Books of *Edward* the sixth, may be left out.

7. That the Gift of Prayer, being one special Qualification for the Work of the Ministry bestowed by Christ in order to the Edification of his Church, and to be exercised for the profit and benefit thereof, according to its various and emergent necessity; It is desired that there may be no such imposition of the Liturgy, as that the exercise of that gift be thereby *totally excluded* in any part of Publick Worship. And further, considering the great Age of some Ministers, and Infirmities of others, and the variety of several Services oft-times concurring upon the same day, whereby it may be inexpedient to require every Minister, at all times to read the whole; It may be left to the discretion of the Minister, to omit *part of it*, as occasion shall require: which liberty we find to be allowed even in the first Common Prayer Book of *Edward* 6.

8. That in regard of the many Defects which have been observed in that Version of the Scriptures, which is used throughout the Liturgy (manifold Instances whereof may be produced, as in the Epistle for the first Sunday after *Epiphany*, taken out of *Romans* 12. 1. *Be ye changed in your shape*; And the Epistle for the Sunday next before *Easter*, taken out of *Philippians* 2. 5. *Found in his apparel as a man*; as also the Epistle for the fourth Sunday in *Lent*, taken out of the fourth of the *Galatians*, *Mount Sinai is Agai in Arabia, and bordereth upon the City which is now called Jerusalem*. The Epistle for St. *Matthew's* Day taken out of the second Epistle of *Corinth*. and the 4th. *We go not out of Kind*. The Gospel for the second Sunday after *Epiphany*, taken out of the second of *Jobn*, *When Men be drunk*. The Gospel for the third Sunday in *Lent*, taken out of the 11th of *Luke*, *One House doth fall upon another*. The Gospel for the Annunciation, taken out of the first of *Luke*, *This is the sixth Month which was called barren*] and many other places) we therefore desire instead thereof the New Translation allowed by Authority may alone be used.

9. That inasmuch as the holy Scriptures are able to make us wise unto Salvation, to furnish us thoroughly unto all good Works, and contain in them all things necessary, either in Doctrine to be believed, or in Duty to be practised; whereas divers Chapters of the Apocryphal Books appointed to be read, are Charged to be in both respects, of dubious and uncertain credit: It is therefore desired, that nothing be read in the Church for *Lessons*, but the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

10. That the Minister be not required to rehearse any part of the Liturgy at the Communion-Table, save only those parts which properly belong to the Lord's Supper; and that at such times only when the said holy Supper is administered.

11. That as the Word (*Minister*) and not *Priest*, or *Curate*, is used in the *Absolution*, and in divers other places; it may throughout the whole Book be so used instead of those two Words; and that instead of the Word *Sunday*, the Word *Lord's-day*, may be every where used.

12. Because singing of Psalms is a considerable part of publick Worship, we desire that the Version set forth and allowed to be sung in Churches, may be amended, or that we may have leave to make use of a purer Version.

13. That all obsolete Words in the Common-Prayer, and such whose use is changed from their first significancy (as *Aread*) used in the Gospel for the Monday and Wednesday before *Easter* [*Then opened he their Wits*] used in the Gospel for *Easter* Tuesday, &c. may be altered unto other Words generally received, and better understood.

14. That no Portions of the Old Testament, or of the Acts of the Apostles, be called *Epistles*, and read as such.

15. That whereas throughout the several Offices, the Phrase is such as presumes all Persons (within the Communion of the Church) to be *regenerated*, *converted*, and in an actual state of Grace (which, had Ecclesiastical Discipline been truly and vigorously executed, in the Exclusion of Scandalous and obstinate Sinners, might be better supposed: But there having been, and still being a confessed want of that (as in the Liturgy is acknowledged) it cannot be rationally admitted in the utmost Latitude of Charity.) We desire that this may be reformed.

16. That

16. That whereas orderly Connection of Prayers, and of particular Petitions and Expressions, together with a competent length of the Forms used, are tending much to Edification, and to gain the reverence of People to them. There appears to us too great a neglect of both, of this Order, and of other just Laws, of Method.

Particularly.

1. The Collects are generally short, many of them consisting but of one, or at most two Sentences of Petition; and these generally ushered in with a repeated mention of the Name and Attributes of God, and presently concluding with the Name and Merits of Christ; whence are caused many unnecessary Intercessions and Abruptions, which when many Petitions are to be offered at the same time, are neither agreeable to Scriptural Examples, nor suited to the Gravity and Seriousness of that Holy Duty.

2. The Prefaces of many Collects have not any clear and special Respect to the following Petitions; and particular Petitions are put together, which have not any due Order, nor evident Connection one with another, nor suitableness with the Occasions upon which they are used, but seem to have fallen in rather *casually*, than from an orderly Contrivance.

It is desired, that instead of those various Collects, there may be one methodical and intire form of Prayer composed out of many of them.

17. That whereas the publick Liturgy of a Church should in reason comprehend the Summ of all such Sins as are ordinarily to be confessed in Prayer by the Church, and of such Petitions and Thanksgivings as are ordinarily by the Church to be put up to God, and the publick Catechisms or Systems of Doctrine, should summarily comprehend all such Doctrines as are necessary to be believed, and these explicitly set down: The present Liturgy as to all these seems very defective.

Particularly.

1. There is no preparatory Prayer in our Address to God for Assistance or Acceptance; yet many Collects in the midst of the Worship have little or nothing else.

2. The Confession is very defective, not clearly expressing original Sin, nor sufficiently enumerating actual Sins, with their Aggravations; but consisting only of Generals: Whereas confession being the Exercise of Repentance, ought to be more particular.

3. There is also a great Defect as to such Forms of publick Praise and Thanksgiving, as are suitable to Gospel-worship.

4. The whole Body of the Common-Prayer also consisteth very much of meer Generals: as, (*To have our Prayers heard*) *to be kept from all Evil, and from all Enemies, and all Adversity, that we might do God's Will*; without any mention of the Particulars in which these Generals exist.

5. The Catechism is defective as to many necessary Doctrines of our Religion; some even of the *Essentials* of Christianity not mentioned except in the Creed, and there not so explicate as ought to be in a Catechism.

18. Because this Liturgy containeth the Imposition of divers Ceremonies which from the first Reformation have by sundry learned and pious Men been judged unwarrantable, as

1. That Publick Worship may not be celebrated by any Minister that dare not wear a Surplice.

2. That none may baptise, nor be baptised, without the transient Image of the Cross, which hath at least the Semblance of a Sacrament of human Institution, being used as an ingaging Sign in our first and solemn Covenanting with Christ, and the Duties whereunto we are really obliged by Baptism, being more expressly fixed to that airy Sign than to this holy Sacrament.

3. That none may receive the Lord's Supper that dare not kneel in the act of receiving; but the Minister must exclude all such from the Communion: although such kneeling not only differs from the practice of Christ and of his Apostles, but (at least on the Lord's Day) is contrary to the practice of the Catholick Church for many hundred Years after, and forbidden by the most venerable Councils that

ever

ever were in the Christian World. All which Impositions, are made yet more grievous, by that *Subscription* to their *Lawfulness*, which the Canon exacts, and by the heavy Punishment upon the Non-observance of them which the *Act of Uniformity* inflicts.

And it being doubtful whether God hath given power unto Men, to institute in his Worship such Mystical Teaching Signs, which not being necessary in *genre*, fall not under the Rule of *doing all things decently, orderly, and to edification*, and which once granted will upon the same reason, open a door to the Arbitrary Imposition of numerous Ceremonies of which St. *Augustine* complained in his days; and the things in Controversie being in the Judgment of the Imposers confessedly *indifferent*, who do not so much as pretend any real Goodness in them of themselves, otherwise than what is derived from their being imposed, and consequently the Imposition ceasing, that will cease also, and the Worship of God not become *indecent* without them.

Whereas in the other hand on the Judgment of the Opposers, they are by some held sinful, and unlawful in themselves; by others very inconvenient and unsuitable to the Simplicity of Gospel Worship, and by all of them very grievous and burthenome, and therefore not at all fit to be put in ballance with the Peace of the Church, which is more likely to be promoted by their removal, than continuance: Considering also how tender our Lord and Saviour himself is of weak Brethren, declaring it much better for a Man to have *Milstone hang'd about his neck, and be cast into the depth of the Sea, than to offend one of his little Ones*: And how the Apostle Paul (who had as great a Legislative Power in the Church, as any under Christ) held himself obliged by that Common Rule of Charity, *not to lay a stumbling block, or an occasion of offence before a weak Brother, chusing rather not to eat flesh whiles the world stands (though in it self a thing lawful) than offend his Brother for whom Christ died*. We cannot but desire that these Ceremonies may not be imposed on them, who judge such Impositions a Violation of the Royalty of Christ, and an Impeachment of his Laws as insufficient, and are under the holy awe of that which is written, *Deut. 12. 32. (What thing soever I command you, observe to do it) Thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it*) but that there may be either a total Abolition of them, or at least such a liberty, that those who are unsatisfied concerning their lawfulness or expediency, may not be compelled to the Practice of them, or Subscription to them. But may be permitted to enjoy their Ministerial Function, and Communion with the Church without them.

The rather because these Ceremonies have for above an hundred years been the Fountain of manifold Evils in this Church and Nation, occasioning sad Divisions between Ministers and Ministers, as also between Ministers and People, exposing many Orthodox, Pious, and Peaceable Ministers, to the displeasure of their Rulers, casting them on the edge of the Penal Statutes, to the loss not only of their Livings and Liberties, but also of their Opportunities for the Service of Christ, and his Church; and forcing People, either to Worship God in such a manner as their own Consciences condemn, or doubt of, or else to forsake our Assemblies, as thousands have done. And no better Fruits than these can be looked for from the retaining and imposing of these Ceremonies, unless we could presume, that all his Majesty's Subjects should have the same Subtilty of Judgment to discern even to a Ceremony, how far the Power of Man extends in the Things of God, which is not to be expected, or should yield Obedience to all the Impositions of Men concerning them, without inquiring into the Will of God, which is not to be desired.

We do therefore most earnestly entreat the Right Reverend Fathers and Brethren, to whom these Papers are delivered, as they tender the Glory of God, the Honour of Religion, the Peace of the Church, the Service of his Majesty in the Accomplishment of that happy Union, which his Majesty hath so abundantly testified his Desires of, to joyn with us in importuning his most Excellent Majesty, that his most gracious Indulgence, as to these Ceremonies, granted in his Royal Declaration, may be confirmed and continued to us and our Posterities, and extended to such as do not yet enjoy the Benefit thereof.

19. As to that Passage in his Majesty's Commission, where we are authorized; and required to compare the present Liturgy, with the most ancient Liturgies which have been used in the Church, in the most purest and primitive Times: We have in Obedience to his Majesty's Commission, made Enquiry, but cannot find any Records of known Credit, concerning any entire Forms of Liturgy, within the first Three hundred years, which are confessed to be as the most primitive,

to the purest Ages of the Church: Nor any Impositions of Liturgies upon any National Church for some hundreds of years after. We find indeed some Liturgical Forms fathered upon St. *Basil*, St. *Chrysostome*, and St. *Ambrose*, but we have not seen any Copies of them, but such as give us sufficient Evidence to conclude them either wholly spurious, or so interpolated, that we cannot make a judgment which in them hath any primitive Authority.

Having thus in *general* expressed our Desires, we come now to *particulars*, which we find numerous, and of a various nature; some we grant are of inferiour Consideration, verbal rather than material (which were they not in the Publick Liturgy of so famous a Church, we should not have mentioned) others dubious and disputable, as not having a clear Foundation in Scripture for their warrant: but some there be that seem to be corrupt, and to carry in them a repugnancy to the Rule of the Gospel; and therefore have administred just Matter of Exception and Offence to many, truly religious, and peaceable; not of a private station only, but learned and judicious Divines, as well of other Reformed Churches, as of the Church of *England*, ever since the Reformation.

We know much hath been spoken and written by way of Apology, in Answer to many things that have been objected; but yet the Doubts and Scruples of Tender Consciences still continue, or rather are increased. We do humbly conceive it therefore a Work worthy of those Wonders of Salvation, which God hath wrought for his Majesty now on the Throne, and for the whole Kingdom, and exceedingly becoming the Ministers of the Gospel of Peace, with all holy Moderation and Tenderness, to endeavour the removal of every thing out of the Worship of God, which may justly offend or grieve the Spirits of sober and godly People. The Things themselves that are desired to be removed, not being of the Foundation of Religion, nor the Essentials of Publick Worship, nor the Removal of them any way tending to the prejudice of the Church or State: Therefore their Continuance, and rigorous Imposition, can no ways be able to countervail the laying aside of so many pious and able Ministers, and the unconceivable grief that will arise to multitudes of his Majesty's most Loyal and Peaceable Subjects, who upon all occasions are ready to serve him with their Prayers, Estates, and Lives. For the preventing of which Evils, we humbly desire that these Particulars following, may be taken into serious and tender Consideration.

Concerning Morning and Evening Prayer.

Rubrick.

That Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the Church, Chancel, or Chappel; except it be otherwise determined by the Ordinary of the place, and the Chancel shall remain as in times past.

Rubrick.

And here is to be noted, that the Minister, at the time of the Communion, and at other times, in his Ministration, shall use such Dynammets in the Church, as were in use by Authority of Parliament, in the Second year of the Reign of Edward the Sixth, according to the Act of Parliament.

Exception.

WE desire that the words of the first Rubrick may be expressed as in the Book established by Authority of Parliament 5 & 6 Edw. 6. Thus [*the Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in such place of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, and the Minister shall so turn him, as the People may best hear, and if there be any Controversie therein, the matter shall be referred to the Ordinary.*]

Exception.

Forasmuch as this Rubrick seemeth to bring back the Cope, Albe, &c. and other Vestments forbidden by the Common Prayer Book, 5 and 6 Edw. 6. and so our Reasons alledged against Ceremonies under our Eighteenth general Exception, we desire it may be wholly left out.

Rubrick.

The Lords Prayer after the Absolution ends thus, Deliver us from Evil.

Rubrick.

And at the end of every Psalm throughout the year, and likewise in the end of Benedictus, Benedicite, Magnificat, & Nunc Dimitis, shall be repeated, Glory to the Father, &c.

Rubrick.

In such places where they do sing, there shall the Lessons be sung, in a plain Tune, and likewise, the Epistle and Gospel.

Rubrick.

Of this Canticle, Benedicite omnia opera.

Exception.

We desire that these words, *For thine is the Kingdom, the power and the glory for ever and ever, Amen.* May be always added unto the Lord's Prayer; and that this Prayer may not be enjoined to be so often used in Morning and Evening Service.

Exception.

By this Rubrick, and other places in the Common Prayer Books, the *Gloria Patri*, is appointed to be said *six times ordinarily* in every Morning and Evening Service, *frequently eight times* in a Morning; *sometimes ten*, which we think carries with it at least an appearance of that vain repetition which Christ forbids; for the avoiding of which appearance of evil, we desire it may be used but once in the Morning, and once in the Evening.

Exception.

The Lessons, and the Epistles, and Gospels being for the most part neither Psalms nor Hymns, we know no warrant why they should be sung in any place, and conceive that the distinct Reading of them with an audible voice, tends more to the Edification of the Church.

Exception.

We desire that some Psalm or Scripture Hymn may be appointed instead of that Apocryphal.

In the Letany.

Rubrick.

From all Fornication, and all other deadly sin.

Rubrick.

From Battel, and Murther, and sudden Death.

Rubrick.

That it may please thee to preserve all that travel by land or by water, all women labouring with child, all sick persons, and young children, and to shew thy pity upon all prisoners and captives.

Exception.

IN regard that the wages of sin is death; we desire that this Clause may be thus altered, *From Fornication, and all other heinous, or grievous sins.*

Exception.

Because this Expression of *sudden death* hath been so often excepted against, we desire, if it be thought fit, it may be thus read, *From battel and murther, and from dying suddenly, and unprepared.*

Exception.

We desire the term (*All*) may be advised upon, as seeming liable to just Exceptions, and that it may be considered, whether it may not better be put indefinitely, *those that travel, &c.* rather than *universally*.

The Collect on Christmas Day.

Rubrick.

Almighty God, which hast given us thy only begotten Son, to take our Nature upon him, and this day to be born of a pure Virgin, &c.

Exception.

WE desire that in both Collects the word (*This day*) may be left out, it being according to vulgar acceptation a Contradiction.

Rubrick.

Rubrick.

Then shall follow the Collect of the Nativity, which shall be said continually unto New-years-day.

The Collect for Whitsunday.

Rubrick.

GOD which upon this day, &c.

Rubrick.

The same Collect to be read on Monday and Tuesday in Whitson-week.

Rubrick.

The two Collects for St. John's day, and Innocents, the Collects for the first day in Lent, for the fourth Sunday after Easter, for Trinity Sunday, for the sixth and twelfth Sunday after Trinity, for St. Luke's day, and Michaelmas day.

Exception.

We desire that these Collects may be further considered and debated, as having in them, divers things that we judge fit to be altered.

The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper.

Rubrick.

SO many as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion shall signify their Names to the Curate over-night, or else in the Morning before the beginning of Morning Prayer, or immediately after.

Rubrick.

And if any of these be a notorious evil liver, the Curate having knowledge thereof, shall call him, and advertize him in any wise not to presume to the Lord's Table.

Exception.

THe time here assigned for notice to be given to the Minister, is not sufficient.

Exception.

We desire the Ministers power both to admit and keep from the Lord's Table, may be according to his Majesty's Declaration, 25 Octob. 1660. in these words, *The Minister shall admit none to the Lord's Supper, till they have made a credible Profession of their Faith, and promised Obedience to the Will of God, according as is expressed in the Considerations of the Rubrick, before the Catechism, and that all possible diligence be used for the Instruction and Reformation of Scandalous Offenders, whom the Minister shall not suffer to partake of the Lord's Table, until they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented and amended their former naughty lives, as is partly expressed in the Rubrick, and more fully in the Canons.*

Rubrick.

Then shall the Priest rehearse distinctly all the ten Commandments, and the People kneeling, shall after every Commandment ask God's mercy for transgressing the same.

Exception.

We desire,

1. That the Preface, prefixed by God himself to the ten Commandments, may be restored.

2. That the fourth Commandment may be read, as in *Exod. 20. Deut. 5. He blessed the Sabbath day.*

3. That neither Minister nor People may be enjoined to kneel more at the reading of this, than of other parts of Scriptures

tures, the rather because many ignorant Persons are thereby induced to use the Ten Commandments as a Prayer.

4. That instead of those short Prayers of the People, intermixed with the several Commandments, the Minister after the reading of all may conclude with a suitable Prayer.

Rubrick.

After the Creed, if there be no Sermon, shall follow one of the Homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth by common Authority.

After such Sermon, Homily, or Exhortation, the Curate shall declare, &c. and earnestly exhort them to remember the Poor, saying one or more of these sentences following.

Then shall the Church-wardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the Devotion of the People.

Exhortation.

We be come together at this time to feed at the Lords Supper, unto the which in Gods behalf I bid you all that be here present, and beseech you for the Lord Jesus Christ sake that ye will not refuse to come, &c.

The way and means thereto is first to examine your Lives and Conversions, and if ye shall perceive your offences to be such as be not only against God, but also against your Neighbours, then ye shall reconcile your selves unto them, and be ready to make Restitution and Satisfaction.

And because it is requisite that no man should come to the holy Communion, but with a full trust in Gods mercy and with a quiet Conscience.

Before the Confession.

Then shall this general Confession be made in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion either by one of them, or else by one of the Ministers, or by the Priest himself.

Before the Confession.

Then shall the Priest or the Bishop (being present) stand up, and turning himself to the people say thus.

Before the Preface on Christmas day, and 7 days after.

Because thou didst give Jesus Christ thine only Son to be born as this Day for us, &c.

Exception.

We desire, that the Preaching of the Word may be strictly enjoined, and not left so indifferent at the Administration of the Sacraments, as also that Ministers may not be bound to those things which are as yet but future and not in being.

Two of the Sentences here cited are Apocryphal, and four of them more proper to draw out the Peoples Bounty to their Ministers, than their Charity to the Poor.

Collection for the Poor may be better made at or a little before the departing of the Communicants.

If it be intended that these Exhortations should be read at the Communion, they seem to us to be unseasonable.

We fear this may discourage many from coming to the Sacrament, who lye under a doubting and troubled Conscience.

We desire it may be made by the Minister only.

Exception.

The Minister turning himself to the People is most convenient throughout the whole Ministration.

First, We cannot peremptorily fix the Nativity of our Saviour to this or that day particularly: Secondly, it seems incongruous to affirm the Birth of Christ

Upon *Whitsunday*, and six days after.

According to whose most true promise the Holy Ghost came down this day from Heaven.

Prayer before that which is at the Consecration.

Grant us that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his Body, and our Souls washed through his most precious blood.

Prayer at the Consecration.

Hear us O merciful Father, &c. who in the same night that he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to his Disciples, saying, Take, eat, &c.

Rubrick.

Then shall the Minister first receive the Communion in both kinds, &c. and after deliver it to the people in their hands kneeling; and when he delivereth the bread, he shall say, *The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ; which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting Life, and take and eat this in Remembrance, &c.*

Rubrick.

And note, that every Parishioner shall Communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one, and shall also receive the Sacraments and other Rites, according to the Orders in this Book appointed.

and the descending of the Holy Ghost to be on this day for seven or eight days together.

We desire, that whereas these Words seem to give a greater efficacy to the Blood than to the Body of Christ, they may be altered thus, *That our sinful souls and bodies may be cleansed through his precious Body and Blood.*

We conceive that the manner of the consecrating of the Elements is not here explicate and distinct enough, and the Ministers *breaking of the Bread* is not so much as mentioned.

We desire, that at the Distribution of the Bread and Wine to the Communicants, we may use the Words of our Saviour as near as may be, and that the Minister be not required to deliver the Bread and Wine into every particular Communicants hand, and to repeat the words to each one in the singular number, but that it may suffice to speak them to divers jointly, according to our Saviours Example.

We also desire, that the Kneeling at the Sacrament (it being not that Gesture which the Apostles used, though Christ was personally present amongst them, nor that which was used in the purest and primitive times of the Church) may be left free, as it was 1. and 2. *EDW. As touching Kneeling, &c. they may be used or left as every Mans Devotion serveth, without blame.*

Exception.

Forasmuch as every Parishioner is not duly qualified for the Lord's Supper, and those *habitually* prepared are not at all times *actually* disposed, but many may be hindered by the Providence of God, and some by the Distemper of their own Spirits; we desire this Rubrick may be either wholly omitted, or thus altered:

Every Minister shall be bound to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at least thrice a Year, provided there be a due number of Communicants manifesting their Desires to receive.

And we desire that the following Rubrick in the Common-Prayer-Book in 5 and 8 *Edw.* established by Law as much as any other part of the Common-Prayer-Book, may be restored for the vindicating of our Church in the matter of Kneeling at the Sacrament (although the Gesture be left indifferent) [Although no order can be so perfectly devised, but it may be of some, either for their Ignorance and Infirmary, or else of Malice and Obstinacy, misconstrued, depraved, and interpreted in a wrong part; and yet, because brotherly Charity willeth that so much

‘ as conveniently may be, Offences should be taken away, therefore are we willing
 ‘ to do the same. Whereas it is ordained in the Book of Common-Prayer, in the
 ‘ Administration of the Lord’s Supper, that the Communicant kneeling should re-
 ‘ ceive the holy Communion, which thing being well meant for a signification of
 ‘ the humble and grateful Acknowledging of the Benefits of Christ given unto the
 ‘ worthy Receivers, and to avoid the prophanation and disorder which about the
 ‘ holy Communion might else ensue, lest yet the same Kneeling might be thought
 ‘ or taken otherwise, We do declare, that it is not meant thereby that any Adora-
 ‘ tion is done or ought to be done either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine, there
 ‘ bodily received, or unto any real or essential Presence there being of Christ’s na-
 ‘ tural Flesh and Blood : For as concerning the Sacramental Bread and Wine, they
 ‘ remain still in their very natural Substances, and therefore may not be adored ;
 ‘ for that were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians: and as concern-
 ‘ ing the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in Heaven, and
 ‘ not here, for it is against the Truth of Christ’s natural Body to be in more places
 ‘ than in one at one time.

Of Publick Baptism.

THERE being divers Learned, Pious, and Peaceable Mi-
 nisters, who not only judge it unlawful to Baptize Chil-
 dren, whose Parents both of them are Atheists, Infidels, Here-
 ticks, or Unbaptised, but also such whose Parents are Excommu-
 nicate Persons, Fornicators, or otherwise notorious and scanda-
 lous Sinners ; We desire they may not be enforced to Baptize
 the Children of such, until they have made due Profession of
 their Repentance.

Before Baptism.

Rubrick.

Parents shall give notice over
 night, or in the morning.

Exception.

We desire that more timely notice
 may be given.

Rubrick.

And the Godfathers, and the
 Godmothers, and the people with
 the Children, &c.

Exception.

Here is no mention of the Parents, in
 whose right the Child is baptised, and
 who are fittest both to dedicate it unto
 God, and to covenant for it : We do
 not know that any Persons, except the
 Parents, or some others appointed by
 them, have any Power to consent for
 the Children, or to enter them into Co-
 venant. We desire it may be left free
 to Parents, whether they will have Sure-
 ties to undertake for their Children in
 Baptism or no.

Rubrick.

Ready at the Font.

Exception.

We desire it may be so placed as all
 the Congregation may best see and hear
 the whole Administration.

In the first Prayer.

By the Baptism of thy Welbe-
 loved Son, &c. dost sanctifie the
 Flood Jordan, and all other waters

It being doubtful whether either the
 Flood *Jordan*, or any other Waters were
 sanctified to a Sacramental Use, by
 to

to the Mystical washing away of Sin, &c.

Christ's being baptized, and not necessary to be asserted, we desire this may be otherwise expressed.

The third Exhortation.

Do promise by you that be their Sureties.

The Questions.

Doest thou forsake, &c.

Doest thou believe, &c.

Wilt thou be Baptized, &c.

We know not by what right the Sureties do promise and answer in the Name of the Infant: it seemeth to us also to countenance the Anabaptistical Opinion of the necessity of an actual Profession of Faith and Repentance in Order to Baptism. That such a Profession may be required of Parents in their own Name, and now solemnly renewed when they present their Children to Baptism, we willingly grant: but the asking of one for another is a Practice whose warrant we doubt of; and therefore we desire that the two first Interrogatories may be put to the Parents to be answered in their own Names, and the last propounded to the Parents or Pro-parents thus, *Will you have this Child Baptized into this Faith?*

The second Prayer before Baptism.

May receive remission of Sins by Spiritual Regeneration.

This expression seeming inconvenient, We desire it may be changed into this; *May be regenerated and receive the Remission of Sins.*

In the Prayer after Baptism.

That it hath pleased thee to regenerate this Infant by thy holy Spirit.

We cannot in Faith say, that every Child that is baptized is *regenerated by God's Holy Spirit*; at least it is a disputable point, and therefore we desire it may be otherwise expressed.

After Baptism.

Then shall the Priest make a Cross, &c.

Concerning the Cross in Baptism, we refer to our 18th General.

Of Private Baptism.

WE desire that Baptism may not be administred in a private place at any time, unless by a lawful Minister, and in the presence of a competent Number: That where it is evident that any Child hath been so baptised, no part of the Administration may be reiterated in publick, under any Limitations: And therefore we see no need of any Liturgy in that Case.

Of the Catechism.

Catechism.

1 *Quest.* **W**hat is your Name, &c.

2 *Quest.* Who gave you that Name?

Ans. My Godfathers and my Godmothers in my Baptism.

3 *Quest.* What did your Godfathers and Godmothers do for you in Baptism?

2 **Ans.** In my Baptism, wherein I was made a Child of God, a Member of Christ, and an Inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Of the Rehearsal of the Ten Commandments.

10 **Ans.** My Duty towards God is to believe in him, &c.

14 *Quest.* How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained, &c?

Ans. Two only, as generally necessary to Salvation.

19 *Quest.* What is required of Persons to be Baptized?

Ans. Repentance, whereby they forsake sin; and Faith, whereby they stedfastly believe the Promises of God, &c.

20 *Quest.* Why then are Infants baptized when by reason of their tender Age they cannot perform them?

Ans. Yes: they do perform by their Sureties, who promise and vow them both in their Names.

In the general we observe, That the Doctrine of the Sacraments which was added upon the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, is much more fully and particularly delivered than the other parts of the Catechism, in short Answers fitted to the memories of Children, and thereupon we offer it to be considered:

First, Whether there should not be a more distinct and full Explication of the Creed, the Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer.

Secondly, Whether it were not convenient to add (what seems to be wanting) somewhat particularly concerning the Nature of Faith, of Repentance, the two Covenants, of Justification, Sanctification, Adoption, and Regeneration.

Exception.

WE desire these three first Questions may be altered; considering that the far greater number of Persons Baptized within these Twenty years last past, had no Godfathers or Godmothers at their Baptism: The like to be done in the seventh Question.

We conceive it might be more safely expressed thus; *Wherein I was visibly admitted into the number of the Members of Christ, the Children of God, and the Heirs (rather than Inheritors) of the Kingdom of Heaven.*

We desire that the Commandments be inserted according to the New Translation of the Bible.

In this Answer there seems to be particular respect to the several Commandments of the first Table, as in the following Answer to those of the second. And therefore we desire it may be advised upon, whether to the last word of this Answer may not be added [*particularly on the Lord's day*] otherwise there being nothing in all this Answer that refers to the fourth Commandment.

That these words may be omitted, and Answer thus given; *Two only, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.*

We desire that the entering Infants into God's Covenant may be more warily expressed, and that the words may not seem to found their Baptism upon a really actual Faith and Repentance of their own; and we desire that a promise may not be taken for a performance of such Faith and Repentance: and especially, that it be not asserted, that they perform these by the promise of their Sureties, it being to the Seed of Believers that the Covenant of God is made; and not (that we can find) to all that have such believing Sureties, who are neither Parents, nor Pro-parents of the Child.

Of Confirmation.

The last Rubrick before the Catechism.

And that no Man shall think that any detriment shall come to Children by deferring of their Confirmation, he shall know for truth, that it is certain by God's Word, that Children being baptized, have all things necessary for their Salvation, and be undoubtedly saved.

Rubrick after the Catechism.

So soon as the Children can say in their Mother-tongue the Articles of the Faith, the Lords Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and can answer such other Questions of this short Catechism, &c. then shall they be brought to the Bishop, &c. and the Bishop shall Confirm them.

the third Reason of the first Rubrick before Confirmation, concerning the usage of the Church in times past, ordaining that Confirmation should be ministred unto them that were of perfect Age, that they being instructed in the Christian Religion, should openly profess their own Faith, and promise to be obedient to the Will of God. And therefore (3dly), we desire that none may be Confirmed but according to his Majesty's Declaration, viz. *That Confirmation be rightly and solemnly performed by the Information, and with the Consent of the Minister of the place.*

Rubrick after the Catechism.

Then shall they be brought to the Bishop by one that shall be his Godfather, or Godmother.

Although we charitably suppose the meaning of these words was only to exclude the necessity of any other Sacraments to baptized Infants; yet these words are dangerous as to the misleading of the Vulgar, and therefore we desire they may be expunged.

We conceive that it is not a sufficient qualification for Confirmation, that Children be able *memoriter* to repeat the Articles of the Faith, commonly called, the Apostles Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and to answer to some Questions of this short Catechism; for it is often found that Children are able to do all this at four or five years old. 2dly, It crosses what is said in

This seems to bring in another sort of Godfathers and Godmothers, besides those made use of in Baptism; and we see no need either of the one, or the other.

The Prayer before the Imposition of Hands.

Who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy Servants by Water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them the forgiveness of all their sins.

shew no Evidence of serious Repentance, or of any special Saving Grace: And therefore this Confirmation (if administred to such) would be a perillous and gross Abuse.

Rubrick before the Imposition of Hands.

Then the Bishop shall lay his hand on every Child severally.

Rubrick and Order in the Common-Prayer-Book, every Deacon may Baptize, and every Minister may consecrate and administer the Lord's Supper, but the Bishop only may Confirm.

This supposeth that all the Children who are brought to be confirmed, have the Spirit of Christ, and the forgiveness of all their sins: Whereas a great number of Children at that Age, having committed many sins since their Baptism, do

This seems to put a higher value upon Confirmation, then upon Baptism or the Lord's Supper; for according to the

The Prayer after Imposition of Hands.

We make our humble Supplications unto thee for these Children; upon whom, after the Example of thy Holy Apostles, we have laid our Hands, to certify them by this Sign of thy Favour and gracious Goodness towards them.

We desire that Imposition of Hands may not be made as here it is, a Sign to certify Children of God's Grace and Favour towards them, because this seems to speak it a Sacrament, and is contrary to that fore-mentioned 25th Article, which saith, *That Confirmation hath no visible Sign appointed by God.*

The last Rubrick after Confirmation. None shall be admitted to the holy Communion, until such time as he can say the Catechism, and be confirmed.

We desire that the Practice of the Apostles may not be alledged as a ground of this Imposition of Hands for the Confirmation of Children, both because the Apostles did never use it in that Case, as also because the Articles of the Church of England declare it to be a *corrupt imitation of the Apostles practice*, Acts 25.

We desire that Confirmation may not be made so necessary to the Holy Communion, as that none should be admitted to it unless they be confirmed.

Of the Form of Solemnization of Matrimony.

The Man shall give the Woman a Ring, &c.——shall surely perform and keep the Vow and Covenant betwixt them made, whereof this Ring given and received is a Token and Pledge, &c.

Seeing this Ceremony of the Ring in Marriage is made *necessary* to it, and a significant Sign of the Vow and Covenant betwixt the Parties; and Romish Ritualists give such Reasons for the Use and Institution of the Ring, as are either frivolous or superstitious. It is desired that this Ceremony of the Ring in Marriage may be left *indifferent*, to be used or forborn.

The Man shall say, With my Body I thee worship.

This word [*worship*] being much altered in the Use of it since this Form was first drawn up; We desire some other word may be used instead of it.

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

These words being only used in Baptism, and herein the Solemnization of Matrimony, and in the Absolution of the Sick; We desire it may be considered, whether they should not be here omitted, least they should seem to favour those who count *Matrimony* a *Sacrament*.

Till Death us depart.

This word [*depart*] is here improperly used.

Rubrick.

Then the Minister or Clerk going to the Lords Table, shall say or sing this Psalm.

Exception.

We conceive this Change of Place and Posture mentioned in these two Rubricks is needless, and therefore desire it may be omitted.

Next Rubrick.

The Psalm ended, and the Man and the Woman kneeling before the Lords Table, the Priest standing at the Table, and turning his face, &c.

Collect.

Consecrated the State of Matrimony to such an excellent Mystery.

Exception.

Seeing the Institution of Marriage was before the Fall, and so before the Promise of Christ, as also for that the said Passage in this Collect seems to countenance the Opinion of making Matrimony a *Sacrament*, we desire that Clause may be altered or omitted.

Rubrick.

Then shall begin the Communion, and after the Gospel shall be said a Sermon, &c.

Exception.

This Rubrick doth either enforce all such as are unfit for the Sacrament to forbear Marriage, contrary to Scripture, which approves the Marriage of all Men; or else compels all that marry to come to the Lord's Table, though never so unprepared: And therefore we desire it may be omitted, the rather because that Marriage Festivals are too often accom-

Last Rubrick.

The new married Persons the same day of their Marriage must receive the Holy Communion.

panied with such Divertisements as are unsuitable to those Christian Duties which ought to be before and follow after the receiving of that Holy Sacrament.

Of the Order for the Visitation of the Sick.

Rubrick before Absolution.

Here shall the sick Person make a special Confession, &c. after which Confession the Priest shall absolve him after this sort: Our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. and by his Authority committed to me, I absolve thee.

Exception.

FOrasmuch as the Conditions of sick Persons be very various and different, the Minister may not only in the Exhortation, but in the Prayer also be directed to apply himself to the particular Condition of the Person, as he shall find most suitable to the present occasion,

with due regard had both to his Spiritual Condition and Bodily Weakness, and that the Absolution may only be recommended to the Minister to be used or omitted as he shall see occasion.

That the Form of Absolution be *Declarative* and *Conditional*, as [I pronounce thee absolved] instead of [I absolve thee] if thou doest truly repent and believe.

Of the Communion of the Sick.

Rubrick.

But if the sick Person be not able to come to Church, yet is desirous to receive the Communion in his House; then he must give knowledge over-night, or else early in the Morning, to the Curate, and having a convenient place in the sick Man's House, he shall there administer the Holy Communion.

Consider, that many sick persons either by their ignorance or vicious Life, without any evident manifestation of Repentance, or by the Nature of the Disease disturbing their Intellectuals, be unfit for receiving the Sacrament. It is proposed, that the Minister be not enjoined to administer the Sacrament to every sick Person that shall desire it, but only as he shall judge expedient.

Of the Order for the Burial of the Dead.

WE desire it may be expressed in a Rubrick, that the Prayers and Exhortations here used are not for the benefit of the Dead, but only for the Instruction and Comfort of the Living.

First Rubrick.

The Priest meeting the Corps at the Church-Doyle, shall say, or else the Priest and Clerk shall sing, &c.

We desire that Ministers may be left to use their Discretion in these Circumstances, and to perform the whole Service in the Church, if they think fit, for the preventing of these Inconveniences which many times both Ministers and People are exposed unto by standing in the open Air.

The second Rubrick.

When they come to the Grave the Priest shall say, &c.

Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, of his great mercy to take unto himself the Soul of our dear Brother here departed: We therefore commit his Body to the Ground in sure and certain hope of Resurrection to Eternal Life.

These words cannot in Truth be said of Persons living and dying in open and notorious sins.

The first Prayer.

We give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our Brother out of the miseries of this sinful world, &c.

These words may harden the wicked, and are inconsistent with the largest rational Charity.

That we with this our Brother, and all other departed in the true Faith of thy Holy Name, may have our perfect Confirmation and Bliss.

The last Prayer,

That when we depart this Life, we may rest in him, as our hope is this our Brother doth.

These words cannot be used with respect to those Persons who have not by their actual Repentance given any ground for the hope of their Blessed Estate.

Of the Thanksgiving of Women after Child-birth commonly called Churching of Women.

The Woman shall come unto the Church, and there shall kneel down in some convenient place nigh unto the place where the Table stands, and the Priest standing by her, shall say, &c.

Rubrick.

Then the Priest shall say this Psalm 121.

In regard that the Womens kneeling near the Table is in many Churches inconvenient, we desire that these words may be left out, and that the Minister may perform that service either in the Desk or Pulpit.

Exception.

This Psalm seems not to be so pertinent as some other, viz. as Psalm 113. and Psalm 128.

O Lord save this Woman thy Servant.

Ans. Which putteth her trust in thee.

Laſt Rubrick.

The Woman that comes to give Thanks, muſt offer the accuſtomed Offerings.

The ſame Rubrick.

And if there be a Communion, it is convenient that ſhe receive the Holy Communion.

It may fall out that a woman may come to give thanks for a Child born in Adultery or Fornication, and therefore we deſire that ſomething may be required of her by way of Profeſſion of her Humiliation, as well as of her Thank-giving.

This may ſeem too like a Jewiſh Purification, rather than a Chriſtian Thank-giving.

We deſire this may be interpreted of the duly qualified; for a ſcandalous Sinner may come to make this Thank-giving.

Thus have we in all humble purſuance of his Maſteſty's moſt gracious Endeavours for the publick weal of this Church, drawn up our Thoughts and Deſires in this weighty Affair, which we humbly offer to his Maſteſty's Commiſſioners for their ſerious and grave Conſideration, wherein we have not the leaſt thought of depraving or reproaching the Book of Common Prayer, but a ſincere deſire to contribute our Endeavours towards the Healing the Diſtempers, and (as ſoon as may be) reconciling the Minds of Brethren. And in aſmuch as his Maſteſty hath in his gracious Declaration and Commiſſion mentioned new Forms to be made and ſuted to the ſeveral Parts of Worſhip; We have made a conſiderable progreſs therein, and ſhall (by God's aſſiſtance) offer them to the Reverend Commiſſioners with all convenient ſpeed. And if the Lord ſhall graciously pleaſe to give a Bleſſing to theſe our Endeavours, we doubt not but the Peace of the Church will be thereby ſettled, the Hearts of Miniſters and People comforted and compoſed, and the great Mercy of Unity and Stability (to the immortal Honour of our moſt dear Sovereign) beſtowed upon us and our Poſterity after us.

§ 175. When the Exceptions againſt the Liturgy were finiſhed, the Brethren oft read over the Reformed Liturgy which I offered them. At firſt they would have had no Rubrick or Directory, but bare Prayers, becauſe they thought our Commiſſion allowed it not: That at laſt they yielded to the Reaſons which I gave them, and reſolved to take them in. But firſt to offer the Biſhops their Exceptions.

§ 176. At this time was the Convocation choſen: for till now it was deferred. Had it been called when the King came in, the inferiour Clergy would have been againſt the Dioceſan and Impoſing way: But afterwards many hundreds were turned out that all the old ſequeſtered Miniſters might come in. And the Opinion of Reordination being ſet afoot, all thoſe Miniſters, that for Twenty years together, while Biſhops were laid aſide, had been Ordained without Dioceſans, were in many Countreys denied any Voices in the Election of Clerks for the Convocation: By all which means, and by the Scruples of abundance of Miniſters, who thought it unlawful to have any thing to do in the chooſing of ſuch a kind of Aſſembly, the Dioceſan Party wholly carried it in the Choice.

§ 177. In London the Election was appointed to be in Chriſt's Church, on the Second day of May (1661). The London Miniſters that were not yet ejected, proved the major Vote againſt the Dioceſan Party, and when I went to have joyned with them, they ſent to me not to come, as they did alſo to Mr. Calamy, and (without my knowledge) they choſe Mr. Calamy and me for London. But they carried it againſt the other Party but by Three Voices: And the Biſhop of London having the power of chooſing Two out of Four (or Four out of Six) that are choſen by the Miniſters in a certain Circuit, did give us the great uſe of being both left out, and ſo we were excuſed, and the City of London had no Clerk in the Convocation. How ſhould I have been there baited, and what a vexatious place ſhould I have had in ſuch a Convocation!

§ 178.

§ 178. The fourth day of *May*, we had a meeting with the Bishops, where we gave in our Paper of Exceptions to them; which they received.

§ 179. The seventh day of *May* was a Meeting at *Sion-Colledge* of all the *London* Ministers, for the choice of a President and Assistants for the next Year: where (some of the Presbyterians upon a pettish Scruple absenting themselves) the Diocessane Party carried it, and so got the Possession and Rule of the Colledge.

§ 180. The eighth day of *May* the new Parliament and Convocation sat down, being constituted of Men fitted and devoted to the Diocessan Interest.

§ 181. On the two and twentieth day of *May*, by order of Parliament, the National Vow and Covenant was burnt in the Street, by the Hands of the common Hangman.

§ 182. When the Brethren came to examine the reformed Liturgy, and had oft read it over, they past it at last in the same Words that I had written it, save only that they put out a few Lines in the Administration of the Lord's Supper, where the Word *Offering* was used; and they put out a Page of Reasons for Infant Baptism, which I had annexed to that Office, thinking it unnecessary; and they put the larger Litany into an Appendix as thinking it too long; and Dr. *Wallis* was desired to draw up the Prayer for the King, which is his Work (being after somewhat altered by us). And we agreed to put before it a short Address to the Bishops, professing our readiness in Debates to yield to the shortning of any thing which should be too long, and the altering of any thing that should be found amiss.

§ 183. And because I foresaw what was like to be the end of our Conference, I desired the Brethren that we might draw up a plain and earnest Petition to the Bishops, to yield to such Terms of Peace and Concord as they themselves did confess to be *lawful* to be yielded to: For though we are equals in the King's Commission, yet we are commanded by the Holy Ghost, *If it be possible, and as much as in us lieth to live peaceably with all men*, Rom. 12. 18. and to *follow peace with all men*, Heb. 12. 14. and if we were denied, it would satisfy our Consciences, and justify us before all the World, much more than if we only disputed for it: However we might this way have that opportunity to produce our Reasons for Peace, which else we were not like to have.

§ 184. This Motion was accepted, and I was desired to draw up the Petition, which I did, and it was examined, and with a Word or two of Alteration consented to.

§ 185. When we met with the Bishops to deliver in these Papers, I was required to deliver them; and if it were possible, to get Audience for the Petition before all the Company. I told them, that though we were Equals in the present Work, and our appointed business was to treat, yet we were conscious of our Place and Duty, and had drawn up a Petition to them, which, though somewhat long, I humbly craved their Consent that I might read it to them. Some were against it, and so they would have been generally if they had known what was in it; but at last they yielded to it: But their Patience was never so put to it by us, as in hearing so long, and ungrateful a Petition. When I had read it, Dr. *Gunning* beginneth a long and vehement Speech against it: To which when he came to the end, I replied: But I was interrupted in the midst of my Reply; and was fain to bear it, because they had been patient (with much ado) so long before.

§ 186. I delivered them the Petition when I had read it, and with it a fair Copy of our reformed Liturgy, called [*Additional Forms and Alterations*] of theirs. And they received both, and so we departed.

Our said Writings are too long to be here inserted.

§ 187. After all this, when the Bishops were to have sent us two Papers, one of their Concessions how much they would alter of the Liturgy as excepted against, and the other of their Acceptance of our offered Forms, or Reasons against them, instead of both these, a good while after, they sent us such a Paper as they did before, of their Reasonings against all our Exceptions, without any Abatements or Alterations at all, that are worth the Naming. Our Brethren seeing what they were resolved to bring it too, and how unpeaceably they managed the Business, did think best to write them a plain Answer to their Paper, and not to suppress it as we had done by the First. This Task also they imposed on me, and I went out of Town to Dr. *Spurstow's* House in *Hackney* for Retirement, where in eight Days time I drew up a Reply to their Answer to our Exceptions; and the Brethren read it and consented to it; only wished that it had been larger in the latter end, where I had purposely been brief, because I had been too large in the beginning,

ginning, and because *Particulars* may be answered satisfactorily in a few Words, when the General Differences are fully cleared.

§ 188. By this time our Commission was almost expired, and therefore our Brethren were earnestly desirous of personal Debates with them, upon the Papers put in to try how much Alteration they would yield to: Therefore we sent to the Bishops to desire it of them; and at last they yielded to it, when we had but Ten Days more to treat.

§ 189. When we met them, I delivered them the Answer of their former Papers (the largeness of which I saw displeased them) and they received it. And we earnestly prest them to spend the little time remaining in such pacifying Conference as tended to the ends which are mentioned in the King's Declaration and Commission, and told them, that such Disputes which they had called us to by their manner of Writing, were not the thing which we desired or thought most conducing to those ends.

§ 190. I have reason to think that the Generality of the Bishops and Doctors present never knew what we offered them in the reformed Liturgy, nor in this Reply, nor in any of our Papers, save those few which we read openly to them. For they were put up and carried away, and I conjecture scarce any but the Writers of their Confutations would be at the Labour of reading them over. And I remember in the midst of our last Disputation, when I drew out the short Preface to this last Reply (which Mr. *Calamy* wrote, to enumerate in the beginning before their Eyes, many of the grossest Corruptions which they stily defended and refused to reform) the Company was more ashamed and silent, than at any thing else that I had said; by which I perceived that they had never read or heard that very Preface, which was as an Epistle to themselves: Yea, the chief of them confessed when they bid me read it, that they knew no such thing: So that it seems before they knew what was in them, they resolved to reject our Papers, right or Wrong, and to deliver them up to their Contradictors.

§ 191. When we came to our Debates, I first craved of them their Animadversions on our Additions, and Alterations of the Liturgy, which we had put in long before; and that they would tell us what they allowed, or disallowed in them, that we might have the use of them according to the Words in the King's Declaration and Commission. But they would not by any Importunity be intreated at all to debate that, nor to give any of their Opinions about those Papers. There were no Papers that ever we offered them that had the Fate of those: Though it was there that some of them thought to have found recriminating matter of Exceptions: yet could we never prevail with them to say any thing about them in Word or Writing; but once Bishop *Morley* told us of their *length*, to which I answered that we had told them in our Preface, that we were ready to abbreviate any thing which on debate should appear too long; but that the Purity of the Prayers made the ordinary *Lord's day* Prayers far shorter than theirs. And since we had given our Exceptions against theirs, if they would neither by Word nor Writing except against ours, nor yet give their Consent to them, they would not honour their Cause or Conference. But all could not extort either Debates on that Subject, or any Reprehensions of what we had offered them. Nor have they since to this Day, in any of their Writings (which ever I could see or hear of) said a Word in way of Exception against those Papers: Yea, when Roger *L'Estrange* himself wrote (according to his manner) a malicious Invektive against our several Papers, when they were afterwards printed, he could find little to say against our Liturgy, but that we left it to the Liberty of the Minister in several Cases, to pray [in *these Words*, or to this Sense]. And is that all the fault (besides the *Length* forementioned)? Did they not know that it belongeth to the *Prelates*, and not to such as we, to deprive Men of their Liberty in praying? If they had desired it, how easy had it been for them to have dashed out that one Clause [or to this Sense]? and then it had been beyond their Exception. What measure of Liberty Ministers shall have, it is not we, but they that must determine.

§ 192. When they had cast out that part of our desired Conference, our next business was to desire them by friendly Conference, to go over the Particulars which we excepted against, and to tell us how much they could abate, and what Alterations they could yield to. This Bishop *Reynolds* oft prest them to, and so did all the rest of us that spake. But they resolutely insisted on it, that they had nothing to do till we had proved that there was any necessity of Alteration, which we had not yet done; and that they were there ready to answer to our Propositions: We urged them again and again with the very Words of the King's Declaration

ration and Commission, 1. That the ends expressed are [*for the removal of all Exceptions and Occasions of Exceptions, and Differences from among our good Subjects,*] and [*for giving Satisfaction to tender Consciences, and the restoring and continuance of Peace and Unity in the Churches.*] 2. And the means is [*to make such reasonable and necessary Alterations, Corrections, and Amendments therein, as shall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient, for the giving Satisfaction to tender Consciences, and restoring and continuing Peace, &c.*] We plainly shewed hence that the King supposeth that *some* Alterations must be made: But the Bishops insisted on two Words [*necessary*] Alterations, and [*such as should be agreed on*]. We answered them, That the Word [*necessary*] hath reference to the Ends expressed, *viz.* [*the satisfying tender Consciences*] and is joined with [*Expedient*]: And its strange if when the King hath so long and publickly determined of the *End*, and called us to consult of the means, we should presume now at last to contradict him, and to determine that the *End* is *self* is unnecessary, and consequently *no* means necessary thereto: What then have we all this while been doing? 2. And when they are called to [*agree*] on such necessary means, if they will take the Advantage of that Word, to [*agree on nothing*] that so all Endeavours may be frustrated for want of their Agreement, God and the World would judge between us, who it is that frustrateth the King's Commission, and the Hopes of a divided bleeding Church. Thus we continued a long time contending about this Point, [*Whether some Alterations be supposed by the King's Declaration and Commission to be made by us? or whether we were anew to dispute that Point?*] But the Bishops would have that to be our Task or none; to prove by Disputation that *any* Alteration was necessary to be made; while they confuted our Proofs. We told them, that the End being [*to satisfy tender Consciences and procure Unity,*] those tender Consciences did themselves profess, that without some Alteration, and that considerable too, they could not be satisfied; and Experience told them, that *Peace* and *Unity* could not without it be attained. But still they said, that *none* was necessary, and they would yield to all that we proved necessary. And here we were left in a very great Strait: If we should enter upon Dispute with them, we gave up the End and Hope of our endeavours: If we refused it, we knew that they would boast that when it came to the setting to, we would not so much as attempt to prove any thing unlawful in the Liturgy, nor durst dispute it with them. Mr. Calamy with some others of our Brethren would have had us refuse the Motion of disputing, as not tending to fulfil the King's Commands: We told the Bishops over and over, that they could not choose but know that before we could end one Argument in a Dispute, our time would be expired; and that it could not possibly tend to any Accommodation: And that to keep off from personal Conference, till within a few Days of the Expiration of the Commission, and then to resolve to do nothing but wrangle out the time in a Dispute, as if we were between jeaft and earnest in the Schools, was too visibly in the sight of all the World, to defeat the King's Commission, and the Expectations of many Thousands, who longed for our Unity and Peace. But we spoke to the Deaf; they had other Ends, and were other Men, and had the Art to suit the means unto their Ends. For my part, when we saw that they would do nothing else, I persuaded our Brethren to yield to a Disputation with them, and let them understand that we were far from fearing it, seeing they would give us no hopes of Concord: but withal, first to profess to them, that the Guilt of disappointing his Majesty and the Kingdom, lay not upon us, who desired to obey the King's Commission, but on them. And so we yielded to spend the little time remaining, in disputing with them, rather than go home and do nothing, and leave them to tell the Court that we durst not dispute with them when they so provoked us, nor were able to prove our Accusations of the Liturgy.

§ 193. When this was resolved on, we spent many Hours with them about the Order of our Disputation: I offered them to spend one half of the time in the Opponents part, if they would promise to do the like the other half of the time, when we had done, that our Disputation might be on equal Terms. They refused this, and answered, That it belonged to us only to *argue* who were the Accusers, and not at all to them who were on the Defence. I told them it was we that are the Defendants against their Impositions: They command us to do such and such things, or else we shall be excommunicate, silenced, imprisoned, and undone: We defend our selves against this cruelty, by calling upon them to shew their Authority from God for such Impositions: Therefore we still call upon them to prove that God hath authorized them to any such thing: And if they refuse this, they do give up their Cause. We offered first to prove the *unlawfulness* of their Impositions,

if they would afterward prove the lawfulness of them, or their Power so to impose them. On these Terms we stood with them about two Days, and they would not yield to prove any thing at all. At last I oft declared to them, that we would do our part, and prove their Impositions unlawful, whether they would do their part or no; but with an open Declaration that we took them for Deserters of their Cause. At last Dr. *Pierſon* alone undertook that he would dispute for their Part, when we had performed ours, and we accepted of his Undertaking.

§ 194. Upon this, seeing it was to be all done in Writing, the rest of the Commissioners on both sides did choose three of a Party to manage the Dispute, that the other might withdraw themselves, because they had no more to do. The Bishops chose Dr. *Pierſon*, Dr. *Gunning*, and Dr. *Sparrow* *. The other side chose Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and my self: (for I never medled with the choice of any, only I would fain have had Mr. *William Moſes*, Mr. *Gibbons*, and Mr. *Matthew Pool* into the Commission, that I might have had their help in Disputing, because they were very quick, ingenuous Men, and I could not prevail) The rest of our Brethren presently withdrew, and not a Man of them came near us any more; as supposing it contrary to the Agreement: But the Bishops came (some of them) from day to day; indeed on the second day they asked whether any more than the Disputants might be present. And I answered them, That we cared not how many of them were present: And after that, others that were not in the Commission asked, whether they might be present; and I told them the same. So that there came Dr. *Pory*, Dr. *Crowther*, and almost the Room full of them (with two or three Scholars and Lay-men, that as Auditors came in with us (Mr. *Miles*, Mr. *Tillotſon*. &c)

§ 195. When I began our first Argument, to prove their Impositions *ſinful*, Bishop *Cofins* was offended at the Word [*ſinful*]; and told me that I condemned all the Churches of Christ, who all of them imposed some Gesture or other, as much as that came to; and what intollerable Boldness was it in us to charge all the Churches of Christ with Sin! I answered him, 1. That many of the reformed Churches did not impose any such thing on their Terms; that is, to reject all from the Ministry and Communion that conformed not. 2. It was no Arrogance nor Uncharitableness, to charge all the Church and World with Sin: But he that saith he hath no Sin, is a Lyar: In many things we offend all: It is the Privilege of the Triumphant Church to be without Sin. This they stormed at, and yet could not tell how to deny it. Bishop *Lany* said, [*That justified Persons have no Sin, and are no Sinners; because Justification taketh it away*]. But when I answered him by opening the Nature of Justification, and shewing that it took not away the Sin it self, but the Guilt, which is the Obligation to Punishment, he was confounded, and unsaid all again, and knew not what he said: I told him that he might see how near we came to him: I confessed that if the Controversy were but *de Nomine*, and he took Justification, as some do, for Sanctification, or a Change of our Qualities and Actions, then I granted him that it took away Sin it self, but not perfectly, and therefore Sin still remained. Here he and some more said, that no Man before me ever took Justification in any such Sence, and they laughed at me: I answered, that I was glad to hear him say so; for my fear that he symbolized with the Papists was abated, now I perceived that he knew not what they held: And Dr. *Gunning* answered against him, and said that the Papists do so use the Word. I went on and told him, That I also granted that a Man for a certain space might be without any Act of Sin; and as I was proceeding, here Bishop *Morley* interrupted me, according to his manner, with vehemency crying out, *what can any Man be for any time without Sin!* And he sounded out his Aggravations of this Doctrine; and then cryed to Dr. *Bates*, what say you Dr. *Bates*, is this your Opinion? Saith Dr. *Bates*, *I believe that we are all Sinners; but I pray my Lord give him leave to speak*: I began to go on to the rest of my Sentence, where I left, to shew the Sense and Truth of my Words; and the Bishop (whether in Passion or Design I know not) interrupted me again, and mouthed out the odiousness of my Doctrine again and again, I attempted to speak, and still he interrupted me in the same manner: Upon that I sat down and told him, that this was neither agreeable to our Commission, nor the common Laws of Disputation, nor the Civil Usage of Men in common Converse, and that if he prohibited me to speak, I desired him to do it plainly, and I would desist, and not by that way of Interruption. He told me, I had speaking enough if that were good, for I spake more than any one in the Company: And thus he kept me so long from uttering the rest of my Sentence, that I sat down and gave over, and told him I took it for his Pro-

hibition. At last I let him talk, and spake to those nearer me, which would hear me, and told them, that this was it that I was going to say, That I granted Bishop *Lany*, that it was possible to be free from acting Sin for a certain time, that so he might have no matter of Objection against me; and that the Instances of my Concession were these: 1. In the time of absolute Infancy. 2. In the time of total Fatuity or Madness, as natural Ideots that never had the use of Reason. 3. In the time of a Lethargy, Carus, or Apoplexy, or Epilepsie. 4. In the time of lawful sleep, when a Man doth not so much as dream amiss: And whether any other Instances might be given, I determined not. But as I talked thus; Bishop *Morly* went on, talking louder than I, and would neither hear me, nor willingly have had me to have been heard. Behind me at the lower end of the Table, stood Dr. *Crowther*, and he would confute me, and I defended Dr. *Lany*, in that *Jeroboam made Israel to Sin*: What gather you thence, quoth I, that *they had no Sin but that*, or *never sinned before*: He answered yes; and with a little Nonsense would defend it, that *Israel sinned not till then*: When I had proved the contrary to him in the general Acceptation of the Word [*Sin*]; I told him, that if he took the Word Figuratively, the Genus for a Species, I granted him that they sinned not that Species of Sin, which *Jeroboam* taught them, which is in the Text emphatically called *Sin*: If he meant that they sinned no Sin of Idolatry, or no National Sin till then, It was not true, and if it were, it was nothing to our Question, which was about Sin in the General, or indefinitely. He told me they Sinned no National Sin till then. I asked him whether the Idolatry, the Unbelief, the Murmuring, &c. by which all the Nation, save *Caleb* and *Jeshua* fell in the Wilderness, and the Idolatry for which in the time of the Judges the Nation was conquered, and captivated, were none of them National Sins? I give the Reader the Instance of this Odious kind of Talk, to shew him what kind of Men we talkt with, and what a kind of Task we had.

§ 196. And a little further touch of it I shall give you: When I beg'd their Compassion on the Souls of their Brethren, and that they would not unnecessarily cast so many out of the Ministry and their Communion: Bishop *Cosins* told me that we threatned them with Numbers, and for his part, he thought the King should do well to make us name them all. A charitable and wise Motion! To name all the Thousands of *England* that dissented from them, and that had sworn the Covenant, and whom they would after Persecute.

§ 197. When I read in the Preface to our Exceptions against the Liturgy [*That after twenty years Calamity, they would not yield to that which several Bishops voluntarily offered twenty Years before*] (meaning the Corrections of the Liturgy offered by Archbishop *Usher*, Archbishop *Williams*, Bishop *Morton*, Dr. *Prideaux*, and many others); Bishop *Cosins* answered me, That we threatned them with a new War, and it was time for the King to look to us: I had no shelter from the Fury of the Bishop but to name Dr. *Hammond*, and tell him that I remembered Dr. *Hammond* insisted on the same Argument, that *twenty Years Calamity should have taught Men more Charity, and brought them to repentance and Brotherly Love*; and that it is an Aggravation of their Sin to be unmerciful after so long and heavy Warnings from God's Hand: He told me, if that were our meaning, it was all well. And these were the most logical Discourses of that Bishop.

§ 198. Among all the Bishops there was none who had so promising a Face as Dr. *Sterne* the Bishop of *Carlisle*: He look'd so honestly, and gravely, and soberly, that I scarce thought such a Face could have deceived me; and when I was intreating them not to cast out so many of their Brethren through the Nation, as scrupled a Ceremony which they confess'd indifferent, he turn'd to the rest of the Reverend Bishops, and noted me for saying [*in the Nation*]: He will not say [*in the Kingdom*] saith he, *lest he own a King*. This was all that ever I heard that worthy Prelate say: But with grief I told him, that half the Charity which became so grave a Bishop, might have sufficed to have helpt him to a better Exposition of the Word [*Nation*]; from the Mouths of such who have so lately taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and sworn Fidelity to the King as his Chaplains, and had such Testimonies from him as we have had: and that our case was sad, if we could plead by the King's Commission for Accommodation, upon no no better Terms, than to be noted as Traytors, every time we used such a Word as the [*Nation*]; which all monarchical Writers use.

§ 199. Bishop *Morley* earnestly pleaded my own Book with me (my fifth Disput.) as he had done before the King: And I still told him, I went not from any thing in it. He vehemently aggravated the mischiefs of Conceived Prayer in the Church, and when I told him that all the Actions of Men would be imperfect, while Men were imperfect, and that the other side also had its inconveniences; he asked me whether I thought the inconveniences of *Extemporary* Prayer were not rather to be avoided, than those of imposed Forms: I told him that we should do our best to avoid the evils or abuse of both: He asked me, how that should be? I answered him, not by disclaiming the use of Forms, or of conceived Prayers, but using both in their proper seasons—And as I was going on, the Company fell into a laughter at me, as if I had spoken for some foolish thing, when I spoke but for that which the Ministers of *England* have used ever since the Reformation; and most that have any Zeal do use by their allowance to this day, praying *Extempore* in the Pulpit.

§ 200. I oft made it my earnest request to them, but that we might have our proper turns in speaking, and that we might not interrupt one another, but stay the end: but I could never prevail, especially with Bishop *Morley*; who, when any thing was spoken which he would not have to be spoken out, would presently interrupt me, and go on in his way. I told them that if they took this Course, I judged all our Conference fruitless to the hearers: for my Speeches were not incoherent, but the end and middle must be joyned to the beginning to make up the sence, and that as the *End* is first in the intention, but last in execution, so I usually reserved the chief part of what I had to say to the last, to which the beginning was but preparatory: And therefore I had rather they forbade me to speak any more, than let me begin, and then not suffer me to go on any further. The Bishop answered that I spake so long, and had so many things, that their memories could not retain them all, and should lose the first if they stayed till the last: and that I spake more than any other: I told him, that as to my speaking more than others, it was my duty, yea to speak as much as all the rest, except when my Brethren saved me that labour. If they thought I spake too much, they would tell me so: And for others, one side was to speak as oft as the other side: If we had consented that they should fill the Room, when we were but Three, and then every one in the Room should speak as much as one of us, we had made a fair bout of it. I cared not how many of them spake, if they were but willing to be answered: But if five of them must speak, and but one of them be answered, they would say that all the rest were unanswerable. And for my length, I told him, that we consented that one of *themselves* should be always in the Chair, as they had been; and whenever the Chair-man interrupted me, and told me I had spoken long enough, I was willing to be silent (but that was never done): or let us turn the Quarter-Glass, and see that one speak no longer than the other: And for the weakness of their memories, I supposed they were on equal Terms: It was as hard for us to remember what *they* said; and if we could not, we would either take Notes, or ask another, or pass by what we forgot, rather than overthrow all Order in Discourse, and speak in Confusion like People in a Fair. And for my part, I thought, that a continued Speech without vain words doth best spare time, seeing that when I may thus set all the parts of my sence together (when the broken parcels signifie nothing) I can better make known my meaning in a Speech of half a quarter of an hour, than in two days rambling Discourses, where Interruptions and Interlocutions toss us up and down from thing to thing, and never let us see the sence and reason of each others in that Connexion and Harmony which is its Light and Strength]. But all these words were cast away; and they had seldom Patience to forbear an Interruption.

§ 201. One learned Doctor behind me (that was no Commissioner) desired to be heard, as if he had some unanswerable Argument: And it was a Question, *Whether all that scrupled Conformity, whom we pleaded for, were not such as had been against the King?* I answered him, 1. That the King himself had given sufficient Testimony of many of them. 2. That there is not one Minister of twenty that we plead for that had ever any thing to do in the Wars, or against the King; most of them being then Boys at School, or in the University. 3. That Men on both sides had been against the King. Hereupon Bishop *Morley* asked me, whether ever I knew a conformable Man for the Parliament, against the King: Yes, my Lord, quoth I, many a one. Name one, quoth some of them: Yes, a Bishop, yea an Archbishop, quoth I: At which they all hearkened as at a wonder; Do you not know, quoth I, that the Archbishop of *York*, Dr. *Williams*, sometime Lord Keeper

of *England*, was a Commander of the Forces for the Parliament in *Wales* ? At which they were silent, and that Argument was at an end.

Upon enquiry of the Inhabitants since, I understand that it is no such thing; but that *Aylesbury* was well supplied, either by a settled Incumbent, or the Preacher of the Garrison.

§ 202. When I told them that if they cast out all the Non-conformists, there would not be tolerable Ministers enow to supply the Congregations: Bishop *Morley* answered that so it was in the late Times, and that some Places had no Ministers at all, through all those Times of Usurpation: and named *Aylesbury*, which he knew to have had none upon his own knowledge. I told him that I never knew any such, and therefore I knew there were not many such in *England*: And if it were so, I hoped that he would not plead for such a Mischief by the Example of the Usurpers. But since, I have enquired of the Inhabitants about *Aylesbury*, and they unanimously professed that it was notoriously false, and named me the Ministers that had been there successively, and usually two at once.

§ 203. Also the said Bishop, when I talkt of silencing Ministers for things indifferent, told me, That we should remember how we did by them; and that we talkt not then as now we do. I answered him, That I was confident there was no Man there present that had ever a hand in silencing any of them: For my own part, I had been in Judgment for casting out the utterly Insufficient and notoriously Scandalous, indifferently of what Opinion or Side soever; but I had publickly written against the silencing or displacing any worthy Man for being against the Parliament: And if it had been otherwise, he should take warning by others Faults, and not imitate them, and do evil because *Cromwell* did so.

§ 204. Upon this, Dr. *Walton* Bishop of *Chester* said, Indeed Mr. *Baxter* did write against the Casting of us out: But, Mr. *Baxter*, did not you say, That if our Churches had no more than bare Liberty, as others had, without the compulsion of the Sword, that none but Drunkards would joyn in them. I answered, No, my Lord, I did not: I only said, that (as they had been ordered) if they had but equal liberty for Volunteers, they would be like Ale-houses, where many honest Men may come, but the number of worse Comers is so great, as maketh it dishonourable.] There is no impleading Mens Writings, unless the Book be opened, and the words and context well perused.

§ 205. Dr. *Bates* urged Dr. *Gunning* that on the same reasons that they so imposed the Gross and Surplice, they might bring in Holy Water, and Lights, and abundance of such Ceremonies of *Rome*, which we have cast out. He answered, Yea, and so I think we ought to have more, and not fewer, if we do well, (or to that sence).

§ 206. They told us of the Antiquity of Liturgies: And I earnestly intreated them to let true Antiquity be imitated by them: and desired any of them to prove that ever any Prince did impose one Form of Prayer or Liturgy, for Uniformity, on all the Churches in his Dominions: Yea, or upon any one Province, or Country under them: Or that ever any Council, Synod, or Patriarchs, or Metropolitans, did impose one Liturgy on all the Bishops and Churches under them. I proved to them not only from the instances of *Basil*, and the Church of *Næocesarea*, but others, that every Bishop then chose what Forms he pleased for his own Church. They could deny none of all this: But Antiquity is nothing to them when it makes against them.

§ 207. Towards the end of our Meetings, Bishop *Cosins*, taking the Chair, told us, That a very worthy Person had offered unto his Superiours a Paper containing the way to our Reconciliation, which he thought so reasonable and fit, that he desired us to take them into our Consideration, and so delivered me the Paper. I asked him, from whom he expected an Answer: He said from me: I told him that he might well know that I would enter upon no new Debates, without the Consent of my Brethren present, and whether they would meddle in it, and undertake new Work without the Consent of our Brethren, who are absent, I could not tell; especially when long and wandering Discourses had already taken up almost all our time. But upon perusal of the Paper, I perceived that it was a cunning Snare for us; but advised our Brethren present that we might promise them an Answer by the next Morning, but only in the name of us three, and that our Brethren absent should not be judged to be concerned in it. This I the rather did, because I perceived it came by the notice of some above us, who would enquire after it, and that an Answer in Writing would be a better spending of our time, than that rambling Discourse which there we spent it in; where a multitude of Men would needs speak, and yet would be angry if they were answered. The Paper with the Answer is as follows.

The Paper offered by Bishop Cofins as from some considerable Person.

A way humbly proposed to end that unhappy Controversie which is now managed in the Church, that the Sore may no longer rankle under the Debate, nor Advantages be got by those that love Division.

1. **T**Hat the Question may be put to the Managers of the Division, Whether there be any thing in the Doctrine, or Discipline, or the Common Prayer, or Ceremonies, contrary to the Word of God; and if they can make any such appear, let them be satisfied.

2. If not, let them then propose what they desire in point of Expediency, and acknowledge it to be no more.

3. Let that then be received from them, and speedily taken into the Consideration and Judgment of the Convocation, who are the proper and authentick Representatives of the Ministry, in whose Judgment they ought to acquiesce in such Matters; and not only so, but to let the People that follow them know that they ought not to disturb the Peace of the Church under the pretence of the Prosecution of Expediency, since the Division of the Church is the great Inexpedient.

The Answer to the foresaid Paper.

Right Reverend, &c.

AS it was your desire that we should return an Answer to these Three Proposals only in our own Names who are but Three, so we must here profess therefore, that it is not to be taken as the Act of the rest of our Brethren the Commissioners; but as part of the Conference to which we are deputed: And though we are the Managers of the Treaty for Pacification or Agreement, and not the Managers of the Division, and therefore cannot take our selves to be the Persons meant by the Author of the Proposals; yet we are glad to take the opportunity of your invitation, to profess that the principal part of these Proposals is so Rational, Regular and Christian-like, that we not only approve of, but should be fully satisfied (as to the Debates before us) with the real grant of the first alone, and not be wanting in our Duty, according to our Understanding and Ability, in endeavouring to accomplish the Ends of your Desires in the rest: More particularly,

Ad 1^m, Though we find by your Papers and Conference that in your own personal Doctrines, there is something that we take to be against the Word of God; and perceive that we understand not the Doctrine of the Church in all things alike, yet we find nothing contrary to the Word of God in that which is indeed the Doctrine of the Church, as it comprehendeth the Matters of Faith, distinct from Matter of Discipline, Ceremonies and Modes of Worship.

As to *Discipline*, there was given into his Majesty, before his Declaration came forth, a Summary of what we think to be contrary to the Word of God, which we shall more fully give in to you or any others whenever we are again called to it.

For the Common Prayer and Ceremonies we have in our *Exceptions and Reply* delivered you an Account of what we take to be unlawful and inconvenient: And we humbly crave that our Reasons may be yet impartially considered. At present we shall humbly offer you our Judgment concerning the following Particulars, and profess our readiness to make it good when we are called to it. It is contrary to the Word of God,

1. That no Minister be admitted to Baptize without the prescribed use of the Transient Image of the Cross.

2. That

2. That no Minister be permitted to read or pray, or exercise the other parts of his Office that dare not wear a Surplice.

3. That none be admitted in Communion to the Lord's Supper, that dare not receive it kneeling: and that all Ministers be enjoined to deny it to such.

4. That Ministers be forced to pronounce all baptized Infants to be Regenerate by the Holy Ghost (whether they be the Children of Christians or not).

5. That Ministers be forced to deliver the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, unto the unfit, both in their Health and Sicknes: and that with personal application putting it into their hands: and that such are forced to receive it, though against their own wills, in the Conscience of their Impenitency.

6. That Ministers be forced to Absolve the unfit; and that in absolute Expressions.

7. That they are forced to give thanks for all whom they Bury, as *Brethren whom God in mercy hath delivered and taken to himself.*

8. That none may be a Preacher that dare not Subscribe that there is nothing in the Common Prayer Book, the Book of Ordination, and the Nine and thirty Articles, that is contrary to the Word of God: — These are most of the things which we judge contrary to the Word of God, which at present come to our remembrance. So we humbly desire, that whenever you would have us give you a full enumeration of such, we may have leave to consult with the rest of our Brethren, and deliver it to you by our Common Consent. And we humbly crave that all these Points may be taken into serious Consideration, and those of them which we have not yet debated, we are ready to debate and give in our Arguments, whenever we are called to it, to prove them all contrary to the Word of God. And may we be so happy as to have this Proposal granted us, we shall undoubtedly have Unity and Peace.

Ad 2^m, We suppose according to the Laws of distinguishing, you speak in this second Proposal of all things so *inexpedient* as not to be contrary to the Word of God. Otherwise the greatest Sins may be committed by *inexpediences*: As a Physician may murder a Man by giving him *inexpedient* Medicines; and a General may destroy his Army by *inexpedient* ways of Conduct and Defence. And the Pastor may be guilty of the Damnation of his People by Doctrines and Applications *inexpedient* and unsuitable to their state: And a way of worship may be so *inexpedient* as to be sinful and loathsome unto God; such is the Battology or thinking to be heard for affected Repetitions or Bablings; Pharisaical Thanksgivings, that Men are better than indeed they are, with abundance such like: But supposing that you here speak of no such *inexpedient* things, but such as are *not contrary to the Word of God*, We add,

Ad 3^m, We are thankful that in such Matters we may have leave to make any such Proposals as are here mentioned: but we shall not be forward to busie ourselves, and trouble others about such little things, without a Special Call: If the Convocation at any time desire an account of our Thoughts about such Matters, we shall readily produce them.

And for [acquiescing in their Judgments in such Matters] what we Three do in that point, is but of small consequence: And for others, seeing the Ministers that we speak for, were many Hundreds of them displaced or removed before the advice of the Convocation, and others denied their Votes, because not Ordained by Diocesans, and others not approving the Constitution of our Convocations durst not meddle in the choice: We cannot tell how far they will think themselves obliged by the Determination of this Convocation. But this can be no matter of impediment to your Satisfaction or ours: For we are commonly agreed that we are bound in Conscience to obey the King and all his Magistrates in all lawful things; and with Christian patience to suffer what he inflicteth on us for not obeying in things unlawful: And therefore while we acquiesce thus far in the Judgment of those who must make the Decrees of the Convocation to be civilly obligatory, and the King intendeth to take their Advice before he determine of such Matters; It is all one as to the end, as if we directly did thus far acquiesce in the Judgment of the Convocation, if the King approve it: But if the King and Parliament dissent or disallow the Convocation's Judgment (as it is possible they may have cause to do) would you have us acquiesce in it, when King and Parliament do not?

And for the last part of the Proposal, by God's Assistance, (if you do not silence or disable us) we are resolved faithfully to teach the People, that the *Division* of the Church is worse than *inexpedient*; and the Peace of it not to be disturbed for the avoiding of any such *inexpediences* as are not contrary to the Word of God:

We

We conclude with the Repetition of our more earnest Request, That these wise and moderate Proposals may be prosecuted, and all things be abated us which we have proved, or shall prove to be contrary to the Word of God. But if we agree not on those things among our selves according to his Majesty's Commission, the World may know we did our parts.

When the Liberty of using the Alterations and Additional Forms which were offered to you according to his Majesty's Declaration, would end all our Differences about Matters of Worship: And when you have had them in your hands so long, since you called for them, and have not, notwithstanding the Importunity of our Requests, vouchsafed us any Debates upon them, or Exceptions against them, but are pleased to lay them by in silence; We once more propose to you, Whether the granting of what you *cannot blame*, be not now the shortest and the surest way to a general Satisfaction.

Note here, That I offered to my Brethren two more Particulars as contrary to the Word of God: which were,

1. That none may have leave in Publick Worship to use a more suitable orderly way; but all are confined to *this* Liturgy, which is so defective and disorderly (which we are even now ready to manifest if you will receive it.)

2. That none may be a Minister of the Gospel that dare not subject himself by an Oath of Obedience, to the Diocesans in that State of Government which they exercised in this Land, (contrary to the practice of all Antiquity).

These Ten Things I offered as contrary to the Word of God, but the two Brethren with me thought these two last were better left out, lest they occasion new Debates, though they judged them true.

§ 208. When I read and delivered these Papers, the Bishops were much displeased, that I should charge so many things on the Church as *Sins*: Where you may note the marvellous ositancy of these men, that when they had treated with us so long, and received so many large Exceptions and Replys, and in all had heard us open the sinfulness of their way, they should yet imagine that we had accused their way but of inexpediency, and think to gratifie themselves by such a poor device. But their main design was to divide us, while they set us upon distinguishing all their *sins* from their *inexpediences*; and they thought that one would take that for *inexpedient* only, which others took to be *sin*. And they considered not that we were now treating what should be *imposed*, and not what should be obeyed if it were imposed: and that we would charge Sin upon their *Impositions*, in many points which might lawfully be done when *Imposed*, rather than to forsake the Churches. And if I did the Church any Service in all these Debates, it was principally by frustrating their evil design, of dividing us; so that all the Snares that ever they could lay for us, never procured them just advantage, once truly to say, that we disagreed among our selves. For though there were enow at a distance, who could not have agreed to all that we did, yet we so far left them out (though to the displeasure both of the Prelatists and them, that no discord was found in any of our Proposals or Debates): which cut some of them more to the heart, than all that else we did to their displeasure.

§ 209. By this time, our frequent crossing of their Expectations, I saw had made some of the Bishops angry: above all Bishop Morley, who over-ruled the whole business, and did interest himself in it deeper than the rest, and was of a hotter Spirit and a readier Tongue. But that which displeased them most was the freedom of my Speeches to them, that is, that I spake to them as on terms of Equality as to the Cause; yet with all honourable Titles to their Persons: For I perceived that they had that eminency of Power and Interest, that the greatest Lords were glad of their favour, did expect that the presence of so many of them should have awed us into such a silence, or cowardliness, as should have betrayed our Cause; or at least that their Vehemency, and Passions, and Interruptions should have put us out of Countenance: But I intreated them to give us leave, with the due honour of their Persons, to use that necessary liberty of Speech to them, as beseemed such as are very confident that they plead for the Cause of God, and the happiness and healing of a bleeding Church, and that upon the warrant of the King's Commission: And I must say, that though they frowned at my freedom of Speech, they never once accused me of any unmannerly or unreverent Language.

§ 210. When we were going to our Disputation, Dr. *Pierce* asked whether he that was none of the three deputed by them to that Service, might joyn with the rest: And we told that we cared not how many joyned; the more the better: for if any one of them could see any Evidence of Truth which the rest did overlook, it would redound to our Benefit, who desired nothing but the Victory of Truth.

§ 211. And before he began with them, he would fain have had one bout with me himself: Whereas I moved them to some Christian Charity to all those Conscientious Christians, that were to be put away from the Communion of the Church, if they did but scruple the lawfulness of kneeling in the reception of the Sacrament (though I still profest to them that I held it not unlawful my self, when the Sacrament could not be otherwise had) Dr. *Pierce* offered himself to a Disputation, to prove that (let them be never so many) *it is an Act of Mercy to them to put them all from the Communion of the Church*: I easily perceived what advantage his Confidence and Passion gave me, and I intreated him to try his skill, but his Brethren would not give him leave: I earnestly entreated them to give him leave but to try one Argument, but I could not prevail with them; being wiser than to suffer his Passion to expose their Cause to Laughter and Contempt: But yet he could not forbear to cast out his *medium*, and tell us how he would have argued; *viz.* That they that receive the Sacrament, being in judgment against kneeling in the Act of Receiving, do receive it Schismatically, and so to their own Damnation: Ergo it is an Act of Charity to keep them from the Communion of the Church. Where note, That our Dispute was only whether the *Legislators* should by Laws or Canons keep them away, and not whether a *Pastor*, supposing such Laws existent, should keep them away: And therefore by making it *damnable Schism* antecedently to our Laws, he must needs mean that some Foreign Laws (of General Councils) do prove it Schism, or else the Custom of the Universal Church. And as to the first, I did at large there prove that the Twentieth Canon of the Council at Nice, and the *Concil. Trull.* and the most ancient Writers, do unanimously decree against kneeling, and make it universally unlawful (and that by Apostolical Tradition) [*to adore kneeling*] on any Lord's Day in the Year, and on any other Day between *Easter* and *Whitsunday*; and that no General Council hath reversed this, till meer Disuse and contrary Custom did it. And for *Custom*, the Protestant Churches concur not in that Custom, nor are they Schismatics for differing from the Papists and others that do so; nor is it better for them all to be without any Church Communion, than not to kneel in the Act of Receiving: Nor do the Papists themselves make every Man a Schismatick that followeth not the Custom of their Church in every particular Gesture, unless he separate from their Church itself; much less do they pronounce Damnation on all such. But if it were the Law of our own Land or Church which he thought made it Schism, then he might as well have so argued for *sitting or standing*, and against *kneeling*, *viz.* [*That it is Charity to make a Law to keep all from Church-Communion that will kneel, because when such a Law is made, it is damnable Schism to kneel*]. But the very truth is, I perceived so little Compassion to Souls in the zealous and swaying Managers of these Controversies, and so little regard of the Scruples and Tenderneſs of Godly People who were afraid of Sinning, as that I scarce thought among Protestants there had been any such. Whether they would have abated one Ceremony if they had had an hundred more, to keep all the Dissenters in three Nations from being cast out of the Ministry and Church, I know not; but of those they have they would not abate one: which made me oft think, that their *Spirits* are much more like the Papists than their Formal Worship and Discipline is; so much do they agree in destroying Men for their Opinions and Ceremonies sake: and in Building the Tombs of the *Prophets*, and over-honouring the *dead Saints*, while they go on to hate and destroy the *living*. And it made me oft remember Bishop *Hall's* Character of an Hypocrite [*who boweth at the Name of Jesus, and sweareth by the Name of God, and would set all the World on fire for a Circumstance*]. And it made me remember what that learned godly Minister Mr. *Spinage* hath oft told me, and many others, and is still ready to justify upon Oath, that being heretofore familiar with this Mr. *Thomas Pierce*, and saying once to him; [*These Men that you so abhor, are very godly Men, and have much Communion with God*], he brake out into this Answer, [*A pou on this Communion with God*]. And it made me think of *Augustine's* Description of the sottish Worldlings, [*that had far rather there were one Star fewer in Heaven, than one Cow or one Tree the fewer in their Grounds*]: So had these Men rather One thousand eight hundred godly faithful Ministers were silenced at once, and a Hundred thousand godly Christians kept out of the Churches Communion and persecuted, than one Ceremony should be cast out of the Church,

Church, or left indifferent, or one Line reformed in their Common-Prayers.

§ 212. But when Dr. *Pierce* could not have leave to take up his Dispute, he sat upon me with kind Persuasions; and Bishop *Morley* (and he) first to'd me, that it was strange I should make such a stir for other Mens Liberty to forbear kneeling in the act of Receiving, when I profest my self to take it to be lawful: I told them that they might perceive then, that I argued not from *Interest* and *Opinion*; but from *Charity*, and for *Love* and *Peace*. They told me that it was we that had filled the Peoples Heads with these Scruples, and then when we should dispossess them of them, we pleaded for their Liberty: If I would but teach the People better, they would quickly be brought to Obedience, and would need no Liberty. I told the Bishop, that he was much mistaken, both in saying that we put these Scruples into their Heads, and in thinking that my Power with them was so great, as that I alone could preach them out. He reply'd with great Confidence, that if I would but endeavour in good earnest to satisfy them, they would quickly be satisfied. I told him that he had both before the King, and here, declared that no Man had written better about the Ceremonies than I had; and had produced my Book: and therefore I thought he confuted himself: For I wrote that Book before the King came in, even in the heat of the Nations Zeal against Ceremonies; and how then is it like, that I put those Scruples into their Heads when I wrote against them? And I thought Writing was the publickest manner of Teaching, where I spake to many thousands who could never hear my Voice: How then could he say that I wrote so well, and yet did not teach the People what I wrote? But I told him that he must pardon me, that in the Pulpit I found greater matters to do than to preach for Ceremonies, and could never think that such kind of preaching tended most to the saving of Mens Souls. And I many times told him and the rest, that I perceived that it was like to be a great Wrong to us, and a greater to themselves and the Kingdom, that they mistakingly imagined our Power to be greater with the People than it is, and that they think we could reduce them at our Pleasure to Conformity, when it is no such matter; and that they imagin that the Godly People who dissent from them, do pin their Religion so absolutely on our Sleeves, and take up all their Opinions on trust from us: Whereas I assured him, that he will find by Experience that so many of them know why they hold what they hold, and do it so purely for Conscience sake, that if all we should turn and set against them, there would so many thousands continue in their Opinions, as I would not be a Persecutor of, or excommunicate for more than ever their Lordships will get by it. But the Bishop exprest more confidence still, that I could reclaim them my self if I were but willing, and that they only followed the Opinions of their Teachers. I intreated him again to tell me, why then they did not follow my Opinion which he himself saith I have published in Print. Hereupon Dr. *Pierce* would needs lovingly desire that *he and I might* but go about the Country and preach People to Conformity, and he did not doubt but they would quickly be reduced. I told him that for his part, I knew not how powerful his preaching might be, but I could expect no such Success of mine; and I marvelled why he had not recovered all the Country before this Day, having had so many Years time to have gone about and preacht them to Conformity, if he would have used it. He answered, That he had recovered all his own Parish. I told him, That if he had done so by all others, there would have been no need of all this Trouble: But I often told the Bishop and him, that they knew that though I took not *knelling* to be unlawful, yet I took their Subscriptions and Oath of canonical Obedience, and other things to be unlawful; and I perceived that they intended no Abatements, and consequently that they intend the silencing of me, and all that are of my Mind (for all their Commendation of my Writing on that Subject): And I ask't them then, how I can go about to preach for them, when they have first silenced me? Or if they would be so favourable to forbear me till I had done preaching for their Ceremonies, it was but an odd kind of motion for them to make [*come preach for our Ceremonies so long, and then you shall never preach more;*] and an odd Employment for me to undertake, to go about to persuade People to obey them in a Ceremony or two, that are intended when that is done, to forbid me and others to preach the Gospel, and the People to enjoy their Peace upon other Accounts; and no doubt to call us Schismatics when they do it. This Speech they were offended at, and said, that I sought to make them odious, by representing them as cruel, and Persecutors, as if they intended to silence and cast out so many. And it was one of the greatest matters of Offence against me, that I foreknew and foretold them what they were about to do. They said, that this was but to stir up the Fears of the People, and cause them to

disaffect the Government, by talking of silencing us, and casting out the People from Communion. I told them that either they do intend such a Course or not: If they do, why should they think us criminal for knowing it? If not, what need had we of all these Disputes with them? which were only to persuade them not to cast out the Ministers and the People on these Accounts. And it was but a few Weeks after this that Bishop Morley himself did silence me, forbidding me to preach in his Diocese, who now took it so heinously that I did foretell it: Yet, because the Hearers knew not what would be, their Party justified them, and concurred in censuring me as uncharitable for speaking so hardly of them, and this maketh me remember that thus I have formerly been blamed by all, whose Miscarriages I foretold: When I told many both of the Parliament and Country, what the Army did intend to do against them (and many others more particularly foretold it); the Army was angry with (them and) me, and accused us of making them odious by our Slanders (and cast out many Members of the Parliament on that Pretence); and yet within a few Weeks they did the very things that we foretold: So unanimous are all Men that have ill Designs, in going the same way to their Accomplishment; and so dangerous is it to foreknow what cruel Men are about to do.

§ 213. You have had the Substance of our wandering Discourses; you are next to have our as unprofitable Disputes: In which all was to be managed in Writing *ex tempore*, by Dr. Pierson, Dr. Gunning, and Dr. Sparrow, with Dr. Pierce on one side; and Dr. Bates, Dr. Jacomb, and my self on the other side; we withdrawing into the next Room, and leaving the Bishops and them together, while we wrote our part: And we began with the Imposition of *Kneeling*, upon two Accounts, (though I took the Gesture it self as lawful) 1. Because I knew I had the fullest Evidence, and the greatest Authority of Antiquity or Church-Law and Custom against them. 2. Because the Penalty is so immediate and great (to put all that kneel not, from the Communion): And it was only the *Penalty*, and so the *Imposition* on that Penalty, which we disputed against.

Our Arguments.

§ 214. Oppon. Arg. 1. *To enjoin all Ministers to deny the Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament on the Lord's days is sinful.*

But the Common-Prayer-Book and Canons enjoin all Ministers to deny the Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament on the Lord's Days.

Ergo the Common-Prayer-Book and Canons, do (or contain) that which is sinful.

‘Resp. Not granting nor denying the Major, in the first place prove the ‘Minor.

Their Answer.

Oppon. We prove both: 1. Prob. Major. *To enjoin Ministers to deny the Communion to Men, because they dare not go against the Practice of the Apostles, and the universal Church for many hundred Years after them, and the Canons of the most venerable Councils is sinful.*

But to enjoin Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament on the Lord's Days, is to enjoin them to deny Communion to them, because they dare not go against the Practice of the Apostles, and the universal Church for many hundred Years after them, and the Canons of the most venerable Councils.

Ergo, To enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament on the Lord's Day is sinful.

Prob. Minor. *The Words of the Common-Prayer-Book and Canons prove it.*

‘Resp. The Minor (*viz.* as to the Common-Prayer-Book, of which the Proof must proceed) is not yet proved.

‘But the Major (which we had not then spoke to, but now do, clearly denying that Major also of the first Syllogism) you prove by the Syllogism brought; in which we deny the Minor.

§ 215. Here we told them, *That for the Proof of both Propositions denied, the Presence of the Books is necessary, which we desired them to procure us; but they were not fetcht. And first we had a large Debate about the Words of the Common-Prayer, [He shall deliver it them kneeling on their Knees]: Dr. Pierson confessed, that the Canons did reject them that kneel not, from the Communion; but these Words of the Common-Prayer-Book do not: But they only include Kneelers, but exclude not others. We answered them, that either the Common-Prayer-Book doth exclude them that kneel not, or it doth not: If it doth, the Proposition is true: If it do not, then we shall willingly let fall this Argument against it, and proceed to another: Therefore I desired them but to tell us openly their own judgment of the Sense of the Book; for we professed to argue against it only on Supposition of the exclusive Sense.*

‘ *Resp.* We distinguish to that Term [*things Lawful*]: for both Things lawful, and by no lawful Power commanded to be done are called such: And also things lawful, and by a lawful Power also commanded to be done, are called such.

‘ If you take *things lawful* in the former Sense, we deny your Major. If you take *things lawful* in the later Sense, we deny your Minor.

Oppon. In Rom. 14. 1, 2, 3. and 15. 1. The Apostle by the Holy Ghost speaking of things lawful and not commanded, yet being himself a Church-Governor, commandeth them not, but requireth even Church-Governors as well as others to receive the Dissenters and forbear them, and not to make these the matter of Censure or Contempt. Ergo, the Minor (or Consequence) is good.

‘ *Resp.* we answer four things: 1. We deny the Consequence of the *Entby-meme*.

‘ 2. Our Discourse proceeding wholly about things lawful and commanded by a lawful Power, they profess to proceed only upon things lawful and not commanded by a lawful Power (in which Sense only of things lawful, and not commanded also, we denied your Major): For they that prove the Major, which was not denied by us but in such a Sense, profess to proceed in that Sense.

‘ 3. Rom. 14. 1, 2, 3. speaks of things lawful and not commanded by your Acknowledgment: And we all along have professed to debate about things lawful and also commanded. So that the Text brought by you, is manifestly not to the purpose of this debate.

‘ 4. To receive them in Rom. 14. is not forthwith to be understood of immediately receiving to the holy Communion: And for this Reason again that Text makes nothing to prove for their receiving to the holy Communion.

§ 221. When this Answer was given in, it was almost Night, and the Company brake up: And because I perceived that it was hard (especially among such Disturbances) to reduce all in a moral Subject (that must have many Words) to an exact Syllogistical Form to the last, without Confusion; and that the only Advantage they could hope for was to trifle pedantically about the Form of Arguments, I resolved to imitate them in their last Answer, and to take the Liberty of more (explicatory) Words.

§ 222. The next day I brought in our Reply to their Answer at large, as here followeth.

Oppon. The Syllogisms necessarily growing so long, as that the Parts denied cannot be put verbatim into the Conclusions, without offence to those that are loath to read that which is pedantick and obscure, we must contract the Sense, and divide our Proofs.

The Sense of your Answer to the hypothetical Syllogism was, That if we speak of things lawful and not commanded, then you deny [that those that we must deny Communion to are such as the Holy Ghost commandeth us to receive, though those were such that are described in the Antecedent]. But if we mean such lawful things as are commanded by lawful Power, then you [deny that these are such as the Holy Ghost requireth us to receive.

To take away this Answer——If your Distinction be frivolous or fallacious, as applied by you in your Answer, and one Branch of it, but a begging of the Question, Then your Answer is vain, and our Argument standeth good. But the Antecedent is true: Ergo, so is the Consequence.

1. It is frivolous and obscure, and rather making than removing ambiguity, and ergo useless. 1. It is obscure: For we know not whether you mean [commanded simply without any Penalty] or [commanded with the enforcement of a Penalty]: [if the latter, whether you mean it of [a Command with such a Penalty as we speak against] or [some other Penalty]. And whether you mean [commanded by such as have a Lawful Power ad hoc] or [only ad aliud.] Your distinction must necessarily be distinguished of before it can be pertinent, and applied to our Case: Ergo, it is frivolous through obscurity.

If you speak of a Command without Penalty, or with no other Penalty than such as is consistent with [Receiving, not despising, not Judging, and all the indulgence mentioned in the Text.] then your very Distinction granteth us the Cause. But if you speak of [a Command with such Penalty as is inconsistent with the said Receiving and other Indulgences] then this Branch of your Distinction as applied by you *Resp.* 2. is but the begging of the Question, it being such Commanding that we are proving to be forbidden by the Text——If there be no Power that may command such things any farther than may stand with the Reception and other Indulgences of the Text, then must you not suppose that any Power may otherwise command them. But the Antecedent is true: Er-

go so is the consequent.——For the Minor, if Paul and the resident Pastors of the Church of Rome had no Power to command such things, further than may stand with the said Reception and Indulgences, then no others have such Power. But Paul and the Resident Pastors of the Church of Rome had no such Power: Ergo, there are no others that have such. And so your Distinction being frivolous and fallacious, the Argument stands good.

The Sense of our Enthymeme was, that [these things being therefore not commanded, because they ought not to be commanded any farther than may stand with the said Reception and Indulgences in the Text, God having there forbidden Men any otherwise to command them; therefore the Consequence stands good, your Distinction being either impertinent, or granting us the Postulatum, or begging the Question.

And so we have replied to your first Answer.

Ad 2^m. Again if you speak of a simple Command, enforcing no farther than consisteth with the foresaid Reception and Forbearance; 1. You grant the thing in question: Or thus 2. If there be no such Disparity of the Cases as may warrant your Disparity of Penalty against your Brethren, then our Argument still stands good. But there is no such Disparity of the Cases as may warrant your Disparity of Penalty against your Brethren: Ergo——

For the Minor: If those that Paul speaks of that must be received and forbore, did sin against the Command of God, in the weakness of their Faith, and their erroneous refusal of things as sinful that were not so to be refused, then there is no such Disparity in the Cases as, &c. For you suppose those that refuse to kneel, to break the Command of Man, and those that Paul spake of brake the Command of God, and yet were to be received and forbore.

But if you here also speak of [a Command enforced by Penalties inconsistent with the said receiving and Forbearance]; we reply,

If our present Work be to prove that God hath forbidden all such Commands, then our proceeding (in proving it) is regular, and our supposing the things not so commanded (having proved it); and your Discourse wholly proceeding of things so commanded (before you answer our Proof that they ought not to be Commanded) is an irregular Supposition, and begging of the Question——But our, &c. Ergo——&c.

Ad Resp. 3^m. If Rom. 14. 1, 2, 3. and 15. 1. &c. speak of things Lawful and no further commanded than may consist with [receiving and forbearing]; forbidding any other commanding of such things, then the Text is most pertinent to prove that there ought to be no such Commands, and that they are sinful. But the Antecedent is true——Ergo——

Ad Resp. 4^m. [Immediately] was no Term in our Question. But that Rom. 14. 1. speaks of receiving to the Holy Communion we prove: If the Holy Ghost command the receiving of Men to that Church-Communion in whole or in general without Exception, whereof the Communion in the Holy Sacrament is a most eminent part, then he thereby commandeth the receiving them to the Holy Communion in the Sacrament, as a principal Part: But the Antecedent is true: Ergo, so is the Consequent.

The Summ of our Reply is, That when we are proving from Rom. 14, and 15. that God hath forbidden Men to command such things indifferent on pain of Exclusion from Communion; for you now [to distinguish of things commanded by Authority, and things not commanded] and then to say [that if they be not so commanded, then we grant that they should not be so commanded; but if they be so commanded, then God hath not forbidden so to command them] this is to make the Fact of Man antecedent to the Law of God, or the Law to forbid the Fact, in Case no Man will do it, but not to forbid it if it be done: As if you had said [God forbid David to commit Adultery in case it be not committed by him, but not in case it be committed.

§ 223. When this Reply was read, Dr. Gunning spake a few Words against the length of it; and desired a Copy of it, that he might take it home with him, to bring in an Answer the next Day. In the mean time I urged Dr. Pierston to perform his Promise, in taking the Opponents part, and making good their Impositions; and so at last they came to it. Their Disputations, to avoid the Readers Confusion, shall come last after our next Reply.

§ 224. The next day Dr. Gunning brought in a large Discourse, in answer to our last Reply. His Answer it self was full of insulting Words, especially because I used the Words [begging the Question] (though sufficiently explained) as applied to them that were Respondents. I told them that I confessed it was not an usual Speech, but I thought it not unfit; and that when the Respondent will needs have the thing questioned

questioned to be put into the *Subject* as past dispute, which should be in the *Predicate*, and so would forestall the Opponents proof, it is not unfittly called a *begging of the question*: But for this I was indifferent: They should have it other Terms if they pleased, it being a Matter that our Cause is not concerned in. I took Dr. Gunning's Paper home, and brought them an Answer the next day we met; and though I took not a Copy of his Paper, for want of time (and he would not lend it me after) yet you may see the Sum and Sence of all his Answer in the following Reply, (which, as the former, my Brethren read over and approved of).

The R E P L Y to the Bishop's Disputants, which was not answered.

Whether it be our Arguing or your Answering that is *laxe*, *declamatory*, *pedantick* (as you call it), and whether your confident insulting arise from your advantages or infirmity of Mind, and want of Matter for more pertinent Answers, are Questions that we shall leave to impartial Judges: And we shall crave pardon if we rather seem to neglect your words, than to follow you in these strange vagaries any further than meer Necessity for saving your Readers from the Errour into which they are fitted to mislead them doth require.

To prove the Consequence of an Hypothetical Argument, by an Enthymeme, hath not been used to be accounted culpable. The Proof you shall not want.

That we removed your Answer by shewing your Distinction frivolous, deserved not to be called, *A popular Insinuation*, *Superfluous*, &c. We had two things here to do: The first was, if we had been at hand with you, to have called on you for the necessary Explanation of your Distinction, Whether by [*commanded by lawful Power*] you mean [*commanded under no penalty*] or [*commanded under a penalty, consistent with the Receiving and Forbearing mentioned in the Text*] or [*commanding under a penalty inconsistent with this Receiving and Forbearance*]. And whether you mean by [*Lawful Power*] that which is indeed [*Lawful Power ad hoc*] or only [*ad aliud*]? As far as we can find in these your Papers, you still forbear to explain your Distinction. But this we must yet insist upon, and desire of you, notwithstanding all your Exclamations.

And then our next work must be to shew you, that indeed your Distinction is useless as to the shaking of our Argument. The latter branch of your Distinction [*if we speak of things lawful and commanded*] you apply to the denial of our Antecedent, or Minor, which we prove stands good, notwithstanding this your Answer. Indeed we speak of [*things lawful as such*] abstracting from command: But we speak of things which materially were partly *not commanded*, and partly *commanded*: It was *not commanded* to eat or not eat the Meats in question, to keep the Days or not keep them: In these they went against no Law: But to be *weak in the Faith*, and erroneously to take things *lawful* to be *unlawful*, and things *indifferent* to be *necessary*, and to offend a Brother by the use of Liberty on the other side, were against the Commands of God. Now the Scope of our Argument was to shew, that if you speak of [*a command upon the penalty of the question*] your Distinction helps you not to shake our Argument, because as it is true that the Text speaketh not of things so commanded, so the thing that we are proving is, that it is the sence of the Text to forbid all such commands. If it be the sence of the Text to forbid such commands, then your Distinction is frivolous, and the use of it here prevented, and our Argument stands good: But it is the sence of the Text to forbid all such commands: Ergo—The Minor we are to prove hereafter, when we are further called to it by your Answers. But if by [*command*] you mean any other command without penalty, or without the penalty forbidden, we argue, If it be all one as to our Case, whether it be so commanded or not, then your Distinction is frivolous, and our Argument stands good: But it is all one to our Case, whether it be so commanded or not: Ergo—This was the Sum of our Rejection of your Answer, which we cannot prosecute till you will be perswaded, as we have required, to explain your Distinction; and then we shall know what to speak to.

But perhaps you take your very Refusal to explain it, to be an Explanation; and your words may seem to allow us to understand you of any command *with this penalty or without*, where you say [*That Text which speaks of things under no command at all is brought nothing to the purpose, of the things which we debate of; being under some command of lawful Authority.*] But still, that Text which forbiddeth any such command, and so taketh away the Authority of so commanding, is something to the purpose, as proving that no Humane Authority should so command: But this Text *forbiddeth any such command*, and so taketh away the Authority of so commanding—*Ergo*—And as it is a command consistent with [*Receiving, Forbearing, &c.*] that you may be understood to speak of, 1. If you speak *de facto* & *de jure*, and suppose that there be and ought to be no other command, then you grant us the Cause, that there should be no command, upon penalty of being [*Not-received, Not-forborn, &c.*] 2. If your Supposition be *de facto* only, then That commanding which consisteth with God's command [*to Receive and Forbear, &c.*] altereth not the Case: But such is the commanding that now you are supposed to speak of—*Ergo*—So still your distinguishing toucheth not our Argument: no more than if you had distinguished of the *Instructed* and *Uninstructed*, and said *Paul* speaketh of those that were uninstructed only, *Ergo* he is not alledged to the purpose.

Whereas you say [*That this penalty, that the Minister be enjoined not to administer the Communion to those that disobey such command, is no ways inconsistent with the Receiving, and all the Indulgences of that Truth*] We shall prove the contrary anon in due place.

For appellation to indifferent persons, we also are willing such shall judge, whether if your Distinction speak of *no commanding* but such as is consistent with this [*Receiving, Forbearing, &c.*] it leave us not in possession of the force of our Argument? and if it speak *de jure*, that there should be no other, whether it yield not up the Cause?

It seems our very phrase of *begging the Question* being misunderstood by you, hath been taken as your greatest occasion of insulting: But if we used an unusual Phrase, if that occasioned your mistake, we can beg your pardon, and explain it, with less wrong to our Cause or our selves, than you can make such use of it, as to yours. We did not dream of charging you with that begging of the Question which is the fallacy and fault of the Opponent, as it is the begging of a Principle undertaken to be proved: we know this is not incident to the Respondent, nor to be imputed to him: we charged you with no such thing: though we confess our Phrase was liable to your misinterpretation: But we crave your willingness to understand, that we were proving that *such things may not be by Rulers enjoined or commanded under the penalty of Exclusion from Communion!* and that the latter Branch of your Distinction hath the nature of a Reason of your denial of the Proposition denied, *viz.* *because the things are commanded*; and that by our telling you of *begging the Question*, we mean but this much; 1. That you give us a Reason implied in a Distinction, which is but equal to a simple Negation, and is not (we say not the giving a sufficient Reason, but) the giving of a Reason indeed at all. 2. That it is but equal to an unfavoury Denial of the meer Conclusion. 3. Yea, that it is a preposterous Reduction of the Rule to the Action; and of the former to the latter. Suppose we had thus phrased our Proposition.

Rulers themselves are here forbidden to enjoin or command the rejecting of such as are only weak in the Faith, &c.] And you should distinguish and say [*Either Rulers have commanded the rejecting them for such things, or not: If they have, then we deny the Proposition*] that is, [*if they have done it, they may do it, and the Text that forbids it is to be understood of such Rulers as have not already forbidden it*]; Tell us how you will call such distinguishing your selves, and you may understand our meaning. It is all one if you put your Exception into the description of the Fault: and when we say [*God here forbiddeth Governours themselves to make any Commands or Injunctions for rejecting such as are only weak in the Faith, and mistake about indifferent things*]; and you distinguish thus, [*either the weak offend against such Commands, or not: If they do sin against such Commands, then the Text forbiddeth not the making of such Commands*] Give this kind of distinguishing and answering a proper Name your selves. Or if to our Proposition you say, [*The indifferent things are commanded by the Governours, or not: If they be, then God forbiddeth not the Governour to command the rejection of the persons from Communion*] that is, [*Though God forbid Governours to make Laws for rejecting such as err about indifferent things only; yet that is on supposition that the said Governours do not first command those indifferent things: for if once they command them, they may then command the rejection of those that break them*]. But on the contrary, He that forbiddeth the rejection of such simply and antecedently to the Laws of Men, for

forbiddeth the rejecting of them mediately or immediately, and forbiddeth the framing of such Commands as shall be means of the prohibited Rejection: But God in the Text forbiddeth the Rejection of such, simply and antecedently to the Laws of Men: *Ergo* he forbiddeth the Rejecting of them mediately or immediately, and forbiddeth the framing of such Commands as shall be means of the prohibited Rejection.

Though we have thus taken off your Answer, we shall give you fuller proof in the end of what you can reasonably expect.

You next Answer this Argument of ours [*If there be no power that may command such things any further then may stand with the Reception and other Indulgences of the Text, then must you not suppose that any Power may otherwise command them: But the Antecedent is true: Ergo—*] Here you deny the Minor; which I prove thus.

If none have power to break the Laws of God, then there is no Power that may command such things any further than may stand with the Reception and other Indulgences of the Text: But none have power to break the Laws of God: *Ergo* there is no power that may command such things any further than may stand with the Reception and other Indulgences of the Text.

We had used before another Argument to prove the Minor thus, [*If Paul and the resident Pastors of the Church of Rome had no power to command such things further than may stand with the said Reception and Indulgence, then no others have such power: But Paul and the resident Pastors of the Church of Rome had no such power—Ergo there are no others that have such*]. Here you deny the Assumption. Which is proved by the foregoing Medium. If Paul and the resident Pastors of the Church of Rome had no power to cross the Will of God, then they had no power to command such things further than may stand with the said Reception and Indulgence: But Paul and the resident Pastors of the Church of Rome had no power to cross the Will of God: *Ergo—*

You vainly call the Explication of our Enthymeme in plainer words [*the proving of its obscure Consequence by the more obscure Consequence of another*] and hereupon insult: but we shall take leave to leave you to your humour in such things. If it offend you, blot out the Enthymeme, seeing you have Reply enough without it: Or if you will be still tempted to insult till you are delivered from the Enthymeme, you have our sence in this Argument.

If the things spoken of by the Apostle were not only not commanded, but forbidden to be commanded any further than may stand with the Reception and Indulgence of the Text, then there is no such disparity in the Cases as may shake our Consequence, though with us such things are commanded: But the Antecedent is true; *Ergo* so is the Consequent.

To your second Answer, we first again endeavoured to bring you to explain your Distinction, what Commanding you mean: but have no Return to that but Silence; which we take to be tergiversation.

Then we argued thus, [*If there be no such disparity of the Cases as may warrant your disparity of penalty against your Brethren, then our Argument still stands good: but there is no such disparity of the Cases as may warrant your disparity of penalty against your Brethren: Ergo—*

You deny the Minor: which we proved thus—If those that Paul speaks of that must be received and forborn did sin against the command of God, in the weakness of their Faith and their Erroneous refusing of things as sinful that were not to be so refused, then there is no such disparity in the Cases as, &c. But, &c. *Ergo—*

Here you deny the Consequence; which we prove thus: If the Sin of those that dare not kneel be no greater than theirs that were weak in the Faith, and refused Things lawful as unlawful, and took Things indifferent as necessary, and hereby gratified the Jews and other Enemies of the Church, and trespassed on the Churches Liberties purchased by Christ, and yet became the Censurers of the strong; and if the Scruple of Kneeling have as fair Excuses as the other, then the Consequence is good, and there is no such disparity in the Cases as may warrant your penalty: But the Antecedent is true; *Ergo* so is the Consequent.

We shall prosecute the Comparison further anon.

We added here this Reason in brief. [*For you suppose those that refuse to kneel to break the command of Man, and those that Paul spoke of broke the command of God, and yet were to be received and forborn*] *Ergo* there is no such disparity as may warrant your penalty. Here you add to our words [*the command of Man*] the word [*only*], and say, that else we do but trifle. We reply; that by adding your own words, and then perswading us to own them lest we trifle, you do worse than trifle, and

your

your gross injustice hath no fair pretence, being against the Light of our Conclusion and Undertaking; we were but to prove that there was no such disparity, i. e. that the fault of those that kneel not, was not greater, and so much greater as might warrant your penalty: Therefore as you will acknowledge kneeling at the Sacrament to be immediately but the command of Man, and *weakness of Faith, Errour, Censuring, &c.* to be immediately against a command of God, (which yet we spoke of but for just denomination, and not to prove a disparity to our advantage), so if we prove no disparity against us, we do what we undertake: And that a Sin against the command of God immediately, is as well worthy of Punishment as a Sin against the command of Man immediately *ceteris paribus* is true, and all that we affirmed, and all that we were bound to prove.

Yet you importune us to answer you a Question, [*Whether is not the Erroneous refusing of lawful things commanded by lawful Authority, as sinful, the refusing of things as sinful that were not to be so refused?*] We Answer you, 1. But with them and you it is the Thing in Controversie, Whether they are lawful Things, or not? 2. If they be, What then? Why you say, [*If so, then even according to your own reasoning, if you reason at all, these Refusers to kneel sin against God, and the Rule your selves lay down thereof, as well as those Rom. 14.*] And what then? Is there therefore a Disparity because they do alike? Are such as these the occasions of your insulting? We shall then suspect you have some gross Mistake, whenever we find you thus insulting. But you say [*That Ergo we did fallaciously insinuate the one to break the Command of God, and the other to break the Command of Men*]. But really, is it not so? If you allow not the Distinction *inter Leges Divinas & Humanas*, you know how singular you are, and what Consequences will follow: If you do, why may we not use such Denominations? But you say of the sinfulness [*It is most evidently common to the former with the latter.*] 1. If the Controversie be yielded you it is so. 2. And what then? because it is common, Ergo there is such a Disparity as may warrant your grievous penalty. We only prove no such Disparity, and we are notably confuted, by your proof that the Sinfulness is common, that is, by yielding what we prove.

Next in many words you tell us of a Disparity. 1. *Because in our Case kneeling is commanded.* 2. *Because the things are antecedently helps to piety.* To which we have before answered: 1. God hath forbidden all Commands of such things, inconsistent with the Reception and Forbearance in question. 2. Their Sin of Weakness in Faith, and Errour, were also against Commands. 3. We shall shew greater Reasons of Desparity on the other side. 4. The thing in question (Kneeling) hath nothing antecedent to the Command to make the refusal of it sinful, no nor meet than other Gestures. Of which after.

To your third Answer we replied, [*If Rom. 14. & 15. speak of things lawful, and no further commanded than may consist with [Receiving and Forbearing], forbidding any other commanding of such things, then the Text is most pertinent to prove that there ought to be no such Commands, and that they are sinful*]. But the Antecedent is true: Ergo—

Here you tell us of manifest fallacy, of advantageous Equivocation, or else a gross Ignoratio Elenchi in the Conclusion; words easie to be uttered by you. But if you will [*profess all along, as you say, to proceed or debate only of things lawful and commanded by lawful power*] that is, lawfully, when our very Question is, *Whether such things can be so commanded?* and we are proving that they cannot, and you will call it an *ignoratio Elenchi*, if we will not grant you all in question, but will endeavour to prove the contrary to what you would have granted, this is that which we before called even the Respondents begging of the Question, when he accuseth the Opponent for proving what he denieth, and would put that into the Subject as not to be questioned; which is in the Predicate, and we are disproving. 2. And remember that in your first Paper we were not called to dispute the Parity or Disparity of the Offences: Ergo by [*such things*] we mean [*such things*] as are mentioned Rom. 14 & 15. And our Conclusion there goeth no further; that Matter being further to be carried on in its proper place.

To your fourth Answer we replied, That [*immediately*] was no Term in our Question: You say you may distinguish: True; but you cannot bind us to prove that the Men that we prove are to be received to Communion, must be immediately received; when we never affirmed it; as long as you tell us not whether you speak *de immediatione temporis, vel conditionis, vel status*, or what you mean by immediately: In regard of Time, no Man in the Church is immediately to be received to the Sacrament, till the very time come.

2. We Argued, [*If the Holy Ghost command the receiving of Men to that Church Communion in general without exception, whereof the Communion in the Holy Sacrament is a most eminent part, then he thereby commandeth the receiving them to the Communion in the Sacrament. But, &c. Ergo, &c.*] Your Answer signifieth that it is a receiving first to *Instruction*, and not to the *Sacrament*, till some Change be made, you tell us not what, or that it is such a Receiving as may consist with denying them the Communion. We shall now therefore prove in order these two Propositions, which are to be next proved.

1. That the Reception that *Paul* speaketh of, is such as is not consistent with denial of the Sacrament for those faults.

2. That there is no such Disparity between their Faults and those that refuse to kneel at the Sacrament, as may warrant your Disparity of Penalty or Usage.

The first we shall prove, 1. From the Text before us; 2. By other Scriptures; 3. By Testimony of Expositors, especially those of your own way in other Things.

I. So to receive one another as Christ received us to the Glory of God the Father, and this not to doubtful Disputation, (or not to judge their doubtful Thoughts) and not to despise or judge one another, but to take each other for such as do what we do to the Lord, and let every Man be fully perswaded in his own Mind; and so as to distinguish the Points that we differ about from those in which God's Kingdom doth consist, in which whosoever serveth Christ is acceptable to God, and should be approved of Men; and so as to follow the things that edifie and make for Peace, and not lay a stumbling block or occasion of falling in our Brother's way, or destroy him by the uncharitable use of our Liberty, knowing it is Sin to him that esteemeth it Sin; but to forbear our selves to use those things in Controversie whereby our Brother stumbleth or is offended, because he is damned if he use them doubtingly; and therefore to have the belief of their lawfulness to our selves before God, and to bear with the Infirmities of the Weak, and please them to their Edification, and not to please our selves, that so being like-minded one towards another, that with one mind and one mouth we may glorifie God: We say, Thus to receive is not consistent with the denial of Communion in the Sacrament for those Faults. But such was the Receiving required by the Apostle *Rom. 14. & 15.* — Ergo —

He that can seriously ponder all these Expressions, and the Scope of the Holy Ghost, and yet can believe that all this Receiving is but such as consisteth with forbidding them Communion in the Lord's Supper, which then was so great a part of the daily Communion of the Church, and also may consist with the further Process against People and Ministers to Excommunication, and Prohibition to preach the Gospel, which is now pleaded for in our Case, is of so strange a temperature of Understanding, as that we can have little hope by any Scripture-Evidence to convince him.

2. When the Holy Ghost requireth Men in general to receive others as Church-Members into Church-Communion, with the Affection and Tenderneſs here expressed, and doth not except any ordinary part of Church-Communion, it is not lawful for us to interpret it of such a Receiving as excludeth the principal part of ordinary Church-Communion.

But in *Rom. 14. & 15.* the Holy Ghost requireth Men in general to receive others as Church-Members into Church-Communion with the Affection and Tenderneſs here expressed, and doth not except any ordinary part of Church-Communion.

Ergo it is not lawful for us to interpret it of such a Receiving as excludeth the principal part of Ordinary Communion.

The Reason of the Major is, Because as the whole containeth all the parts, so when the whole or general is commanded, if Men may take liberty to except the very principal part where the Law doth not except it, then no Commands can be intelligible, or such Interpreters may have liberty to make void the law at their own pleasure. As when it is said [*Honour the King*] and *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers*] and [*not resist*] &c. if Men may take liberty by interpreting, to except the very principal part of Honour, and the principal persons from Subjection, and the principal Case from [*Resist not*], it will be no just interpretation. If these same Persons had a Command in general, to [*worship God*] or [*hold Communion with the Church*] if they themselves should interpret it so as to exclude worshipping God in the Sacrament of the Eucharist; or holding Communion with the

the Church therein, we doubt not but they would be judged unjust distinguishers.

The Minor is granted us by our Reverend Brethren, who here openly confess that the Text speaketh of Church-Members, and of Receiving them to Church-Communion, though they unwarrantably interpret it of such a Communion as extendeth not to the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

3. If the Text *Rom. 14. & 15.* forbid not one part to put away others from Communion in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, then it forbiddeth not the other Party to separate from their Brethren in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

But the Consequent is false: *Ergo* so is the Antecedent.

The Reason of the Consequence of the Major is, because if it speak not of that part of Communion to one Party, it cannot speak of it to the other, it being plainly the same Communion that it speaketh of to both.

The Minor is ordinarily granted us by the Dissenters, when they apply this Text against Separatists, that upon the Account of Ceremonies and Things indifferent, condemn the Church, and judge their Brethren, and separate from their Communion in the Eucharist.

II. From other Scriptures. If in all the Word of God there be no mention of such a Receiving into Church-Communion, (much less with all these Prohibitions of Judging, Despising, Offending, &c.) as consisteth with Rejecting from Communion in the Eucharist, of any Person naturally capable, then the word Receiving is not to be so expounded here.

But in all the Word of God there is no mention of such a Receiving into Church-Communion (much less with all these Prohibitions, &c.) as consisteth with Rejecting from Communion in the Eucharist, of any Person naturally capable.

Ergo the word Receiving is not to be so expounded here.

The Reason of the Consequence of the Major is, because here is no apparent ground in this Text for us to understand the Receiving spoken of, as different from what is mentioned in all other places of the holy Scripture: And if without any such ground we should allow our selves a singular Interpretation, we should open a way to Men to make what they please of Scripture.

The Minor being to be proved by an Induction of all particular Texts, it will be the briefer way for the Respondent to instance in any one which he thinks hath such a sense, and then we shall be ready to prove the contrary.

III. For the sense of Expositors; We shall begin with the Learned Dr. Hammond; who expoundeth the Text of Church-Communion, and such Communion as cannot consist with Excommunicating from the Sacrament of the Eucharist, or the other heavy Penalties upon Ministers and People which we now plead against, as may be seen in these his plain Expressions. 'V. 1. [And for the preserving of that Christian Charity among all mentioned Solemnly *Ch. 13. 8, 9, 10.* (*vid. loc.*) I shall enlarge to give these Rules. The Jewish Believer——on the other side the Gentile Believers seeing the Jewish stand upon such things——are apt to separate——and so betwixt one and other the Communion is like to be broken. ——The Scrupulous or Erroneous Judaizer——do the Gentiles not reject, but receive to your Communion; Yet not so that he thereby thinks himself encouraged or authorized to quarrel with other Mens Resolutions——and to condemn others——V. 3. The Scrupulous Judaizer must not reject and cast out of his Communion the Gentile Christian——for God hath admitted him into his Church (without laying that yoke upon him) as a Servant into his Family, and he is not to be excluded by the Judaizer for such things as these——V. 4. What Commision hast thou, O Jewish Christian, to judge God's Servant, received and owned by him, to exclude him out of the Church.——God is able to clear him, if he please, and he certainly will, having by receiving him into his Family given him this liberty——V. 5.——In such things every Man must act by his own, and not by another Man's Judgment or Conscience, what he is verily perswaded he ought to do; and therefore Unity and Charity ought not to be broken by you for such things——V. 6, 7. and this sure is well done on both sides. For no Man of us is to do what he himself likes best, but what he thinks is most acceptable to God.——V. 9. And all the Fruit of Christ's Death and Suffering and Resurrection, which accrues to him, is only this, that he may have Power and Dominion over us all, to command or give what liberty he pleaseth. V. 10. But why dost thou Jewish condemn the Gentile Christian, or exclude him from thy Communion, because

‘ he useth his Christian Liberty, &c. Or thou Gentile Christian, why dost thou
 ‘ think it a piece of senseless Stupidity in the Jew to abstain, and thereupon despise
 ‘ and vilifie him, which also is a kind of judging him: Whereas indeed neither of
 ‘ you is to be the Judge of the other, but Christ of you both — *V. 13.* Do not
 ‘ any longer censure and separate from one anothers Communion for such Things
 ‘ as these — *V. 14.* — The perswasion of its being forbidden him is, as long as he is
 ‘ so perswaded, sufficient to make it to him unlawful to use that liberty — see
 ‘ *V. 15, 16.* — *V. 17.* For Christianity consists not in such External Matters — but in —
 ‘ mercifulness, and peaceableness, and delight to do good one to another — Not
 ‘ dividing and hating and excommunicating one another. — *V. 19.* Let us most
 ‘ zealously attend to those things, which may thus preserve Peace among all sorts
 ‘ of Christians, though of different perswasions — *V. 20.* Do not thou for so in-
 ‘ considerable a Matter as Eating is, or because another will not or dares not make
 ‘ use of that Christian Liberty — disturb that Peace, that Unity which God hath
 ‘ wrought — *V. 21.* It is not charitable to make use of any part of Christian Li-
 ‘ berty, when by this so doing any other Man is kept from receiving the Faith —
 ‘ or any way wounded or hurt, *i. e.* brought to any kind of sin — *V. 23.* And
 ‘ indeed for the Scrupulous Jew, there is little reason he should be so ill used for his
 ‘ daring to eat, when he thinks himself otherwise obliged: for it were a damning
 ‘ Sin for which his own Conscience already condemns him, should he eat or do a-
 ‘ ny indifferent thing, as long as he thinks in Conscience that it is not so —
 ‘ *Chap. 15. V. 5, 6, 7.* And that God for whom we ought to suffer, — give you
 ‘ the Grace of Unity and Charity, such as Christ commanded and expects from
 ‘ you, that ye may joyn unanimously Jews and Gentiles into one, and assembling
 ‘ together, Worship and Serve the Lord — in all Unity of Affections and Form
 ‘ of Words. Wherefore in all Humility of Condescension and Kindness, embrace
 ‘ and succour one another, help them up when they are fall’n, instead of despising
 ‘ and driving them from your Communion after the Example of Christ’s usage to-
 ‘ wards Men, who came from Heaven and laid down his Life to relieve us, and
 ‘ there is nothing by which God is more glorified than this. —]

If all this may consist with rejecting from all Communion in the Eucharist, and
 afterwards Excommunicating, Suspending, Silencing, Imprisoning, &c. we
 understand not English.

2. In like manner Grotius in loc. cap. 14. 1. [*Contra vocati à Gentibus, consilii datae
 per Christum libertatis; Judæos Judaice viventes à sua Communionem volebant excludere* 11,
 18, 21. unde secuturum erat Schisma — Huic malo ut occurrat Paulus, mediam in-
 stituit viam, & Judæos qui in Christum crediderant, monet ita suam sequantur opinionem,
 ut à dammandis crimine impietatis qui aliter sentiebant, abstineant: Ex gentibus vere vo-
 catos, ne illorum quamvis Judaice viventium communionem defugiant, & ut imperitos
 spernant —] *ἡμετέρας ἀποδοξάζοντες* Societate Ecclesiæ, sicut qui hospitio aliquem excipiunt,
 dicuntur eum *ἡμετέρας ἀποδοξάζοντες*, Acts 18. 26. & 28. 2. Ecclesia enim Domini comparatur su-
 pra 11. 25. sumitur hæc admonitio ex iis quæ de Christo quæ dicta Matth. 12. 20. —
 2. — Tolerandi sunt ij qui ab omnibus animatis abstinendum putant, quod quidam facie-
 bant Religione quâdam — *Cap. 15. 6, 7.* *ἵνα ὑποδοξαῖεν ἐν ἐνὶ σόμῃ τῇ δοξαζήσῃ τῷ Θεῷ*
 id est, ut cum Deum laudatis, eique preces funditis, faciatis id non tantum eodem verborum
 sono — sed & animo pleno mutue delectionis, sine contemptu, sine odio. Habes hanc vocem
ὑποδοξαῖεν, Act. 11. 46. ubi forma est Ecclesiæ perfectissimæ. Adde adejus vocis explica-
 tionem id quod est Act. 4. 32. (all which includeth Communion in the Eucharist)
 — *V. 7.* Nolite ob res tales, alii alios à fraternitate abscindere —

§ 225. This Paper was given in the very last day of our Commission and Di-
 spute: And Dr. Gunning read another which he had prepared for an Insultation at
 our Dismission, which Paper had some Mistakes in it, and the Citation of many
 Witnesses, who (as he would have perswaded us) took the word [Receiving] Rom.
 14. & 15. as not meaning or including, Receiving to the Holy Communion in the
 Sacrament.

§ 226. In the beginning he affirmed that we had refused to Dispute, till they had
 promised to take their turn, and prove the lawfulness of their Impositions. To
 this I answered, That it was contrary to our open and frequent Profession, that we
 would do our part whether they would do theirs or not: only I said, that if they
 refused it, we should take it for a deserting of their Cause. This he a while denied:

I appealed to the Auditors of his Party; and they gave no Answer: Dr. Bates witnessed it, Dr. *Jacomb* offered his Oath of it. He told them that they were Parties. By this time I saw mine Error, in giving way for their Doctors to crowd in to applaud them and witness for them, when we had none (or next to none) of ours there, supposing by the Agreement three only must have stayed.

§ 227. When Dr. *Gunning* had read his insulting Answer the day before, and made a great matter of my telling the Respondent of [*begging the Question*] they put Dr. *Sanderfon*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, into the Chair, that his Learning and Gravity might put a Reputation upon his Sentence (he being a very worthy Man, but for that great Pievishness, which Injuries, Partiality, Temperance and Age had caused in him): The Bishop in a few angry Words pronounced that Dr. *Gunning* had the better, and that the Respondent could not beg the Question, and that I was a Man of Contention if I offered to Reply.] I told him, that though we revered much his Lordship's Age and Learning, yet he was but a Party, and no Judge: which yet if he were, it was so strange to us that a Man should be prohibited to reply, and a Censure antedated passed on that Reply before it was heard, and on the Replyers for it, that we craved his Lordship's Pardon if we disobeyed him, and gave in our Reply, which might have more in it than he could foresee. And the next Day when I gave in the Reply (before inserted) there was no such Insulting as before.

§ 228. When Dr. *Gunning* had read his Citations of Testimonies of the Sense of *Rom. 14*, and *15*. Bishop *Cosins* called to all the Bishops and Doctors in the Room for their Votes, [*All you that think that Dr. Gunning hath proved that Rom. 14 speaketh, not of receiving to the Sacrament, say, I.*] And so they all cried, I. I told him that we knew their Opinion before; and if this were the use that he made of our Concession, that they should be all present while ours were all absent (save two or three Scholars, and two or three Gentlemen that stood behind to hear) it shewed that their Cause was very needy of Defence, when their own Voices must go instead of Argument: But if they would go on upon such lamentable Reasoning as they had used, to cast out the faithful Pastors and the People, and divide the Church, and afflict their Brethren, the Day was coming when their own Votes should not absolve them.

§ 229. Hereupon we fell again upon the point of *Charity* and *Compassion* to the Church, and their frustrating the King's Commission, and the Kingdoms Hopes. And when they professed their Desires of the Churches Peace, I told them they would not abate the smallest Thing, nor correct their grossest Errors for it: And hereupon I read over to them the Preface (drawn up by Mr. *Calamy*) before our Reply to their Answer to our Exceptions against the Liturgy, which reciting their Corruptions, and shewed their Unpeaceableness, offended but silenced them.

§ 230. By this time the Evening of our Last Day was far gone; and I desired to know of them, whether we should continue our Dispute any further, as Private Men Voluntarily among our selves; for I had many more Arguments, which I desired before to have read all at once, but could not be permitted: Or whether they would receive my Arguments, and the Reply which I last read. Dr. *Pierfon* resolved that he would meddle no more after that Night. Bishop *Morley* said, he thought it unfit when the King's Commission was expired that we should meddle in it any farther. But Dr. *Gunning* and I had so much mind to it, (for I knew that almost all my Arguments were yet behind, and it was a Cause that might easily be made very plain) that I told him, I would venture on the Danger for the Love of Charity and Peace, and he agreed that I should send him in all my Arguments, with the last Reply (which he had not answered) the next Day.

§ 231. Lastly, I desired Bishop *Morley* to resolve us what Account we were jointly to give his Majesty of our Proceedings, that we might not wrong each other: And by his and their Consent it was agreed on, that we give nothing in our Account to the King as charged on one another, but what is delivered in by the party in Writing: And that all our account was to be this, That we were all agreed on the Ends, for the Churches Welfare, Unity, and Peace, and his Majesty's Happiness and Contentment, but after all our Debates, were disagreed of the means. And this was the End of that Assembly and Commission.

§ 232. As soon as we were gone, I delivered my Papers to a Scribe to be transcrib'd: And about Eight a Clock or Nine, just as I was entring the Door of my Lodging, Dr. *Gunning's* Messenger comes to me, to tell me, that upon further Consideration, he should receive no more Papers from me after that Day, and so our farther trouble was prevented.

§ 233. In the last place, it's time that I give you a Copy of *their Disputation*; and this which followeth is *exact*, and *all*.

[*Oppon.* (Dr. *Pierſon*, Dr. *Gunning*, Dr. *Sparrow* and Dr. *Pierce*) 'My Affertion is, Nothing contained in the Liturgy is ſinful'.

* Here we had a great Debate they ſhould have proved their penal Impoſition lawful; but I could get them to no more.

'This general Affertion I am ready to make good in all Particulars, in which our Brethren ſhall think fit to charge the Liturgy with Sinfulneſs.

'And becauſe our Brethren have as yet by way of Diſputation, charged no other part of it with the Imputation of Sinfulneſs, but that which concerneth kneeling at the Communion, therefore my firſt Affertion as to that particular is this.

'The Command contained in the Liturgy concerning kneeling at the Communion is not Sinful. This Truth I am ready to prove by ſeveral Arguments.

'*Fiſt*, This only Command [The Miniſter ſhall deliver the Communion to the People in their Hands kneeling] is not ſinful.

'The command contained in the Liturgy concerning kneeling at the Communion, is this only Command [The Miniſter, &c.]——

'*Ergo*, The Command contained in the Liturgy, concerning kneeling at the Communion, is not ſinful.

Reſp. Negatur Major.

'*Oppon. Prob. Major.* That Command which commandeth only an Act in it ſelf lawful, is not ſinful.

'This only Command [The Miniſter ſhall deliver the Communion to the People in their Hands kneeling] commandeth only an Act in it ſelf lawful——

'*Ergo*, this only command [The Miniſter ſhall deliver the Communion to the People in their Hands kneeling] is not ſinful.

Reſp. Negantur Major, & Minor.

'*Oppon. Prob. Major*—That Command which commandeth an Act in it ſelf lawful, and no other Act or Circumſtance unlawful, is not ſinful.

'That Command which commandeth only an Act in it ſelf lawful, commands an Act in it ſelf lawful, and no other Act or Circumſtance unlawful——

'*Ergo*—That Command which commandeth only an Act in it ſelf lawful, is not ſinful.

Reſp. We deny the *Major*, and (for brevity) give a double Reason of our Denial. One is, becauſe that may be a Sin *per accidens*, which is not ſo in it ſelf, and may be unlawfully commanded, though that Accident be not in the Command.

Another is, That it may be commanded under an unjuſt Penalty.

2. We deny the *Minor* for both the ſame Reaſons.

'*Oppon. Prob. Minor.* The delivery of the Communion to Perſons kneeling, is an Act in it ſelf lawful.

'This only Command [The Miniſter ſhall deliver the Communion to the People in their Hands kneeling] commandeth only the delivery of the Communion to Perſons kneeling.——

'*Ergo*, This only Command [The Miniſter, &c.] commandeth only an Act in it ſelf lawful.

Reſp. We diſtinguiſh of [delivering to Perſons kneeling] it ſignifieth either excluſively [to thoſe and no other]; or not excluſively as to others: In the firſt Senſe we deny the *Major*; in the ſecond Senſe we deny the *Minor*.

'*Oppon.* You deny both our Propoſitions for two Reaſons, both the ſame: We make good both our Propoſitions, notwithstanding both your Reaſons.

'The *Major* firſt.

'That Command which commandeth an Act in it ſelf lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjuſt Penalties enjoined, nor any Circumſtance whence directly or *per accidens* any Sin is conſequent, which the Commander ought to provide againſt is not ſinful.

'That Command which commandeth an Act in it ſelf Lawful, and no other Act or Circumſtance unlawful, commandeth an Act in it ſelf lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjuſt Penalty is enjoined, nor any Circumſtance, whence directly or *per accidens* any Sin is conſequent, which the Commander ought to provide againſt——

'*Ergo*, That Command which commandeth an Act in it ſelf lawful, and no other Act or Circumſtance unlawful, is not ſinful.

Reſp.

Resp. 1. The Proposition denied is not in the Conclusion *.

* This was a mistake in the Speaker, or the Scribe.

2. The *Major* is denied; because the *first Act* commanded may be *per Accidens* unlawful, and be commanded by an unjust Penalty, though no other Act or Circumstance be such.

Oppon. The *Minor* next.

That Command which commandeth an Act in it self lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoined, nor any Circumstance whence directly or *per Accidens* any Sin is consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against, commands an Act in it self lawful, and no other Act or Circumstance unlawful.

That Command which commands only an Act in it self lawful, commandeth an Act in it self Lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoined, nor any Circumstance, whence directly and *per accidens* any Sin is consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against ———

Ergo, That Command which commands only an Act in it self lawful, commands an Act in it self lawful, and no other Act or Circumstance unlawful.

We prove our *Major* notwithstanding your Reason alledged.

That Command which hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an Act *per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an Act under an unjust Penalty, is not sinful, notwithstanding your Reason alledged ———

That Command which commandeth an Act in it self lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoined, nor any Circumstance whence directly or *per accidens* any Sin is consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an Act *per accidens* unlawful; nor of commanding an Act under an unjust Penalty ———

Ergo, That Command which commandeth an Act in it self lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoined, nor any Circumstance whence directly or *per accidens* any Sin is consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against, is not sinful notwithstanding your Reasons alledged.

Resp. The *Minor* is denied upon the same Reasons; which you do nothing to remove: Such a Command hath not in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a Command; because though no other Act be commanded whereby an unjust Penalty is enjoined, yet still the *first Act* may be commanded *sub Pænâ injustâ*: And though no other Act or Circumstance be commanded that is a Sin *per accidens*, yet the *first* it self commanded, may be a Sin *per accidens*.

Oppon. Either our *Minor* is true notwithstanding your Reason, or else the *first Act* may be a Command commanding an unjust Punishment, and be an Act lawful; or the *first Act* it self being lawful in it self and all Circumstances, may yet be a Sin *per Accidens*, against which the Commander ought to provide.

Posterius utrumque falsum; both the later Members are false ——— *Ergo, Primum verum* — Therefore the *first* is true.

Resp. 1. *Neg. Major.* Because 1. The Subject is changed: You were to have spoken of the *first Act* commanded, and you speak of the *first Act* commanding, in the *first* Member. You should have said, [Else the *first Act* may be commanded *sub Pænâ injustâ*, and yet be in it self lawful] which is true.

2. Because in the second Member where you should have spoken only of the commanded Circumstances of the Act, you now speak of all its Circumstances whether commanded or not.

3. We undertook not to give you all our Reasons: The *Minor* may be false upon many other Reasons.

And were your *Major* reduced in the Points excepted against, we should deny the *Minor*, as to both Members. And we should add our Reasons.

1. That Command which commandeth an Act in it self lawful, and only such, may yet be sinful *privatively*, by omission of some thing necessary, some Mode or Circumstance.

2. It may sinfully restrain, though it sinfully command not.

3. It may be sinful in *Modis* commanding that universally, or indefinitely, or particularly, or singularly, that should be otherwise; though in the Circumstances (properly so called) of the Act, nothing were Commanded that is sinful.

4. It may through culpable Ignorance be applied to *undue Subjects* who are not *Circumstances*; as if a People that have the Plague be commanded to keep Assemblies for Worship; the Lawgiver being culpably ignorant that they had the Plague. Many more Reasons may be given.

‘*Oppon.* We make good our *Major* by shewing that the Subject is not changed, thus.

‘If whensoever the first A&t is commanded *sub Pœnâ injustâ*, and no other A&t is

‘commanded whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoined (which were your Words)

‘the first A&t commanding must command an unjust Punishment (which were

‘ours) then we have not changed the Subject—

‘But the Antecedent is true; therefore the Consequent.

§ 234. Thus, Reader, thou hast every Word that was brought by them in this Disputation, to prove the justness of all those Impositions on pain of Excommunication (which infers Imprisonment, &c.) which have divided this miserable bleeding Church, and will admit of no Remedy, nor patiently endure him that shall propose it, or beg for Peace and Charity at their Hands.

§ 235. The other Arguments which I offered (and they were not accepted or read) were these following. In which you must note that all these Arguments were but proposed thus briefly, and not followed up, because it was expected that they should have called us to that. And that this Writing was but begun, and many more Scripture Texts and Arguments omitted, for want of time, and by the Interruption of our Disputation. And concerning the foregoing Reply to Dr. Gunning about the Sense of *Rom. 14*. Note, that as I was purposing to have added a multitude of Testimonies more, to those of Dr. Hammond and Grotius, the ending of our Disputation did prevent me, and ever since then I cast by all such Thoughts as these, foreseeing that now (when they would not endure the means of Peace) my Duty would henceforth lye on the other side, to plead other Men into true and moderate Thoughts of things indifferent, and Obedience, so far as the Unity and Peace of the Church required it, and the matters imposed were not sinful to the Doers, though they might be sinful to the Imposers. I knew that henceforth I should be as much exercised in moderating those for whom I had now pleaded, and must bear some censure also from many of them.

Quest. Whether it be just (or lawful) to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament on the Lord's Days? *Neg.*

Because you will needs cast all the Opponent's Work on us, by arguing that we have brought no sufficient Reasons for the contrary (appealing to all Men acquainted with the just Method of Disputation, whether you that have the affirmative, do not hereby fly all just and equal Dispute, and shew a Diffidence, of your Cause) we that have the negative shall more justly by the same method; cast back your proper Work upon you.

If it be just (or lawful) to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament on the Lord's Days, then some cogent Argument may be drawn from the Nature of the thing, or supernatural Revelation, to justify it.

But no Argument can be drawn (for ought that ever was yet by the Right Reverend Fathers, or Reverend Brethren produced or manifested to us, or we can tell where to find, or how to invent) from the Nature of the thing, or from supernatural Revelation, to justify it.

Ergo, it is not just, &c.

If any such Argument can be produced, let it be produced, or you forsake your Cause. (Note that this was written before they yielded to be Opponents.)

I. Our first Argument drawn from general Councils, and the Practice of the Universal Church, we handled already: and are ready to bring in fuller Proof.

II. And our second Argument from *Rom. 14*, and *15*. where the Case is purposely and largely decided, that things of such Moment must not be made the matter of Censures, Rejections, or Contempt.

III. To impose on the Church things antecedently unnecessary upon so great a Penalty as Exclusion from Communion, is a sinful thing.

But to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament (for Fear of Idolatry or Scandal) is to impose on the Church

Church things antecedently unnecessary, upon so great a Penalty as Exclusion from the Communion.

Ergo to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament is a sinful thing.

The Major is proved thus: That which is contrary to the express Determination of the Holy Ghost, *Acts* 15. is a sinful thing.

But to impose on the Church Things antecedently unnecessary, upon so great a Penalty as Exclusion from Communion, is contrary to the express Determination of the Holy Ghost, *Acts*, 15. 28. [*For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things*]: *Ergo* it is a sinful thing.

IV. To cross that great Rule of Charity [*I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*] is a Sin.

But to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to cross that great Rule of Charity, &c. *Ergo* it is a Sin.

The Major is certain, Christ himself urging it twice upon the Ceremonious hypocritical Pharisees, *Matth* 9. 13. & 12. 7.

The Minor is thus proved. To prefer Sacrifice before Mercy (yea, an unnecessary Ceremony before Sacrifice and Mercy) is a crossing of that Rule.

But to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament is to prefer Sacrifice before Mercy, (yea, an unnecessary Ceremony before Sacrifice and Mercy:) *Ergo* it is a crossing of that Rule.

The Major I suppose will not be denied: The Minor is thus proved—

1. To prefer this genuflexion in the Reception of the Sacrament, before our Brethrens Communion with Christ and his Church in the Sacrament, and before their corroboration and consolation thereby, and before the preaching of the Gospel by all those Ministers that will be hereupon laid by, even when many Thousands among us are in gross ignorance for want of means, and consequently before the Salvation of very many, and the Worship of God by the Excluded, is to prefer Sacrifice before Mercy, yea, an unnecessary Ceremony before Sacrifice and Mercy.

But to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to prefer this Genuflexion before all these things: *Ergo* it is to prefer Sacrifice before Mercy; yea, an unnecessary Ceremony before Sacrifice and Mercy.

2. If the forbidding of David and his Company to eat the Shew-bread, and the Priests in the Temple to break the Sabbath, and the Disciples to rub out the Corn, would have been the preferring of Sacrifice before Mercy, (as here prohibited), then enjoining all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to prefer Sacrifice before Mercy (in the forbidden sense).

But the Antecedent is true; *Matth*. 12. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. *Ergo* so is the Consequent.

V. To use the Power to Destruction which is given to be used to Edification, is unjust.

But to enjoin all Ministers to deny the Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to use the Power to Destruction which is given to be used to Edification.

Ergo, To enjoin all Ministers to deny the Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is unjust.

The Major is proved 2 *Cor*. 10. 8. & 13. 10. *Rom*. 15. 2. 1 *Cor*. 14. 26. *Rom*. 14. 20.

For the Minor I shall prove it, 1. As of the Destruction of the Person; 2. Of many others; 3. Of the Church it self.

I. To use this Power to deprive many Thousands of their Communion with Christ and his Church in the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, and consequently of all the Benefits thereof, is to use it to the Destruction of those Mens Souls.

But to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to use this Power to deprive many Thousands of their Communion with Christ and his Church, in the Sacrament of his Body

and Blood, and consequently of all the Benefits thereof: *Ergo* to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to use this Power to the Destruction of those Souls.

2. To the Destruction of many others.

II. To use this Power to deprive many Thousand ignorant, ungodly People of the Labours of able faithful Ministers, when those People are like to have no competent Preachers of the Gospel in their stead, is to use this Power to the Destruction of those many thousand Souls.

But to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all those that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to use this Power to deprive many Thousand, &c. — *Ergo* it is to use this Power to their Destruction.

It being supposed that it is not *any* Injunction *in genere*, but the English Injunction *in specie* that is spoken of. The Minor is proved thus:

If such an Injunction will Silence a great number of able and faithful Ministers, while there are not competent Preachers of the Gospel to supply very many of their Places, then to enjoin all, &c. is to use the Power to Deprive, &c. —

But the Antecedent is certain: *Ergo*, &c.

Two notorious Evidences in Matter of Fact do fully prove the Antecedent: 1. That there are a great number of able, faithful Ministers, whose Consciences do forbid them to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, though they suffer Silencing for it: and that the Injunction doth Silence (and Imprison them) if they do not deny it them. 2. That there are very many Congregations in *Wales* and divers parts of *England*, where are Thousands of ignorant ungodly People, that even now have no competent Preachers, much less will there be enow when all these Ministers are turned out.

3. To the Destruction of the Church.

III. 1. To use this Power to deprive the Church of a great number of her pious and exemplary Members, that are meet for her Communion, is to use it to the Churches Destruction.

But to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel at the Reception of the Sacrament, is to use this Power to Deprive the Church of a great number of her Pious and Exemplary Members, that are meet for her Communion.

Ergo, To enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to use this Power to Destruction.

2. To use this Power to the certain and lamentable Division of the Church, is to use it to the Destruction of the Church.

But to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Lord's Supper, is to use this Power, to the certain and lamentable Division of the Church:

Ergo, To enjoin all, &c. is to use this Power to the Destruction of the Church: The Major is undeniable: The Minor I prove thus —

1. To divide by force (or constraint) so many Thousands as dare not kneel in Receiving the Lord's Supper, from the rest, is to use this Power to the actual and lamentable Division of the Church.

But to enjoin all Ministers to deny them Communion, is to divide them by constraint from the rest:

Ergo, To enjoin all, &c. is to use this power to the certain and lamentable Division of the Church.

2. To maintain and exercise by this Power a Principle of Church Division, is to use this Power to the certain and lamentable Division of the Church.

But to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not receive kneeling, is to maintain and exercise a Principle of Church Division, (that is, such as is of its own nature fitted to divide it, and will effect it).

Ergo, To enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not Receive kneeling, is to use this Power to the certain and lamentable Division of the Church.

The Minor (which only needs proof) I prove thus:

To maintain and exercise this Principle; That [Things as unnecessary, small and doubtful, as kneeling in the Reception of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, are to be made necessary to the Communion of the Church] is to maintain and exercise a Principle of Church Division.

But to enjoyn all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not Receive kneeling, is to maintain and exercise this Principle, that [Things as unnecessary, small and doubtful, as kneeling in the Reception of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, are to be made necessary to the Communion of the Church].

Ergo, To enjoyn all, &c. is to maintain and exercise a Principle of Church-Division.

The Major (which only needs proof) is thus proved.

To maintain and exercise such a Principle as, 1. Never yet was exercised, but it did divide the Church; 2. and by which its Divisions have been caused or cherished ever since the Roman Usurpation begun; 3. and which cannot possibly consist with Unity whilst Christians are of such different 1. Educations, 2. and degrees of Natural Understanding, 3. and degrees of Grace, is to maintain and exercise a Principle of Church Division.

But to maintain and exercise this Principle [That Things as unnecessary, small and doubtful as kneeling in the Reception of the Sacrament, are to be made necessary to the Communion of the Church] is to maintain and exercise such a Principle, as 1. never yet was exercised but it did divide, &c. ——— *Ergo* ———

And thus our Dispute at the *Savoy* ended, and with it our Endeavours for Reconciliation upon the Warrant of the King's Commission.

§ 236. Were it not a thing in which an Historian so much concerned in the business is apt to be suspected of partiality, I would here annex a Character of each one that managed this business as they shewed themselves. But because it hath that inconvenience, I will omit it, only telling you what *part* each one of them acted in all this Work.

The Bishop of *London* (since Archbishop of *Canterbury*) only appeared the first day of each Conference (which, besides that before the King, was but twice in all as I remember) and medled not at all in any Disputations: But all Men supposed that he and Bishop *Morley* (and next Bishop *Hinchman*) were the doers and disposers of all such Affairs. The Archbishop of *York* * spake no more than I have * *Brewen*. told you, and came but once or twice in all. Bishop *Morley* was oft there, but not constantly, and with free and fluent words, with much earnestness, was the chief Speaker of all the Bishops, and the greatest Interrupter of us; vehemently going on with what he thought serviceable to his end, and bearing down Answers by the said fervour and interruptions. Bishop *Cosins* was there constantly, and had a great deal of talk with so little Logick, Natural or Artificial, that I perceived no one much moved by any thing he said. But two Vertues he shewed (though none took him for a Magician): One was, that he was excellently well versed in *Canons*, *Councils*, and *Fathers*, which he remembred, when by citing of any Passages we tried him. The other was, that as he was of a Rustick Wit and Carriage, so he would endure more freedom of our Discourse with him, and was more affable and familiar than the rest. Bishop *Hinchman* (since Bishop of *London*) was of the most grave, comely, reverend Aspect, of any of them; and of a good insight in the *Fathers* and *Councils*, *Cosins* and he and Dr. *Gunning* being all that shewed any of that skill among us considerable: in which they are all three of very laudable understandings, and better than any other of either of the Parties that I met with: And Bishop *Hinchman* spake calmly and slowly, and not very oft: But was as high in his Principles and Resolutions as any of them.

Bishop *Sanderfon* of *Lincoln* was some time there, but never spake that I know of but what I have told you before: But his great Learning and Worth are known by his Labours *, and his aged Peevishness not unknown.

* Since, at his death, he made it

his request that the ejected Ministers might be used again: but his request was rejected by them that had overwitted him, as being too late.

Bishop *Gauden* was our most constant helper; He and Bishop *Cosins* seldom were absent. And how bitter soever his Pen be, he was the only Moderator of all the Bishops (except our Bishop *Reignolds*): He shewed no Logick; nor medled in any Dispute, or Point of Learning; but a calm, fluent, Rhetorical Tongue: And if

all had been of his mind, we had been reconciled : But when by many days Conference in the beginning, we had got some moderating Concessions from him (and from Bishop *Cosins* by his means) the rest came in the end and brake them all.

Bishop *Lucie* of *St. David's*, spake once or twice a few words calmly, and so did Bishop *Nicholson* of *Glocester*, and Bishop *Griffiths* of *Asaph* (though no Commissioners) ; and did no more.

Bishop *King* of *Chichester* I never saw there : Bishop *Warner* of *Rochester* was there once or twice, but medled not that I heard. Bishop *Lany* of *Peterborough* was twice or thrice there, and talked as is before recited ; for I remember no more.

Bishop *Walton* of *Chester* was there once or twice, and spake but what is before recited, that I know of.

Bishop *Sterne* of *Carlisle*, since Archbishop of *York*, was of a most sober, honest, mortified Aspect, but spake nothing that I know of, but that weak uncharitable word before mentioned : so that I was never more deceived by a Man's Face.

Bishop *Reignolds* spake much the first day for bringing them to Abatements and Moderation : And afterwards he sate with them, and spake now and then a word for Moderation. He was a solid honest Man, but through mildness and excess of timorous reverence to great Men, altogether unfit to contend with them.

Mr. *Thorndike* spake once a few impertinent passionate words, confusing the Opinion which we had received of him from his first Writings, and confirming that which his second and last Writings had given us of him.

Dr. *Earle*, Dr. *Heylin*, and Dr. *Barwick* never came. Dr. *Hacket* (since Bishop of *Corventry* and *Litchfield*) said nothing to make us know any thing of him. Dr. *Sparrow* said but little ; but that little was with a Spirit enough for the imposing dividing Cause.

Dr. *Pierſon* and Dr. *Gunning* did all their Work (beside Bishop *Morley's* Discourses) but with great difference in the manner. Dr. *Pierſon* was their true Logician and Disputant, without whom, as far as I could discern, we should have had nothing from them, but Dr. *Gunning's* passionate Invectives mixt with some Argumentations : He disputed accurately, soberly and calmly (being but once in any passion) breeding in us a great respect for him, and a perswasion that if he had been independent, he would have been for Peace, and that if all were in his power, it would have gone well : He was the strength and honour of that Cause which we doubted whether he heartily maintained.

Dr. *Gunning* was their forwardest and greatest Speaker ; understanding well what belonged to a Disputant ; a Man of greater Study and Industry than any of them, well read in Fathers and Councils ; and of a ready Tongue ; (and I hear and believe of a very temperate Life, as to all Carnal Excesses whatsoever) : but so vehement for his high imposing Principles, and so over-zealous for Arminianism and Formality and Church Pomp, and so very eager and fervent in his Discourse, that I conceive his Prejudice and Passion much perverted his Judgment, and I am sure they made him lamentably over-run himself in his Discourses.

Of Dr. *Pierce* I will say no more, because he hath said so much of me.

On our part, Dr. *Bates* spake very solidly, judiciously and pertinently when he spake : And for my self, the reason why I spake so much, was because it was the desire of my Brethren, and I was loth to expose them to the hatred of the Bishops, but was willinger to take it all upon my self, they themselves having so much wit as to be therein more sparing and cautelous than I ; and I thought that the Day and Cause commanded me those two things, which then were objected against me as my Crimes, viz. speaking too boldly, and too long. And I thought it a Cause that I could comfortably suffer for ; and should as willingly be a Martyr for Charity as for Faith.

§ 237. When this Work was over, the rest of our Brethren met again, and resolved to draw up an Account of our Endeavours, and present it to his Majesty, with our Petition for his promised help yet for those Alterations and Abatements which we could not procure of the Bishops : And that first we should acquaint the Lord Chancellour withal, and consult with him about it. Which we did ; and as soon as we came to him, according to my expectation, I found him most offended at me, and that I had taken off the distaste and blame from all the rest. At our first entrance he merily told us, [That if I were but as fat as Dr. *Manton*, we should all do well *]. I told him, if his Lordship could teach me the Art of growing fat, he should find me not unwilling to learn, by any good means. He grew more serious,

*Referring to something that past between Bp. *Cosins* and me about my lean-ness, &c.

serious, and said, That I was severe and strict, like a Melancholy Man, and made those things *Sin* which others did not : And I perceived he had been possessed with displeasure towards me upon that account, that I charged the Church and Liturgy with *Sin* ; and had not supposed that the worst was but *inexpediency*. I told him that I had spoken nothing but what I thought, and had given my Reasons for— After other such Discourse, we craved his Favour to procure the King's Declaration yet to be past into an Act, and his Advice what we had further to do. He consented that we should draw up an Address to his Majesty, rendering him an account of all ; but desired that we would first shew it him : which we promised.

§ 238. When we shewed our Paper to the Lord Chancellour (which the Brethren had desired me to draw up, and had consented to without any alteration) he was not pleased with some Passages in it, which he thought too pungent or pressing : but would not bid us put them out. So we went with it to the Lord Chamberlain (who had heard from the Lord Chancellour about it), and I read it to him also, and he was earnest with us to blot out some Passages as too vehement, and such as would not well be born. I was very loth to leave them out, but Sir Gilbert Gerard (an ancient godly Man) being with him, and of the same mind, I yielded (having no remedy, and being unmeet to oppose their Wisdoms any further) : And so what they Scored under we left out, and presented the rest to his Majesty afterwards. But when we came to present it, the Earl of Manchester secretly told the rest, that if Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Bates, and Dr. Manton would deliver it, it would be the more acceptable (intimating that I was grown unacceptable at Court) : But they would not go without me, and he protested he desired not my Exclusion : But when they told me of it, I took my leave of him, and was going away : But he and they came after me to the Stairs, and importuned me to return, and I went with them to take my Farewel of this Service. But I resolved that I would not be the Deliverer of any of our Papers (though I had got them transcribed and brought them thither) : So we desired Dr. Manton to deliver our Petition, and with it the fair Copies of all our Papers to the Bishops (which was required of us for the King). And when Bishop Reynolds had spoken a few words, Dr. Manton delivered them to the King ; who received them and the Petition, but did not bid us read it at all. At last, in his Speeches, something fell in which Dr. Manton told him that the Petition gave him a full account of, if his Majesty pleased to give him leave to read it ; whereupon he had leave to read it out. The occasion was, a short Speech which I made to inform his Majesty how far we were agreed with the Bishops, and wherein the difference did not lye, as in the Points of Loyalty, Obedience, Church-Order, &c. This Dr. Manton also spake : And the King put the Question, [*But who shall be Judge ?*] And I answered him, That Judgment is either *publick* or *private* : *Private* Judgment called *Discretionis*, which is but the use of my Reason to conduct my Actions, belongeth to every *private rational* Man : *Publick* Judgment is Ecclesiastical or *Civil*, and belongeth accordingly to the Ecclesiastical Governours (or Pastors) and the *Civil* ; and not to any private Man. And this was the end of these Affairs.

Mr. Calamy was most of this time sick, or lame of a hurt which he had received.

§ 239. I will give you the Copy of the Petition just as I drew it up, because 1. Here you may see what those words were which could not be tolerated ; 2. Because it is but supposing the under-scored Lines to be blotted out, and you have it as it was presented without any Alteration. For those *under-scored Lines* were all the words that were left out.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty :

The due Account and humble Petition of us Ministers of the Gospel lately Commissioned for the Review and Alteration of the Liturgy.

May it please your Majesty ;

WHEN this distempered Nation, wearied with its own Contentions and Divisions, did groan for Unity and Peace, the wonderful Providence of the most Righteous God appearing for the removal of Impediments, their Eyes were upon your Majesty, as the Person born to be, under God, the Center of their Concord, and taught by Affliction to break the Bonds of the Afflicted, and by Experience of the sad Effects of Mens Uncharitableness and Passions, to restrain all from Violence and Extremities, and keeping Moderation and Mediocrity, the Oyl of Charity and Peace. And when these your Subjects Desires were accomplished in your Majesty's peaceable possession of your Throne, it was the Joy and Encouragement of the Sober and Religious, that you began the Exercise of your Government with a Proclamation full of Christian Zeal against Debauchery and Prophaneness, declaring also your dislike of ['those who under pretence of affection to your Majesty and your Service, assume to themselves the liberty of Reviling, Threatning, and Reproaching others, to prevent that Reconciliation and Union of Hearts and Affections, which can only with God's Blessing make us rejoice in each other]. Our Comforts also were carried on by your Majesty's early and ready Entertainment of Motions for Accommodation in these Points of Discipline and Worship in which we were disagreed, and your professed Resolutions to draw us together by Mutual Approaches, and publishing your Healing Declaration, which was received with the Thanks of your House of Commons, and the Applause of the People, and the special Joy of those that longed for Concord and Tranquility in the Church : In which your Majesty declareth so much Satisfaction in the Foundations of Agreement already laid, as that you ['should think your self very unfortunate, and suspect that you are defective in the Administration of Government, if any Superstructures should shake these Foundations, and contract or lessen the blessed Gift of Charity, which is a Vital part of Christian Religion.] And as in the said gracious Declaration, your Majesty resolved to ['appoint an equal number of Learned Divines of both Perswasions to review the Liturgy, and to make such Alterations as shall be thought most necessary, and some additional Forms (in the Scripture Phrase as near as may be) suited unto the nature of the several parts of Worship ; and that it be left to the Minister's choice, to use one or other at his Discretion] ; so in Accomplishment thereof, your Majesty among others, directed your Commission unto us for the review of ['the several Directions, Rules, and Forms of Prayer, and things in the said Book of Common Prayer contained] : and ['if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary Alterations, Corrections and Amendments therein, as by and between us shall be agreed upon to be needful or expedient for the giving of Satisfaction to tender Consciences, and the restoring and continuance of Peace and Unity in the Churches under your Protection and Government]——and what we ['agree upon as needful or expedient to be done, for the altering, diminishing or enlarging the said Book of Common Prayer, or any part thereof, forthwith to certify and present it in Writing] to your Majesty.

In Obedience to this your Majesty's Commission, we met with the Right Reverend Bishops, who required of us, that before any Personal Debates, we should ['bring in Writing, all our Exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer, and all the Additional Forms which we desired] : Both which we performed ; and received from them an Answer to the first, and returned them our full Reply : The last Week of our time, being designed to Personal Conference, was at the Will of the Right Reverend Bishops spent in a particular Dispute by three of each part, about the sinfulness of one of the Injunctions, from which we desired to be free ; and in some other Conference on the by. And though the Account which we are forced to give your Majesty of the Issue of our Consultations, is that, No Agreements are Subscribed by us, to be offered your Majesty, according to your Expectation ; and though it be none of our intent to cast the least unmeet Reflections

flections upon the Right Reverend Bishops and Learned Brethren who think not
 meet to yield to any considerable Alterations to the Ends expressed in your Maje-
 sty's Commission, yet we must say, that it is some quiet to our Minds that we have
 not been guilty of your Majesty's and your Subjects disappointments, and that we
 account not your Majesty's gracious Commission, nor our Labour, lost, having
 Peace of Conscience in the discharge of our Duties to God and you: that we have
 been the Seekers and Followers of Peace, and have earnestly pleaded, and humbly
 petitioned for it; [*and offered for it any price below the offence of God Almighty, and the*
wounding or hazard of our own, or of the Peoples souls; and that we have in season born
our testimony against those Extreams, which at last will appear to those that do not now dis-
cern it, to have proceeded from uncharitable mistake, and tended to the division and trouble
of the Church: that whatever shall become of Charity, Unity and Concord, our Life, our
Beauty, and our Bands, our Consciences tell us we have not deserted them, nor left any probable
means unattempted, which we could discern within our power]. And we humbly be-
 seech your Majesty to believe, that we own no Principles of Faction or Disobedi-
 ence, nor Patronize the Errours or Obstinacy of any: It is granted us by all, that
 nothing should be commanded us by Man, which is contrary to the Word of God:
 that if it be, and we know it, we are bound not to perform it; God being the
 Absolute Universal Sovereign; that we must use all just means to discern the Will
 of God, and whether the Commands of Man be contrary to it: that if the Com-
 mand be sinful, and any through the neglect of sufficient search, shall judge it law-
 ful, his culpable Errour excuseth not his doing of it from being sin: and therefore
 as a reasonable Creature must needs have a Judgment of discerning, that he may
 rationally obey, so is he with the greatest care and diligence to exercise it in the
 greatest things, even the obeying of God and the saving of our Souls; and that
 where a strong probability of great sin and danger lyeth before us, we must not
 rashly run on without search; and that to go against Conscience, even where it is
 mistaken, is sin and danger to him that erreth. And on the other side we are a-
 greed, that in things no way against the Laws of God, the Commands of our Go-
 vernours must be obeyed: that if they command what God forbids, we must pa-
 tiently submit to Suffering; and every Soul must be subject to the higher Powers,
 for Conscience sake, and not resist: that Publick Judgment, Civil or Ecclesiastical,
 belongeth only to publick Persons, and not to any private Man: that no Man
 must be causelessly and pragmatically inquisitive into the Reasons of his Superiours
 Commands; nor by Pride and Self-conceitedness exalt his own Understanding a-
 bove its worth and office; but all to be modestly and humbly self-suspicious: that
 none must erroneously pretend God's Law against the just Command of his Supe-
 riour, nor pretend the doing of his Duty to be sin: that he who suspecteth his Su-
 periours Commands to be against God's Laws, must use all means for full Infor-
 mation, before he settle in a course of disobeying them: and that he who indeed
 discovereth any thing commanded to be sin, though he must not do it, must ma-
 nage his Opinion with very great tenderness and care of the Publick Peace, and the
 Honour of his Governours. These are our Principles: If we are otherwise repre-
 sented to your Majesty we are misrepresented: If we are accused of contradicting
 them, we humbly crave that we may never be condemned till we are heard. It is
 the desire of our Souls to contribute our Parts and Interests to the utmost, for the
 promoting of Holiness, Charity, Unity, and Obedience to Rulers in all lawful
 Things: But if we should sin against God, because we are commanded, who
 shall answer for us, or save us from his Justice? And we humbly crave, that it may
 be no unjust grievance of our Dissent, that thereby we suppose Superiours to err;
 seeing it is but supposing them to be Men, not yet in Heaven; and this may be im-
 puted to every one that differeth in Opinion from another. And we beseech your
 Majesty to believe, that as we seek no greater Matters in the World, than our daily
 bread, with Liberty to preach the Gospel, and Worship God according to his
 Word, and the practise of the Primitive purest Church, so we hope it is not through
 pusillanimity and overmuch tenderness of Suffering that we have pleaded so much
 for the avoiding of Suffering to our Selves or others: May none of our Sufferings
 hinder the Prosperity of the Church, and the good of Souls [*of Men! May not our*
dread Sovereign, the Breath of our Nostrils, be tempted by mis-representations to distrust such
as are faithful, and unawares to wrong the interest of Christ, and put forth his hand to as-
sist those that Christ would have him cherish, lest their Head should be provoked to jealousy
and offence! May not the Land of our Nativity languish in Divisions, nor be filled with the
Groans of those that are shut out of the holy Assemblies, and those that want the necessary
breaking of the Bread of Life! Nor be disappointed of its expected Peace and Joy! Let

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not these things befall us] and we have enough. And we suppose those that think the Persons inconsiderable in number and quality for whom we plead, will not themselves believe that we have done this for Popular Applause: This were not so much to seek the Reward of Hypocrites, as to play the Game of Fools; seeing the Applause of inconsiderable Men can be but inconsiderable; and we know our selves that we are like thus to offend those that are not inconsiderable. The Lord that searcheth hearts, doth know that it is not so much the avoiding of Suffering to our selves or any particular Persons, that is the end of our Endeavours (though this were no ambitious end) as the Peace and Welfare of the Church and Kingdoms under your Majesty's Government: We know that, supposing them that are for the Ceremonies to be as pious and charitable as the rest, it cannot so much offend them that another Man forbearth them, as it must offend that other to be forced to use them: and we know that conscientious Men will not consent to the practice of things in their Judgments unlawful, when those may yield that count the Matters but indifferent.

And for the management of this Treaty, it being agreed at our first meeting, that nothing be reported as the Words or Sence of either Part, but what is by them delivered in writing, we humbly crave that your Majesty receive no more as ours, and that where is charged on any particular Person, he may be answerable for himself: And though the Reverend Bishops have not had time to consider of our Additions to the Liturgy, and of our Reply, that yet they may be considered before a Determination be made. And though we seem to have laboured in vain, we shall yet lay this Work of Reconciliation and Peace, at the feet of your Majesty, beseeching you to prosecute such a blessed Resolution till it attain success. We must needs believe, that when your Majesty took our Consent to a Liturgy, to be a Foundation that would infer our Concord, you meant not that we should have no Concord, but by consenting to this Liturgy without any considerable Alteration. And when you comforted us with your Resolution to draw us together, by yielding on both sides in what we could, you meant not that we should be the Boat, and they the Bank that must not stir. And when your Majesty commanded us by your Letters Patents to treat about such Alterations as are [‘needful or expedient for giving Satisfaction to tender Consciences, and the restoring and continuance of Peace and Unity] we rest assured that it was not your sence, that those tender Consciences were to be forced to practise all which they judged unlawful, and not so much as a Ceremony abated them: Or that our Treaty was only to convert either part to the Opinion of the other; and that all our Hopes of Concord or Liberty consisted only in Disputing the Bishops into Nonconformity, or coming in every Ceremony to their minds.

Finally, as your Majesty under God, is the Protection whereto your People flee, and as the same Necessities still remain, which drew forth your gracious Declaration, we most humbly and earnestly beseech your Majesty, that the Benefits of the said Declaration may be continued to your People, and in particular [That ‘none be punished or troubled for not using the Common Prayer; till it be effectually reformed] and the Additions made as there expressed.

We crave your Majesty's pardon for the tediousness of this Address, and shall wait in hope, that so great a Calamity of your People, as would follow the loss of so many able faithful Ministers as rigorous Impositions would cast out, shall never be Recorded in the History of your Reign: but that these Impediments of Concord being forborn, your Kingdoms may flourish in Piety and Peace, and this may be the signal Honour of your happy Government, and your Joy in the Day of your Accounts. Which is the Prayer of

Your Majesty's

Faithful and Obedient

Subjects—

§ 240. And in the Conclusion of this Business, seeing we could prevail with these Prelates and Prelatical Men, (after so many Calamities by Divisions, and when they pretended Desires of Unity), to make no considerable Alterations at all; the Reason of it seeming unsearchable to some, was by others confidently conjectured to be these:

1. They extremely prejudic'd the Persons that sought this Peace, and therefore were glad of means to cast them out and ruin them.
2. The Effects of the Parliament's Conquest had exasperated them to the height.
3. They would not have any Reformation or Change to occasion Men to think that ever they were in an Errour, or that their Adversaries had reasonably desired, or had procured a Reformation.
4. Some confidently thought that a secret Resolution to unite with the Papists (at least as high as the old Design which *Heylin* owneth in *Lauds* Life) was the greatest cause of all: And that they would never have lost so great a Party, as they did but to gain a greater (at home and abroad together.)

§ 241. And here, because they would abate us nothing at all considerable, but made things far harder and heavier than before, I will annex the Concessions of Archbishop *Usher*, Archbishop *Williams*, Bishop *Morton*, Bishop *Holdsworth*, and many others in a Committee at *Westminster* (before mentioned) 1641.

A Copy of the Proceedings of some Worthy and Learned Divines touching Innovations in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England: Together with Considerations upon the Common Prayer Book.

Innovations in Doctrine.

1. *Quære.* **W**Hether in the Twentieth Article these Words are not inserted, *Habet Ecclesia auctoritatem in Controversiis fidei.*
2. It appears by *Stetfords*, and the approbation of the Licensers, that some do teach and preach, *That Good Works are concauses with faith in the act of Justification*; Dr. *Dove* also hath given Scandal in that point.
3. Some have preached the Works of Penance are satisfactory before God.
4. Some have preached that private Confession by particular Enumeration of Sins, is necessary to Salvation, *necessitate medii*; both those Errours have been questioned at the Consistory at *Cambridge*.
5. Some have maintained that the Absolution which the Priest pronounceth, is more than Declaratory.
6. Some have published, That there is a proper Sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, to exhibit Christ's Death in the *Postfact*, as there was a Sacrifice to prefigure in the Old Law in the *Antefact*, and therefore that we have a true Altar, and therefore not only metaphorically so called, so Dr. *Heylin* and others in the last Summers Convocation, where also some defended, that the Oblation of the Elements might hold the Nature of the true Sacrifice, others *the Consumption of the Elements*.
7. Some have introduced *Prayer for the Dead*, as Mr. *Brown* in his printed Sermon, and some have coloured the use of it with Questions in *Cambridge*, and disputed, that *Preces pro Defunctis non supponunt Purgatorium*.
8. Divers have oppugned the certitude of Salvation.
9. Some have maintained the lawfulness of *Monastical Vows*.
10. Some have maintained that the Lord's Day is kept meerly by Ecclesiastical Constitution, and that the Day is changeable.
11. Some have taught as new and dangerous Doctrine, that the Subjects are to pay any Sums of Money imposed upon them, though without Law, nay contrary to the Laws of the Realm, as Dr. *Sybtorp*, and Dr. *Manwaring* Bishop of *St. Davids*, in their printed Sermons, whom many have followed of late years.

12. Some have put Scorns upon the two Books of Homilies, calling them either Popular Discourses, or a Doctrine useful for those Times wherein they were set forth.

13. Some have defended the whole gross Substance of *Arminianism*, that *Electio est ex fide prævisa*, That the Act of Conversion depends upon the Concurrence of Man's Freewill; That the justified Man may fall finally and totally from Grace.

14. Some have defended Universal Grace, as imparted as much to Reprobates as to the Elect, and have proceeded *usque ad salutem Ethnicorum*, which the Church of England hath Anathematized.

15. Some have absolutely denied Original Sin, and so evacuated the Cross of Christ, as in a Disputation at *Oxon*.

16. Some have given excessive Cause of Scandal to the Church: as being suspected of *Socinianism*.

17. Some have defended that Concupiscence is no sin, either in the habit, or first motion.

18. Some have broacht out of *Socinus* a most uncomfortable and desperate Doctrine, *That late Repentance*, that is, upon the last Bed of Sicknes, is *unfruitful*, at least to reconcile the Penitent to God.

Add unto these, some dangerous and most reproveable Books.

1. The Reconciliation of *Sancta Clara*, to knit the Romish and Protestant in one; *Memorand*. That he be caused to produce Bishop *Watson's* Book of the like Reconciliation which he speaks of.

2. A Book called *Brevis Disquisitio*, printed (as it is thought) in *London*, and vulgarly to be had, which impugneth the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and the verity of Christ's Body (which he took of the Blessed Virgin) in Heaven, and the verity of our Resurrection.

3. A Book called *Timotheus Philalethes de Pace Ecclesiæ*, which holds that every Religion will save a Man, if he holds the Covenant.

Innovations in Discipline.

1. The turning of the holy Table Altar-wise, and most commonly calling it an Altar.

2. Bowing towards it, or towards the East, many times, with three Congees, but usually in every motion, access, or recess in the Church.

3. Advancing *Candlesticks* in many Churches upon the Altar so called.

4. In making Canopies over the Altar so called, with Traverles and Curtains on each side, and before it.

5. In compelling all *Communicants* to come up before the Rails, and there to Receive.

6. In advancing *Crucifixes* and *Images* upon the *Parafront*, or *Altar-cloth*, so called.

7. In reading some part of the Morning Prayer at the Holy Table, when there is no Communion celebrated.

8. By the Minister's turning his back to the West, and his face to the East, when he pronounceth the *Creed*, or reads Prayers.

9. By reading the Litany in the midst of the Body of the Church in many of the Parochial Churches.

10. By pretending for their Innovations, the Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen *Elizabeth*, which are not in force, but by way of Commentary and Imposition, and by putting to the Liturgy printed *secundo, tertio Edwardi sexti*, which the Parliament hath Reformed and laid aside.

11. By offering of Bread and Wine by the hand of the Churchwardens or others, before the Consecration of the Elements.

12. By having a *Credentia*, or Side-Table, besides the *Lord's Table*, for divers uses in the Lord's Supper.

13. By introducing an *Offertory* before the Communion, distant from the giving of Alms to the Poor.

14. By prohibiting the Ministers to expound the *Catechism* at large to their Parishioners.
15. By suppressing of Lectures, partly on Sundays in the Afternoon, partly on Week-days, performed as well by Combination, as some one Man.
16. By prohibiting a direct Prayer before Sermon, and bidding of Prayer.
17. By singing the *Te Deum* in Prose after a *Cathedral Church* way, in divers Parochial Churches, where the People have no skill in such Musick.
18. By introducing Latin-Service in the Communion of late in *Oxford*, and into some Colledges in *Cambridge*, at Morning and Evening Prayer, so that some young Students, and the Servants of the Colledge do not understand their Prayers.
19. By standing up at the Hymns in the Church, and always at *Gloria Patri*.
20. By carrying Children from the Baptism to the Altar so called, there to offer them up to God.
21. By taking down Galleries in Churches, or restraining the Building of such Galleries where the Parishes are very populous.

Memorandum :

1. That in all the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches two Sermons be preached every *Sunday* by the Dean and Prebendaries, or by their procurement, and likewise every Holy-day, and one Lecture at the least to be preached on Working days every Week, all the Year long.
2. That the Musick used in God's Holy Service, in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches be framed with less Curiosity, that it may be more edifying and more intelligible, and that no Hymns or Anthems be used where Ditties are framed by private Men, but such as are contained in the Sacred Canonical Scriptures, or in our Liturgy of Prayers, or have publick allowance.
3. That the Reading-Desk be placed in the Church where Divine Service may best be heard of all the People.

Considerations upon the Book of Common Prayer.

1. Whether the Names of some *departed Saints* and others should not be quite expunged in the Kalender.
2. Whether the reading of *Psalms*, Sentences of Scripture, concurring in divers places in the Hymns, Epistles and Gospels, should not be set out in the *New Translation*.
3. Whether the Rubrick should not be mended, where all Vestments in them of Divine Service are now commanded, which were used, 2 *Edw.* 6.
4. Whether Lessons of Canonical Scripture should be put into the Kalender instead of Apocrypha.
5. That the *Doxology* should be always printed at the End of the Lord's Prayer, and be always said by the Minister.
6. Whether the Rubrick should not be mended, where it is, (that the Lessons should be sung in a plain tune) why not read with a distinct voice?
7. Whether *Gloria Patri* should be repeated at the end of every Psalm.
8. Whether according to that End of the Preface before the Common Prayer, the Curate should be bound to read Morning and Evening Prayers every day in the Church, if he be at home, and not reasonably letted, and why not only on *Wednesday* and *Friday* Morning, and in the Afternoon on *Saturday*, with Holy-day *Eves*.
9. Whether the Hymns, *Benedicite omnia Opera*, &c. may not be left out.
10. In the Prayer for the Clergy, that Phrase Perhaps to be altered, *which only worketh great marvels*.
11. In the Rubrick for the Administration of the Lords Supper, whether an alteration be not to be made in this, *That such as intend to Communicate shall signifie their Names to the Curate over Night, or in the Morning before Prayers*.
12. The next Rubrick to be cleared, how far a Minister may repulse a scandalous and notorious Sinner from the Communion.

13. Whether the Rubrick is not to be mended, where the Churchwardens are strictly charged to gather the Alms for the Poor before the Communion begin ; for by experience it is proved to be done better when the People depart.
14. Whether the Rubrick is not to be mended, concerning the Party that is to make his General Confession upon his knees, before the Communion, that it should be said only by the Minister, and then at every Clause repeated to the People.
15. These words in the Form of the Consecration, *This is my Body, This is my Blood of the New Testament*, not to be printed hereafter in great Letters.
16. Whether it will not be fit to insert a Rubrick, touching kneeling at the Communion, that is, to comply in all Humility with the Prayer which the Minister makes when he delivers the Elements.
17. Whether *Cathedral and Collegiate Churches* shall be strictly bound to Celebrate the Holy Communion every Sunday at the least, and might not it rather be added once in a Month.
18. In the last Rubrick touching the Communion, it is not fit that the Printer make a full Point, and begin with a new Great Letter at these words, *And every Parishioner shall also receive the Sacrament*.
19. Whether in the first Prayer at the Baptism, these words, *Didst sanctifie the Flood of Jordan, and all other Waters*, should be thus changed, *Didst sanctifie the Element of Water*.
20. Whether it be not fit to have some discreet Rubrick made to take away all Scandal from signing the Sign of the Cross upon the Infants after Baptism ; or if it shall seem more expedient to be quite disused, whether this Reason should be published, That in ancient Liturgies no Cross was confined upon the Party, but where Oyl also was used ; and therefore Oyl being now omitted, so may also that which was concomitant with it, the Sign of the Cross.
21. In Private Baptism, the Rubrick mentions that which must not be done, that the Minister may dip the Child in Water being at the point of Death.
22. Whether in the last Rubrick of Confirmation, those words be to be left out, and be undoubtedly saved.
23. Whether the Catechism may not receive a little more Enlargement.
24. Whether the Times prohibited for Marriage are quite to be taken away.
25. Whether none hereafter shall have Licenses to marry, nor be asked their Banns of Matrimony, that shall not bring with them a Certificate from their Ministers that they are instructed in their Catechism.
26. Whether these Words in Matrimony, *With my Body I thee worship*, shall not be thus altered, *I give thee power over my body*.
27. Whether the last Rubrick of Marriage should not be mended, that new married Persons should receive the Communion the same day of their marriage, may not well be (or upon the Sunday following) when the Communion is celebrated.
28. In the Absolution of the Sick, were it not plain to say, *I pronounce thee Absolved*.
29. The Psalm of Thanksgiving of Women after Child-birth, were it not fit to be composed out of proper Versicles taken from divers Psalms.
30. May not the Priest rather read the Communion in the Desk, than go up to the Pulpit.
31. The Rubrick in the Communion leave it doubtful, whether the Liturgy may not be read in divers places in the Church.
32. In the Order of the Burial of all Persons, 'tis said, *We commit his Body to the Ground, in sure and certain hope of Resurrection to Eternal Life ; Why not thus, Knowing assuredly that the Dead shall rise again*.
33. In the Collect next unto the Collect against the Pestilence, the Clause perhaps to be mended : *For the honour of Jesus Christ's sake*.
34. In the Litany, instead of *Fornication and all other deadly Sin*, would it not satisfy thus ? *From Fornication and all other grievous Sins*.
35. It is very fit that the Imperfections of the Metre in the singing Psalms should be mended, and then Lawful Authority added unto them, to have them publicly sung before and after Sermons, and sometimes instead of the Hymns of Morning and Evening Prayer.

§ 242. And now our Calamities began to be much greater than before : We were called all by the Name of *Presbyterians* (the odious Name) : though we never put up one Petition for Presbytery, but pleaded for Primitive Episcopacy. We were represented in the common talk of those who thought it their Interest to be our Adversaries, as the most Seditious People, unworthy to be used like Men, or to enjoy our common Liberty among them. We could not go abroad but we met with daily Reproaches and false Stories of us : Either we were feigned to be Plotting, or to be Disaffecteding the People, &c. And no Sermon that I preached, scarce escaped the Censure of being *Seditious*, though I preached only for Repentance and Faith; and Morality and Common Vertue, yea, if it were against Disobedience and Sedition, all was one as to my Estimation with those Men. And the great Increaser of all this was, that there were a multitude of Students that studied for Preferment, and many Gentlemen that aimed at their Rising in the World, who found out quickly what was most pleasing to those whose Favour they must rise by, and so set themselves industriously to Reviling, Calumniating and Cruelty, against all those whom they perceived to be odious ! And he that can but convince a worldly Generation of any thing that's the ready way to their Preferment, shall be sure to have it closely followed, and throughly done with all their might.

§ 243. Before and about this time many Books (if so they may be called) were written against me. One by Mr. *Naufen* (forementioned) a Justice of Peace in *Worcestershire*, who being a great Friend of the Papists, had spoken against me on the Bench at the Sessions behind my back, as the Author of a Petition against Popery heretofore : and was angry with me for evincing to him his mistake, temerity and injustice : And when he saw his time, he had nothing else to be the fewel of his Revenge, but that very Book which I wrote against the Papists : and therein against the killing of the King, which I aggravated against the Army and the Popish Instigators and Actors : But because in Answer to the Papists, I made their Doctrine and Practise of King killing to be worse than these Sectaries were guilty of, and thereupon recited what the Sectaries said for themselves, which the Jesuites have not to say ; he took up all these Reasons of the Sectaries, and answered them as if they had been my own, and I had pleaded for that, which I condemned by writing in a time when it might have cost me my Life, when the Gentleman that thus would have proved me a Traytor, did himself act under the Usurpers, and took their Impositions, which we abhorred and refused.

§ 244. And here I shall insert a Passage not contemptible concerning the Papists, because I am fall'n into the mention of them. In *Cromwell's* days, when I was writing that very Book, and my *Holy Commonwealth*, and was charging their Treasons and Rebellions on the Army, one Mr. *James Stansfield*, a Reverend Minister of *Glostershire*, called on me, and told me a Story ; which afterwards he sent me under his Hand, and warranted me to publish it ; which was this.

One Mr. *Atkins* of *Glostershire*, Brother to Judge *Atkins*, being beyond Sea, with others that had served the late King, fell into intimate acquaintance with a Priest, that had been (or then was) Governour of one of their Colledges in *Flanders* : They agreed, not to meddle with each other about Religion, and so continued their Friendship long. A little after the King was beheaded, Mr. *Atkins* met this Priest in *London*, and going into a Tavern with him, said to him in his familiar way, [*What business have you here ? I warrant you come about some Roguery or other*]. Whereupon the Priest told it him as a great secret, [*That there were Thirty of them here in London, who by Instructions from Cardinal Mazarine, did take care of such Affairs, and had sate in Council, and debated the Question, Whether the King should be put to death or not ? and that it was carried in the Affirmative, and there were but two Voices for the Negative, which was his own and anothers : And that for his part he could not concur with them, as foreseeing what misery this would bring upon his Country*]. That Mr. *Atkins* stood to the Truth of this, but thought it a Violation of the Laws of Friendship, to name the Man.

I would not print it without fuller Attestation, lest it should be a wrong to the Papists. But when the King was restored and settled in Peace, I told it occasionally to a Privy Councillor, who not advising me to meddle any further in it, because the King knew enough of *Mazarine's* Designs already, I let it alone. But about this time I met with Dr. *Thomas Goad*, and occasionally mentioning such a thing, he told me that he was familiarly acquainted with Mr. *Atkins*, and would know the certainty of him, whether it were true : And not long after meeting him again, he told me that he spoke with Mr. *Atkins*, and that he assured him that it was true :
but

but he was loth to meddle in the publication of it. Nor did I think it prudence my self to do it, as knowing the Malice and Power of the Papists.

Since this, Dr. Peter Moulin hath in his Answer to *Philanax Anglicus*, declared that he is ready to prove, when Authority will call him to it, that the King's Death and the Change of the Government, was first propos'd both to the *Sorborne*, and to the Pope with his Conclave, and consented to and concluded for by both.

* Since made Dr. and the Archbishop's Chaplain.

§ 245. Another Book wrote against me was (as was thought) by one *Tompkins*, a young Man of *All-Souls*, Son to Mr. *Tompkins* of *Worcester*, and a School-boy there when I lived in that County*: He called it *The Rebel's Plea*; being a Confutation of such Passages in my *Holy Commonwealth*, as he least understood and could make most odious. All these Men made me think, what one advised the Papists to do for the effectual Confutation of the Protestants; viz. Not to dispute or talk with them at all, but to preach every day against them in the Pulpits; for there they may speak without any Contradiction, and need not fear an Answer.

§ 246. Shortly after our Disputation at the *Savoy*, I went to *Rickmersworth* in *Hartfordshire*, and preached there but once, upon *Matth. 22. 12.* [*And he was speechless*]: where I spake not a word that was any nearer kin to Sedition, or that had any greater tendency to provoke them, than by shewing [*that wicked men, and the refusers of grace, however they may now have many things to say to excuse their sin, will at last be speechless, and dare not stand to their wickedness before God.*] Yet did the Bishop of *Worcester* tell me, when he silenced me, that the Bishop of *London* had shewed him Letters from one of the Hearers, assuring him that I preached seditiously: so little Security was any Man's Innocency (that displeased the Bishops) to his Reputation with that Party, who had but one Auditor that desired to get favour by accusing him. So that a multitude of such Experiences made me perceive, when I was silenced, that there was some Mercy in it, in the midst of Judgment: for I should scarce have preached a Sermon, nor put up a Prayer to God, which one or other (through Malice, or hope of Favour) would not have been tempted to accuse as guilty of some heinous Crime: And as *Seneca* saith, *He that hath an Ulcer crieth Oh, if he do but think you touched him.*

§ 247. Shortly after my return to *London*, I went into *Worcestershire*, to try whether it were possible to have any honest Terms from the Reading Vicar there, that I might preach to my former Flock: But when I had preached twice or thrice, he denied me liberty to preach any more: I offered him to take my Lecture, which he was bound to allow me (under a Bond of 500 l.); but he refused it: I next offered him to be his Curate, and he refused it: I next offered him to preach for nothing, and he refused it: And lastly, I desired leave but once to Administer the Sacrament to the People, and preach my Farewel Sermon to them; but he would not consent. At last I understood that he was directed by his Superiours to do what he did: But Mr. *Baldwin* (an able Preacher whom I left there) was yet permitted.

§ 248. At that time, my aged Father lying in great pain of the Stone and Strangury, I went to visit him (Twenty miles further): And while I was there, Mr. *Baldwin* came to me, and told me that he also was forbidden to preach. We returned both to *Kidderminster*, and having a Lecture at *Sheffnal* in the way, I preached there, and stayed not to hear the Evening Sermon, because I would make haste to the Bishop. It fell out that my turn at another Lecture was on the same day with that at *Sheffnal* (viz. at *Clebury* in *Shropshire* also): And many were there met in expectation to hear me: But a Company of Soldiers were there (as the Country thought, to have apprehended me); who shut the Doors against the Ministers that would have preached in my stead (bringing a Command to the Churchwarden to hinder any one that had not a License from the Bishop); and the poor People that had come from far were fain to go home with grieved hearts.

§ 249. The next day it was confidently reported that a certain Knight offered the Bishop his Troop to apprehend me, if I offered to preach: And the People dissuaded me from going to the Bishop, supposing my Liberty in danger. But I went that Morning with Mr. *Baldwin*, and in the hearing of him and Dr. *Warmstry*, then Dean of *Worcester*, I remembered the Bishop of his Promise to grant me his Licence, &c. but he refused me liberty to preach in his Diocese, though I offered him to preach only on the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, Catechistical Principles, and only to such as had no preaching. But the Discourse between him and me at that time, I have had occasion since particu-

larly

larly to recite in my Answer to him, according as I noted it down when I came home; and therefore I shall here pass it by. And since then I never preached in his Diocess.

§ 250. When he Silenced me, he told me that he marvelled that I should think my own preaching so necessary, as to offer to preach for nothing, as if other Men could not do as much good as I? I told him, That when they and I had all done our best, there would be many Places unsupplied; and asked him, Whether he thought that such an one as I were not better than none! He told me, That he thought not meanly of my Abilities; but till I was better affected, he thought they were better that had none. I urged him to tell me what he thought was the Errour of my Mind or Affections, and what he would have me do towards the Cure? My Errours he would not tell me (save the ridiculous recital of that Sentence at the Savoy, of *Sin per accidens*, which I have spoken of in my Answer to him at large); but for my Cure (of I know not what) he would have me read *Bilson* and *Hooker*. I told him that was not now to do: But when, at his perswasion, I reviled them, I admired at their Infatuation, that ever they suffered such Books as *Hooker's* Eighth Book, and *Bishop Bilson* of Obedience, to see the Light: When *Hooker* goeth so much further than the Long Parliament went, as to affirm that the Legislative Power is so naturally belonging to the whole Body; that it is Tyranny for a single Person to exercise it, (*Lib. 1.*) And that the King is *singulis Major, sed Univerſis Minor*, and receiveth his Power from the People, with many more Antimonarchical Principles, which I have confuted in the Fourth Part of my *Christian Directory* particularly, as judging them unsound. And *Bilson*, in that excellent Book of *Christian Obedience*, hath this passage, which needs should make them burn it, and not commend it to us for our Cure, [Pag. 520. *If a Prince should go about to subject his Kingdom to a Forreign Realm, or change the Form of the Commonwealth, or neglect the Laws established by common Consent of Prince and People, to execute his own pleasure: In these, and other Cases which might be named, if the Nobles and the Commons joyn together to defend their ancient and accustomed Liberty, Regiment and Laws, they may not well be counted Rebels*]——[*I never deny'd that the People might preserve the Foundation, Freedom and Form of their Commonwealth, which they fore-prized when they first consented to have a King*]——[*I say, the Law of God giveth no Man leave to resist his Prince: but I never said, that Kingdoms and Commonwealths might not proportion their States as they thought best, by their publick Laws; which afterwards the Princes themselves may not violate. By [Superiour Powers ordained of God] we understand, not only Princes, but all Politick States and Regiments: somewhere the People, somewhere the Nobles, having the same Interest to the Sword that Princes have in their Kingdoms. And in Kingdoms where Princes bear rule, by [the Sword], we do not mean the Princes private Will, against his Laws; but his Precept derived from his Laws, and agreeing with his Laws: which though it be wicked, yet may it not be resisted by any Subject with armed violence. Marry, when Princes offer their Subjects, not Justice, but Force, and despise all Laws to practise their Lusts, not every nor any private Man, may take the Sword and redress the Prince; but if the Laws of the Land appoint the Nobles, as next the King, to assist him in doing right, and withhold him from doing wrong, then be they licensed by Man's Law, and so not prohibited by God's, to interpose themselves for the safety of Equity and Innocency, and by all lawful and needful means, to procure the Prince to be reformed, but in no case deprived, where the Scepter is inherited*]. So far *Bishop Bilson* to whom I was sent.

§ 251. To return to *Bishop Monley*; He told me when he Silenced me, that he would take care that the People should be no losers, but should be taught as well as they were by me. And when I was gone, he got awhile a few scandalous Men, with some that were more civil, to keep up the Lecture, till the paucity of their Auditors gave them a pretence to put it down. And he came himself one day and preached to them, a long Invective against them and me, as Presbyterians, and I know not what; so that the People wondered that ever a Man would venture to come up into a Pulpit, and speak so confidently to a People, that he knew not, the things which they commonly knew to be untrue. And this Sermon was so far from winning any of them to the estimation of their New Bishop, or curing that which he called the Admiration of my Person, (which was his great endeavour) that they were much confirmed in their former Judgments. But still the Bishop looked at *Kidderminster* as a Factious, Schismatical, Presbyterian People, that must be cured of their over-valuing of me, and then they would be cured of all the rest: Whereas if he had lived with them the twentieth part so long as I had done, he would have known that they were neither Presbyterians, nor Factious nor Schif-

Shifmatical, nor Seditious; but a People that quietly followed their hard Labour, and learned the Holy Scriptures, and lived a holy, blameless Life, in Humility and Peace with all Men, and never had any Sect or separated Party among them, but abhorred all Faction and Sidings in Religion, and lived in Love and Christian Unity. Yet when the Bishop was gone, the Dean came and preached about three hours or near, to cure them of the Admiration of my Person; and a month after came again and preached over the same, perswading the People that they were Presbyterians and Schismatical, and were led to it by their over-valuing of me. The People admired at the temerity of these Men, and really thought that they were scarce well in their Wits, that would go on to speak things so far from truth of Men whom they never knew, and that to their own faces. Many have gone about by backbiting to make People believe a false report of others: but few will think to perswade any to believe it of themselves, who know themselves much better than the Reprover doth. Yet besides all this, their Lecturers were to go on in the same strain, and one Mr. Pitt (who lived in Sir John Packington's House, with Dr. Hammond) was often at this work (being of the Judgment and Spirit of Dr. Gunning and Dr. Pierce) calling them Presbyterians, Rebellious, Serpents, and Generation of Vipers, unlikely to scape the Damnation of Hell, yet knowing not his Accusation to be true of one Man of them (For there was but one, if one Presbyterian in the Town, but plain honest People, that minded nothing but Piety, Unity, Charity, and their Callings). This dealing (instead of winning them to the Preacher) drove them from the Lecture, and then (as I said) they accused the People as deserting it, and put it down.

* A most scandalous Person.

§ 252. For this ordinary Preacher they set up one of the best parts they could get (* was far from what his Patrons spake him to be) who was quickly a weary and went away. And next they set up a poor dry Man, that had been a School-master near us, and after a little time he died: And since they have taken another Course, and set up a young Man (the best they can get) who taketh the contrary way to the first, and over-applaudeth me in the Pulpit to them, and speaketh well of them, and useth them kindly: And they are glad of one that hath some Charity. And thus the Bishop hath used that Flock, who say that till then they never knew so well what a Bishop was, nor were before so guilty of that dislike of Episcopacy, of which they were so frequently and vehemently accused. I hear not of one person among them, who is won to the Love of Prelacy, or Formality since my removal.

§ 253. Having parted with my dear Flock (I need not say, with mutual sense and tear) I left Mr. Baldwin to live privately among them, and oversee them in my stead, and visit them from House to House; advising them, notwithstanding all the Injuries they had received, and all the Failings of the Ministers that preached to them, and the Defects of the present Way of Worship, that yet they should keep to the Publick Assemblies, and make use of such Helps as might be had in Publick, together with their private Helps: Only in three Cases to absent themselves; 1. When the Minister was one that was utterly insufficient, as not being able to teach them the Articles of the Faith and Essentials of true Religion (such as alas, they had known to their sorrow). 2. When the Minister preached any Heresie, or Doctrine which was directly contrary to any Article of the Faith, or necessary part of Godliness. 3. When in the Application he set himself gainst the Ends of his Office, to make a holy Life seem odious, and to keep Men from it, and to promote the Interest of Satan: Yet not to take every bitter Reflection upon themselves or others, occasioned by difference of Opinion or Interest, to be a sufficient Cause to say that the Minister preacheth against Godliness, or to withdraw themselves.

§ 254. When I was gone from them, I wrote not a Letter to them past once in a year, lest it should bring Suffering upon them (the Cause also why I removed my Dwelling from them was, because they apprehended themselves that my presence would have been their ruine, as to Liberty and Estates): For had they but received a Letter from me, any displeasing thing that they had done, would have been imputed to that. As for instance, not long after, there came out the Act that all that had any Place of Trust in Cities, Corporations or Countreys, should be put out, unless they declared that they held [That there is no Obligation lying upon them, or any other person, from the Oath called The Solemn League and Covenant]: Hereupon all the Thirteen Capital Burgeses, Bailiff, Justice, and all, save one that had been an Officer in the King's Army, were turned out (though I suppose never any more than two or three of them took the Oath and Covenant themselves); and almost all the 25 inferiour Burgeses were turned out with them. Whereupon

it was charged upon them that I had perswaded them to refuse this Declaration ; till it was manifest that I had never once spoke a word to them about it, nor written one Line to them about that or any thing else, of a long time : At such a distance were we forced to remain.

§ 255. After a short time the Lord *Windsor*, who was Lord Lieutenant of the County (and Governour of *Jamaica*), bought a House in the Town, and lived among them ; (as most thought, to watch over them as a dangerous People) which turned to their great Relief : For before his coming, they were many of them imprisoned, and hardly used ; but when he lived among them, and saw their honesty and innocency, they have had Three years of as great quietness and liberty, as any place I know in the Land. When he first came thither I was there, and went to wait upon him, and told him (truly) that I was glad of his coming for my Neighbour's sakes : for an innocent People are never so safe as under their Governour's Eye ; seeing Slanders have their power most on strangers that are unacquainted with the persons or the things.

§ 256. Just at the time that the Bishop was Silencing me, it was famed at *London* that I was in the North, in the Head of a Rebellion ! And at *Kidderminster* I was accused, because there was a Meeting of many Ministers at my House ; which was no more than they knew had been their constant Custom many a year, to visit me, or dine with me. And while we were at Dinner, it fell out that by publick Order, the Covenant was to be burnt in the Market-place, and it was done under my Window : and the Attendance was so small, that we knew not of it till afterwards : Yet because I had preached the Morning before (which as I remember was my last Sermon there) upon Christ's words on the Cross [*Father forgive them ; for they know not what they do*] I was accused of it as a heinous Crime, as having preached against the burning of the Covenant : which I never meddled with, nor was it done till after the Sermon, nor did I know when it was done, nor mind it ; nor did I apply the Text to any Matters of those present Times ; but only in general to perswade the Hearers to the forgiving of Injuries, and maintaining Charity, in the midst of the greatest Temptations to the contrary : and to remember that it was the Tempter's Design, by every wrong which they received, to get advantage for the weakening of their Love to those that did it ; which therefore they should with double care maintain. This was the true scope of that Sermon which deserved Death or Banishment, as all my Pacificatory Endeavours had done.

§ 257. When I came back to *London*, my Book called [*The Mischiefs of Self-ignorance and Benefits of Self-acquaintance*] was coming out of the Press : And my affection to my People of *Kidderminster* caused me, by a short Epistle to direct it to them, and because I could never after tell them publickly (being Silenced) I told them here the occasion of my removal from them, and my silencing ; for brevity summing up the principal things in my Charge. And because I said [*This was the Cause*] the Bishop took advantage, as if I had said, *This was the whole Cause*] when the Conference between him and me was half an hour long, and not fit to be wholly inserted in a short Epistle, where I intended nothing but the sum. But the Bishop took occasion hereupon to gather up all that ever he could say to make me odious, and especially out of my *Holy Commonwealth*, and our Conference at the *Savoy* ; where he gathered up a scrap of an Assertion which he did not duly understand, and made it little less than Heresie ; and this he published in a Book called *A Letter* ; which I truly profess, is the fullest of palpable Untruths in Matter of Fact, that ever I saw Paper, to my remembrance in all my Life. The words which he would render me so abhorred for, are our denial of Dr. *Pierfon's* and Dr. *Gunning's*, &c. Propositions, about the innocency of Laws which command Things evil by Accident only : where the Bishop never discerned (unless he dissemble it) the Reasons of our Denial, nor the Proposition denied : The very words of the Dispute being printed before, and I having fully opened the Bishops Mistakes, in an Answer to him, I shall not here stop the Reader with it again.

§ 258. But this vehement Invective of the Bishop's presently taught all that desired his Favour, and the improvement of his very great Interest for their Ends, to talk in all Companies at the same rates as he had done, and to speak of me as he had spoken, and those that thought more was necessary to their hopes, presented the Service of their Pens. Dr. *Boreman* of *Trinity Colledge* wrote a Book, without his Name, and had no other design in it than to make me odious ; nor any better occasion for his writing than this : There had many years before past divers Papers

between Dr. *Thomas Hill*, then Master of *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and me, about the Point of [*Physical efficient Predetermination as necessary to every Action natural and free*]: I had written largely and earnestly against Predetermination, and he a little for it: In the end of it, the Calamities of the Sectarian times, and some Sicknesses among my Friends, had occasioned me to vent my moan to him as my Friend; and therein to speak of the doubtfulness of the Cause of the former War, and what reason there was to be diligent in search and prayer about it. When Dr. *Hill* was dead, Dr. *Boreman* came to see these Papers: Both the Subjects he must needs know were such, as tended rather to my Esteem, than to my Disparagement with the Men of these Times. Certainly the *Arminians* will be angry with no Man for being against Predetermination; and I think they will pardon him for questioning the Parliaments Wars: Yet did this disingenuous Dr. make a Book on this occasion, to seek Preferment by reproaching me, for he knew not what: But to make up the matter, he writeth that it is reported, That I kill'd a Man in cold blood with my own hands in the Wars: Whereas God knoweth, that I never hurt a Man in my Life, no never gave a Man a stroke (save one Man, when I was a Boy, whose Legg I broke with wrestling in jest; which almost broke my heart with grief, though he was quickly cured). But the Dr. knowing that this might be soon disproved, cautiously gave me some Lenitives to perswade me to bear it patiently, telling me that if it be not true, I am not the first that have been thus abused: but for ought I know, he is the first that thus abused me. I began to write an Answer to this Book; but when I saw that Men did but laugh at it, and those that knew the Man despised it, and dissuaded me from answering such a one, I laid it by.

§ 259. When the Bishop's Invektive was read, many Men were of many minds, about the answering of it: Those at a distance all cried out upon me to answer it: Those at hand did all dissuade me, and told me that it would be Imprisonment at least to me, if I did it with the greatest truth and mildness possible. Both Gentlemen and all the City Ministers told me, that it would not do half so much good, as my Suffering would do hurt: and that none believed it but the engaged Party, and that to others an Answer was not necessary, and to them it was unprofitable, for they would never read it. And I thought that the Judgment of Men that were upon the place, and knew how things went, was most to be regarded. But yet I wrote a full Answer to his Book, (except about the words in my *Holy Commonwealth*, which were not to be spoke to) and kept it by me, that I might use it as there was occasion. At that time Mr. *Joseph Glanville* sent me the offer of his Service to write in my Defence, (He that wrote the *Vanity of Dogmatizing*, and a *Treatise for the Præexistence of Souls*, being a *Platonist*, of free Judgment, and of admired Parts, and now one of the Royal Society of Philosophers, and one that had a too excessive estimation of me, as far above my desert, as the malicious Party erred on the other side): But I dissuaded him from bringing himself into Suffering, and making himself unserviceable for so low an end: Only I gave him (and no Man else) my own Answer to peruse, which he returned with his Approbation of it.

§ 260. But Mr. *Edward Bagshaw* (Son to Mr. *Bagshaw* the Lawyer, that wrote Mr. *Bolton's* Life), without my knowledge wrote a Book in Answer to the Bishops: I could have wishd he had let it alone: For the Man hath no great disputing Faculty, but only a florid Epistolary Stile, and was wholly a Stranger to me, and to the Matters of Fact, and therefore could say nothing to them: But only being of a Bold and Roman Spirit, he thought that no Suffering should deter a Man from the smallest Duty, or cause him to silence any useful Truth. And I had formerly seen a Latin Discourse of his against Monarchy, which no whit pleased me, being a weak Argumentation for a bad Cause. So that I desired no such Champion: shortly after he went over with the E. of *Anglesey*, whose Household Chaplain he was, into *Ireland*, and having preached there some times, and returning back, was apprehended, and sent Prisoner to the *Tower*: where he continued long till his Means was all spent, and how he hath since procured Bread I know not. When he had been Prisoner about a year, it seems he was acquainted with Mr. *Davis*, who was also a Prisoner in the *Tower*: This Mr. *Davis* having been very serviceable in the Restoration of the King, and having laid out much of his Estate for his Service, thought he might be the bolder with his Tongue and Pen, and being of a Spirit which some called *undaunted*, but others, *furious*, or *indiscreet* at best, did give an unmannerly liberty to his Tongue, to accuse the Court of such Crimes, with such Aggravations, as being a Subject, I think it not meet to name. At last, he talkt so freely

freely in the *Tower* also, that he was shipt away Prisoner to *Tangier* in *Africa*. Mr. *Bagshaw* being surprized by *L'Estrange*, and his Chamber searched, there was found with him a Paper called *Mr. Davis's Case*: Whereupon he was brought out to speak with the King, who examined him of whom he had that Paper, and he denied to confess, and spake so boldly to the King as much offended him; whereupon he was sent back to the *Tower*, and laid in a deep, dark, dreadful Dungeon: When he had lain there three or four Days and Nights, without Candle, Fire, Bed or Straw, he fell into a terrible fit of the *Hemorrhoids* which the Physicians thought did save his Life: for the pain was so vehement, that it kept him in a sweat, which cast out the Infection of the Damp. At last, by the solicitation of his Brother (who was a Conformist, and dearly loved him) he was taken up, and after that was sent away to *Southsea-Castle*, an unwholesome place in the Sea by *Portsmouth*, where (if he be alive) he remaineth close Prisoner to this day, with *Varvafor Powel* (a Preacher of *North-Wales*) and others; speeding worse than Mr. *Crofton*, who was at last released.

§ 261. While I was in *Shropshire* and *Worcestershire*, it fell out that some one printed one of our Papers given into the Bishops: And though I was above an hundred miles off, yet was it all imputed to me, and *Roger L'Estrange* put it in the News Book, that it was supposed to be my *doing*. Indeed, when Dr. *Gunning* had asked me, Whether we would keep ours from the Press, if they would do the same by theirs, I would not promise him; but told him, though I supposed that none of us intended to be so presumptuous as to publish them without Authority, yet I could promise nothing for all them that were absent; nor could any one promise it, when so many Scriveners were intrusted to Transcribe them, that the King and Bishops might have Copies: and whether any of those Scriveners might keep a Copy for themselves I knew not. And after this most of the other Papers were printed, by I know not whom, to this day: But I conjectured that a poor Man that I paid for writing me a Copy (Dr. *Reignolds's* Curate) was likeliest to do it, to get somewhat to supply his very great wants; but I am utterly uncertain: But I had intelligence that the second Papers were in the Press, and that Malice might impute it to me no more, I went to Secretary *Morrice*, and acquainted him with it, that he might send a Messenger to surprize them: But he told me, that if I could assure him that the Bishops had not given consent, I should have a warrant to search for them. I told him that I knew not what the Bishops had done, but he might easily conjecture: Nor would I search for them; but having told him, left him to do what he thought meet.

§ 262. And here I must give notice, That whereas there are then printed, [1. Our first Proposals for Concord in Discipline. 2. Our Papers upon the sight of the first Draught of the King's Declaration. 3. Our Petition and Reasons to the Bishops for Peace. 4. Our Reformed Liturgy. 5. Our Exceptions against the Faults of the Common Prayer Book. 6. Our Reply to the Bishops Answer to these Exceptions, with the Answer it self *verbatim* inserted. 7. Our last Account and Petition to the King. 8. A Copy of all their Disputation for the Liturgy, with our Answers]; all these being surreptitiously printed (save the first piece) by some poor Men for gain, without our Knowledge and Correction, are so *falsly* printed, that our wrong by it is very great: Whole Lines are left out; the most significant words are perverted by Alterations; and this so frequently, that some parts of the Papers (especially our *large Reply*, and our *last Account to the King*) are made Nonsense, and not intelligible. But the last Paper (Dr. *Pierston's* and Dr. *Gunning's* Disputation) I confess was not printed without my knowledge: For Bishop *Morley's* misreports with so great confidence uttered had made it of some necessity: But I added not one Syllable by way of Commentary, the words themselves being sufficient for his Confutation. If I remember, I will give you in the end of this Book the Errata of them all, that they that have the printed Copies may know how to correct them.

§ 263. The coming forth of these Papers had various effects: It increased the burning indignation which before was kindled against me on one side, and it somewhat mitigated the Censures that were taken up against me on the other side. For you must know that the Chief of the Congregational (or Independent) Party, took it ill that we took not them with us in our Treaty, and so did a few of the Presbyterian Divines; all whom we so far passed by as not to invite them to our Councils, (though they were as free as we to have done the like) because we knew that it would be but a hinderance to us, partly because their Persons were unacceptable, and partly because it might have delayed the Work: And most of the Inde-

pendents, and some few Presbyterians, raised it as a common Censure against us, that if we had not been so forward to meet the Bishops with the offers of so much at first, and to enter a Treaty with them without just cause, we had all had better Terms, and standing off would have done more good : so that, though my *Person* and *Intentions* had a more favourable Censure from them than some others, yet for the *Action*, I was commonly censured by them, as one that had granted them too much, and wronged my Brethren by entering into this Treaty, out of too earnest a desire of Concord with them. Thus were Men on both extreams offended with me ; and I found what Enmity, *Charity* and *Peace* are like to meet with in the World. But when these Papers were printed, the Independents confessed that we had dealt faithfully, and satisfactorily : And indifferent men said that Reason had overwhelmed the Cause of the Diocesans, and that we had offered them so much as left them utterly without Excuse : And the moderate Episcopal Men said the same : But the engaged Prelatist were vehemently displeased, that these Papers should thus come abroad. (Though many of them here published were never before printed, because none had Copies of them but my self).

§ 264. Bishop *Morley* told me when he Silenced me, that our Papers would be answered ere long : But no Man to this day (that ever we could hear of) hath answered them which were unanswered ; Either our Reasons for Peace, or our Liturgy, or our large Reply, or our Answers to Dr. *Pierfon's* Argument, &c. only Roger *L'Estrange* the writer of the News Book, hath railed out a great many words against some of them : And a nameless Author (thought to be Dr. *Wormmock*) hath answered one part of one Subject in our Reply, which is about excluding all Prayers from the Pulpit, besides Common Prayer ; and in very plausible Language, he saith as much as can be said for so bad a Cause, *viz.* for the prohibiting all Extemporary Prayer in the Church. And when he cometh to the chief strength of our Reasons, he passeth it by, and saith, that in answering so much as he did, the Answer to the rest may be gathered. And to all the rest of the Subjects he saith nothing : much less to all our other Papers.

§ 265. Also another nameless Author (commonly said to be Sir *Henry Telverton*) wrote a Book for Bishop *Morley* against me : But neither he, nor *Boreman*, nor *Wormmock* ever saw me, for ought I know ; and I am sure he is as strange to the Cause as to me : For he taketh it out of Bishop *Morley's* Book, and supposing what he hath written to be true, he findeth some words of Censorious Application, to make a Book of.

§ 266. And about the same time Sir *Robert Holt* a Knight of *Warwickshire* near *Bremicham*, spake in the Parliament House against Mr. *Calamy* and me by name, as preaching or praying seditiously ; but not one syllable named that we said : And another time he named me for my *Holy Commonwealth*.

§ 267. And about that time, Bishop *Morley* having preferred a young Man, named Mr. S—— (Orator of the University of *Oxford*, a fluent witty Satyrift, and one that was sometime motioned to me to be my

About this time Mr. *Field*, a godly Minister, died in Prison, and abundance were imprisoned upon malicious Accusations of some of their ignorant Hearers.

Curate at *Kidderminster*) ; this Man being Household Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor, was appointed to preach before the King ; where the Crowd had high Expectations of some vehement Satyr : But when he had preached a quarter of an hour, he was utterly at a loss, and so unable to recollect himself, that he could go

no further ; but cried [*The Lord be merciful to our Infirmities*] and so came down. But about a Month after, they were resolved yet that Mr. S—— should preach the same Sermon before the King, and not lose his expected Applause : And preach it he did (little more than half an hour, with no admiration at all of the Hearers) : And for his Encouragement the Sermon was printed. And when it was printed, many desired to see what words they were that he was stopped at the first time : And they found in the printed Copy all that he had said first, and one of the next Passages which he was to have delivered, was against me for my *Holy Commonwealth*.

§ 268. And so vehement was the Endeavour in Court, City, and Country to make me contemptible and odious, as if the Authours had thought that the Safety either of Church or State did lye upon it, and all would have been safe if I were but vilified and hated. Insomuch that *Durell* the French Minister that turned to them, and wrote for them, had a senseless snare at me in his Book ; and Mr. *Stoope* the Pastor of the French Church was banished (or forbidden this Land) as Fame said, for carrying over our Debates into *France*. So that any Stranger that had but heard and seen all this, would have asked, What Monster of Villany is this Man ? and

and what is the Wickedness that he is guilty of? Yet was I never questioned to this day before a Magistrate. Nor do my Adversaries charge me with any personal wrong to them; nor did they ever Accuse me of any Heresie, nor much condemn my Judgment, nor ever accule my Life (but for preaching where another had been Sequestred that was an insufficient Reader, and for preaching to the Soldiers of the Parliament, though none of them knew my Business there, nor the Service that I did them): These are all the Crimes, besides my Writings, that I ever knew they charged my Life with. But Envy and Carnal Interest was so destitute of a Mask, that they every where openly confessed the Cause for which they endeavoured my Defamation and Destruction; especially the Bishops that set all on work: 1. As one Cause was their own over-valuing of my Parts, which they made account I would employ against them. 2. Another was that they thought the Reputation of my blameless Life, would add to my ability to deserve them. 3. Another was, that they thought my Interest in the People to be far greater than indeed it was. 4. But the principal of all was, my Conference before the King and at the Savoy; in both which it fell out that Bishop Morley and I were the busiest Talkers (except Dr. Gunning), and that it was my lot to contradict him, who was not so able either to bear, or seem to bear it, as I thought at least his Honour would have instructed him to be. 5. And my refusing a Bishoprick increased the indignation: And Colonel Birch that first came to offer it me, told me, that they would ruine us, if we refused it: Yet did I purposely forbear ever mentioning it, on all occasions. 6. And it was not the least Cause, that my being for Primitive Episcopacy, and not for Presbytery, and being not so far from them in some other Points of Doctrine and Worship, as many Nonconformists are, they thought I was the abler to undermine them. 7. And another Cause was, that they judged of the rest of my Talk and Life, by my Conference at the Savoy, not knowing that I took that to be my present Duty, which Fidelity to the King and Church commanded me, faithfully to do, whoever was displeased by it: and that when that time was over, I took it to be my Duty, to live as peaceably as any Subject in the Land, and not to use my Tongue or Pen against the Government which the King was pleased to appoint, however I disallowed it. Thus have I found the old saying true, That Reconcilers use to be hated on both sides, and to put their hand in the Clift, which closeth upon them and finisheth them.

§ 269. The next time I went to the Lord Chancellour (about the New-England Corporation) after the Bishop of Worcester's Anger and Invektive Book, he entertained me with his usual Condescension and Courtesie, but with some chiding Language that I would meddle with Dr. Morley to provoke him: which when I had briefly spoke to, he followed on his Reprehension thus, [*Was it a handsome thing of Mr. Baxter, to speak so to so mild a Man as Dr. Earles, Clerk of the King's Closet, as when he offered you a Tippet when you preached before the King, to turn away in scorn, and say, Ple none of your Toyes? Would not a fairer Answer have been better?*] I replied to him, That I still perceived more and more the truth of what I told the Bishops, what Consequents would follow the Continuance of unhealed Factions: and what usage we must expect however we lived, and how little Innocency would do to our vindication! I told him that I never spake any such word as he mentioned, nor ever had such a thought in my heart, nor no more scrupled to wear a Tippet than to sit on a Cushion: But I thanked his Lordship, that by the benefit of his free Reprehension I came to understand how much I had been wronged by this Report to his Majesty, above a year before I heard of it; and might never have heard of it but by him; and told him that it was just thus in other Matters: And I truly told him, that I was unfeignedly thankful to his Lordship, that would reprove me for that to my face, which others only whispered behind my back, where I had opportunity to defend my self.

§ 270. Hereupon I wrote this following Letter to Dr. Earles (a mild and quiet Man) who was since Bishop of Worcester, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

Reverend Sir !

BY the great Favour of my Lord Chancellour's Reprehension, I came to understand how long a time I have suffered in my Reputation with my Superiours by your misunderstanding me, and misinforming others, as if when I was to preach before the King, I had scornfully refused the Tippet as a Toy: when as the Searcher and Judge of Hearts doth know that I had no such thought or word. I was so ignorant in those matters, as to think that a Tippet had been the proper Insign of a Dr. of Divinity * ; and I verily thought that you offered it me as such: And I had so much pride as to be somewhat ashamed when you offered it, that I must tell you my want of such Degrees, and therefore gave you no Answer to your first offer; but to your second was forced to say [It belongeth not to me, Sir]. And I said not to you any more; nor had any other thought in my heart, than with some shame to tell you that I had no Degrees; imagining I should have offended others, and made my self the laughter or scorn of many; if I should have used that which did not belong to me. For I must profess that I no more scruple to wear a Tippet than a Gown, or any comely Garment. Sir, Though this be one of the smallest of all the Mistakes which of late have turned to my wrong, and I must confess that my ignorance gave you the occasion, and I am far from imputing it to any ill will in you, having frequently heard that in Charity, and gentleness and peaceableness of Mind you are very eminent; yet because I must not contemn my Estimation with my Superiours, I humbly crave that favour and justice of you (which I am confident you will readily grant me) as to acquaint those with the truth of this business, whom upon mistake you have misinformed; whereby in relieving the Innocency of your Brother, you will do a work of Charity and Justice, and therefore not displeasing unto God, and will much oblige,

* As it is in the University.

June 20. 1662.

S I R,

Your humble Servant,

Richard Baxter.

I have the more need of your Justice in this Case, because my distance denieth me access to those that have received these misreports, and because any publick Vindication of my self, whatever is said of me, is taken as an unsufferable Crime, and therefore I am utterly incapable of vindicating my Innocency or remedying their Mistakes.

To the Reverend and much Honoured Dr. Earles Dean of Westminster, &c.
These.

To this the Dr. returned this Civil peaceable Answer.

Hampton-Court, June 23.

S I R,

I Received your Letter, which I would have answered sooner if the Messenger that brought it had returned. I must confess I was a little surprized with the beginning of it, as I was with your Name: but when I read further I ceased to be so. Sir, I should be heartily sorry and ashamed to be guilty of any thing like Malignity * or Uncharitableness, especially to one of your Condition; with whom though I concur not perhaps in point of Judgment in some particulars, yet I cannot but esteem for your personal worth and abilities: And indeed your Expressions in your Letter are so civil and ingenuous, that I am obliged thereby the more to give you all the satisfaction I can. As I remember then when you came to me to the Closet, and I told you I would furnish you with a Tippet; you answered me something to that purpose as you write; but whether the same Numerical words, or but once, I cannot positively say from my own Memory, and therefore I believe yours: Only this I am sure of, that I said to you at my second speaking. That * some others of your Perswasion had not scrupled at it, which might suppose (if you had not affirmed the contrary) that you had made me a former refusal: Of which giving me then no other reason, than [that it belonged not to you]

* O that they were all such.

* These words I heard not, being in pidge iron bin

you] I concluded you were more scrupulous than others were: and perhaps the manner of your refusing it (as it appeared to me) might make me think you were not very well pleased with the motion: And this it is likely I might say, either to my Lord Chancellour or others; though seriously I do not remember that I spake to my Lord Chancellour at all concerning it. But Sir, since you give me now that modest reason for it (which by the way, is no just reason in it self, for a Tippet may be worn without a Degree, though a Hood cannot; and it is no shame at all to want these Formalities, for him that wanteth not the Substance), but, Sir, I say since you give that reason for your refusal, I believe you, and shall correct that Mistake in my self, and endeavour to rectifie it in others, if any upon this occasion, have misunderstood you. In the mean time I shall desire your charitable Opinion of my self, which I shall be willing to deserve upon any Opportunity that is offered me to do you Service, being,

SIR,

Your very humble Servant

Jo. Earles.

To my honoured Friend Mr. Richard Baxter, These.

§ 271. Before this, in November, many worthy Ministers and others were imprisoned in many Counties; and among others, divers of my old Neighbours in Worcester-shire: And that you may see what Crimes were the occasion, I will tell you the story of it. One Mr. Ambrose Sparry, (a sober, learned Minister, that had never owned the Parliament's Cause or Wars, and was in his Judgment for moderate Episcopacy) had a wicked Neighbour whom he reprov'd for Adultery, who bearing him a grudge, thought now he had found a time to shew it: He (or his Confederates for him) framed a Letter as from I know not whom, directed to Mr. Sparry, [That he and Captain Yarrington, should be ready with Money and Arms at the time appointed, and that they should acquaint Mr. Oasland and Mr. Baxter with it]: This Letter he pretended that a Man left behind him under a Hedge, who sat down and pull'd out many Letters, and put them all up again save this, and went his ways, (he knew not what he was, nor whether he went). This Letter he bringeth to Sir John P—— (the Man that hotly followed such work;) who sent Mr. Sparry, Mr. Oasland, and Captain Yarrington to Prison! (This Mr. Oasland was Minister in Bewdley, a fervent laborious Preacher, who had done abundance of good in converting ignorant ungodly People). And he had offended Sir Ralph Clare in being against his Election as Burgess in Parliament for that Town). But who that Mr. Baxter was that the Letter named, they could not resolve; there being another of the name nearer, and I being in London: But the Men, especially Mr. Sparry, lay long in Prison, and when the Forgery and Injury was detected, he had much ado to get out.

§ 272. Mr. Henry Jackson also our Physician at Kidderminster, and many of my Neighbours were imprisoned, and were never told for what to this day: But Mr. Jackson was so merry a Man, and they were all so cheerful there, that I think they were released the sooner, because it appeared so small a Suffering to them.

§ 273. Though no one accused me of any thing, nor spake a word to me of it, (being they knew I had long been near a Hundred miles off) yet did they defame me all over the Land, as guilty of a Plot: and when Men were taken up and sent to Prison, in other Counties, it was said to be for Baxter's Plot; so easie was it, and so necessary a thing it seemed then, to cast such filth upon my Name.

§ 274. And though through the great Mercy of God, I had long been learning not to overvalue the thoughts of Men, no not so much as the Reputation of Honesty or Innocency, yet I was somewhat wearied with this kind of Life, to be every day calumniated, and hear new Slanders raised of me, and Court and Country ring of that, which no Man ever mentioned to my face; and I was oft thinking to go beyond Sea, that I might find some place in retired privacy to live and end my days in quietness, out of the noise of a Peace-hating Generation: But my Acquaintance thought I might be more serviceable here, though there I might live more in quietness; and having not the Vulgar Language of any Country, to enable

ble me to preach to them, or converse with them, and being so infirm as not to be like to bear the Voyage and change of Air: These, with other Impediments which God laid in my way, hindred me from putting my Thoughts in Execution.

§ 275. About this time also it was famed at the Court that I was married, which went as the matter of a most heinous Crime, which I never heard charged by them on any Man but on me. Bishop Morley divulged it with all the Odium he could possibly put upon it: telling them that one in Conference with him, I said that Ministers marriage is [*lawful, and but lawful*] as if I were now contradicting my self. And it every where rung about, partly as a Wonder, and partly as a Crime, whilst they cried, [*This is the Man of Charity*]: little knowing what they talkt of. Infomuch that at last the Lord Chancellour told me, He heard I was married, and wondered at it, when I told him it was not true: For they had affirmed it near a year before it came to pass. And I think the King's Marriage was scarce more talk'd of than mine.

§ 276. All this while Mr. Calamy and some other Ministers had been endeavouring with those that they had Interest in, and to try if the Parliament would pass the King's Declaration into a Law; and sometimes they had some hope from the Lord Chancellour and others: but when it came to the trial, their hopes all failed them; and the Conformity impos'd was made ten times more burdensome than it ever was before. For besides that, the Convocation had made the Common Prayer Book more grievous than before, the Parliament made a new Act of Uniformity, with a new Form of Subscription, and a new Declaration to be made against the Obligation of the Covenant; of which more anon. So that the King's Declaration did not only die before it came to Execution, and all Hopes and Treaties and Petitions were not only disappointed, but a weight more grievous than a Thousand Ceremonies was added to the old Conformity, with a grievous Penalty.

§ 277. By this means there was a great Unanimity in the Ministers, and the greater Number were cast out: And as far as I could perceive, it was by some designed that it might be so. Many a time did we beseech them that they would have so much regard to the Souls of Men, and to the Honour of England, and of the Protestant Religion, as that without any necessity at all, they would not impose feared Perjury upon them, nor that which Conscience, and Common Esteem, and Popish Adversaries would all call Perjury; that Papists might not have this to cast in our Teeth, and call the Protestants a Perjured People, nor England or Scotland Perjured Lands. Oft have we proved to them that their Cause and Interest required no such thing: But all was but casting Oyl upon the Flames, and forcing us to think of that Monster of Millan, that made his Enemy renounce God to save his Life, before he stabb'd him, that he might murder Soul and Body at a stroke. It seem'd to be accounted the one thing necessary, which no Reason must be heard against, that the Presbyterians must be forced to do that which they accounted Publick Perjury, or to be cast out of Trust and Office, in Church and Commonwealth. And by this means a far greater Number were laid by, than otherwise would have been; and the few that yielded to Conformity they thought would be despicable and contemptible as long as they lived. A Noble Revenge, and worthy of the Actors.

§ 278. When the Act of Uniformity was passed, it gave all the Ministers that could not Conform, no longer time than till Bartholomew-day, August 24. 1662. and then they must be all cast out: (This fatal Day called to remembrance the French Massacre, when on the same Day * 30000 or 40000 Protestants perished by Religious Roman Zeal and Charity). I had no place, but only that I preached twice a Week by Request in other Men's Congregations (at Milkstreet and Blackfriars), and the last Sermon that ever I preached in Publick was on May 25. The Reasons why I gave over sooner than most others was, 1. Because Lawyers did interpret a doubtful Clause in the Act, as ending the Liberty of Lecturers at that time. 2. Because I would let Authority soon know, that I intended to obey them in all that was lawful. 3. Because I would let all Ministers in England understand in time, whether I intended to Conform or not: For had I stayed to the last day, some would have Conformed the sooner, upon a Supposition that I intended it. These, with other Reasons, moved me to cease three Months before Bartholomew-day, which many censured me for a while, but after, better saw the Reasons of it.

* Or
100000, as
Pet. Moulin
Jun. saith,
within a
few weeks.

§ 279. When *Bartholomew-day* came, about One thousand eight hundred, or Two thousand Ministers were Silenced and Cast out: And the Affections of most Men thereupon were such as made me fear it was a Prognostick of our further Sufferings: For when Pastors and People should have been humbled for their Sins, and lamented their former Negligence and Unfruitfulness, most of them were filled with Disdain and Indignation against the Prelates, and were ready with Confidence to say, [God will not long suffer so wicked and cruel a Generation of Men: It will be but a little while till God will pull them down]: And thus Men were puffed up by other Mens sinfulness, and kept from a kindly humbling of themselves.

§ 280. And now came in the great Inundation of Calamities, which in many Streams overwhelmed Thousands of godly Christians, together with their Pastors. As for Example, 1. Hundreds of able Ministers, with their Wives and Children, had neither House nor Bread: For their former Maintenance served them but for the time, and few of them laid up any thing for the future: For many of them had not past 30 or 40 *l. per Annum* apiece, and most but about 60 or 80 *l. per Annum*, and very few above 100 *l.* and few had any considerable Estates of their own. 2. The Peoples Poverty was so great, that they were not able much to relieve their Ministers. 3. The Jealousie of the State, and the Malice of their Enemies were so great, that People that were willing durst not be known to give to their ejected Pastors, least it should be said that they maintained Schism, or were making Collections for some Plot or Insurrection. 4. The Hearts of the People were grieved for the loss of their Pastors. 5. Many places had such set over them in their steads, as they could not with Conscience or Comfort commit the Conduct of their Souls to. And they were forced to own all these, and all others that were thrust upon them against their Wills, and to own also the undisciplined Churches, by receiving the Sacrament in their several Parishes whether they would or not. 6. Those that did not this were to be Excommunicated, and then to have a Writ sued out against them *de Excommunicatio capiendo*, to lay them in the Jail, and seize on their Estates. 7. The People were hereupon unavoidably divided among themselves: For some would have nothing to do with these imposed Pastors, but would in private attend their former Pastors only: Others would do both, and take all that they thought good of both: Some would only hear the Publick Sermons: Others would also go to Common Prayer where the Minister was tolerable: Some would joyn in the Sacrament with them, where the Minister was honest, and others would not. And this Division they long foresaw, but could not possibly prevent. 8. And the Ministers themselves were thus also divided, who before seemed all one; for some would go to Church, to Common Prayer, to Sacraments, and others would not: Some of them thought that it was their Duty to preach publicly in the Streets or Fields while the People desired it, and not to cease their Work through fear of Men, till they lay in Jails, or were all banished: Others thought that a continued Endeavour to benefit their People privately, would be more serviceable to the Church, than one or two Sermons and a Jail, at such a time, when the Multitudes of Sufferers, and the odious Titles put upon them obscured and clog'd the benefit of Sufferings. And some thought that the Covenant bound all to separate from Common Prayer, and Prelates, and Parish Communion: And others thought that it rather bound them to this Communion and Worship in case they could have no better; and that to teach from House to House in private, and bring the People to attend in publick, was the most righteous and edifying way, where the imposed Minister was tolerable. 9. Hereupon those Ministers that would not cease preaching were thrust into Prisons, and Censured (some of them) the rest that did not do as they. 10. The rest that preached only secretly to a few, were lookt on as discontented and disaffected to the Government, and on every rumour of a new Plot or Conspiracy, taken up, and many of them laid in Prison. 11. The Prelatists and they were hereby set at a further distance, and Charity more destroyed, and Reconciliation made more hopeless, and almost any thing believed that was said against a Nonconformist. 12. The Conforming Part of the Old Ministry, was also divided from the rest, and Censures set them further at a distance: (But yet where serious Godliness appeared, it kept up some Charity and Respect, and united them in the main). All these Calamities brought another; 13. That the People were tempted to murmur at their Superiours, and call them cruel Persecutors, and secretly rejoyce if any hurt befel them, and many forgot that they are to Honour their Governours, even when they suffer by them, and not only to forbear evil Thoughts and Words against them, but to endeavour to keep up their Honour with their Subjects. 14. By all these Sins, these Murmurings and these Violations

of the Interest of the Church and Cause of Christ, the Land was prepared for that further Inundation of Calamities (by War and Plague and Scarcity) which hath since brought it near to Desolation.

He was imprisoned
Jan. 4.
1662. and
released
Jan. 15.

§ 281. It fell out one day in Mr. Calamy's Church at Aldermanbury, that the Preacher failed, and the People desired Mr. Calamy to preach: Which he did upon confidence, that the Act did not extend to such an Occasional Sermon (some Lawyers had told him so). But for this he was sent to Newgate Jail, where he continued in the Keeper's Lodgings, many daily flocking to visit him, till the Lord Bridgman (as is said) had given it as his Judgment, *That his Sermon was not within that Penalty of the Act.* And O what insulting there was by that Party, in the News-book, and in their Discourses, *That Calamy that would not be a Bishop was in Jail!* And when his Sermon was printed, an Invektive against him came out, in Language like an Inquisitor, that shewed a vehement thirst for Blood. *But precious in the sight of the Lord, is the Blood of his holy Ones.*

§ 282. Abundance more were laid in Jails in many Counties for preaching, and the vexation of the Peoples Souls was increased. At St. Albans, Mr. Partridge the ejected Minister, being desired to preach a Funeral Sermon, a Captain or Lieutenant came in with his Pistol charged, and shot one of the hearers dead, and the Preacher was sent to Prison.

§ 283. There were many Citizens of London, who had then a great Compassion on the Ministers, whose Families were utterly destitute of Maintenance, and fain they would have relieved them, and had such a Method, that the Citizens of each County should help the Ministers of that County: But they durst not do it, lest it were judged a Conspiracy: Wherefore I went for them to the Lord Chancellor, and told him plainly of it, that Compassion moved them, but the Suspicions of these Distempered Times deterred them, and I desired to have his Lordship's Judgment, Whether they might venture to be so charitable without misinterpretation or danger? And he answered, [*Aye, God forbid but Men should give their own according as their Charity leads them*]. And so having his preconsent, I gave it them for Encouragement. But they would not believe that it was Cordial, and would be any Security to them, and so they never durst venture upon such a Method which might have made their Charity effectual; but a few that were most willing, did much more than all the rest, and solicited some of their own Acquaintance, for their Counties Relief.

§ 284. And here I think it meet before I proceed, to open the true state of the Conformists and Nonconformists in England at this time.

I. The Conformists were of three sorts:

1. Some of the old Ministers called *Presbyterians* formerly, that Conformed at Bartholomew Tide, or after, who had been in possession before the King came in: These were also of several sorts: some of them were very able worthy Men, who Conformed and Subscribed upon this Inducement, that the Bishop bid them [*Do it in their own sence*]: And so they Subscribed to the Parliament's words, and put their own sence upon them only by word of mouth, or in some by-paper. Some of them read Mr. Fulwood's and Stileman's Books, and could not answer them, and therefore Conformed: For no Man ventured to put forth a full and satisfactory Answer to them for fear of ruine (Though somewhat was written before by Mr. Crofton, and after by Mr. Cawdry and others): Some were young raw Men that were never versed in such kind of Controversies: Some were periwaded of the sinfulness of the Parliaments War, and thence gathered that the Covenant, being in order to it, was a Rebellious Covenant, and therefore not obligatory: And other things they thought were small. Some had Wives and Children and Poverty, which were great Temptations to them: And most that I knew, when once they inclined to Conformity, did avoid the Company of their Brethren, and never askt them what their Reasons were against Conformity.

2. A second sort of Conformists were those called *Latitudinarians*, who were mostly Cambridge-men, *Platonists* or *Cartesians*, and many of them *Arminians* with some Additions, having more charitable Thoughts than others of the Salvation of Heathens and Infidels, and some of them holding the Opinions of Origen, about the *Præexistence* of Souls, &c. These were ingenious Men and Scholars, and of Universal Principles. and free; abhorring at first the *Imposition* of these little things, but thinking them not great enough to stick at when Imposed. Of these, some (with Dr. Moore their Leader) lived privately in Collidges, and sought not any Preferment in the World: and others set themselves to rise

These

These two forementioned Parties were laudable Preachers, and were the honour of the Conformists, though not heartily theirs, and their profitable Preaching is used by God's Providence, to keep up the Publick Interest of Religion, and refresh the discerning sort of Auditors.

3. The third sort of Conformists, was of those that were *heartily such throughout*: And these were also of three sorts; 1. Those that were zealous for the Diocesan Party and the Cause, and desirous to extirpate or destroy the Nonconformists: And these were supposed to be the high and swaying Party. 2. Those that were zealous for the Party and the Cause materially; but yet were more moderate (in their private wishes) to the Nonconformists, and did profess themselves that they could not Subscribe and Declare, if they did not put a more favourable sense on the words than that which the Nonconformists supposed to be the plain sense. 3. Those that were raw, or ignorant Readers, or unlearned Men, or sensual, scandalous Ones, who would be hot for any thing by which they might rise or be maintained.

This Composition made up the Body of the Conformists in this Land, and all this Difference there was among them.

II. (§ 285.) The Nonconformists also were of divers sorts. 1. There were some few (of my Acquaintance) who were for the old Conformity; for Bishops, Common Prayer Book, Ceremonies, and the old Subscription, and against the imposing and taking of the Covenant, (which they never took) and against the Parliaments Wars: But they could not Subscribe that they *Assent and Consent to all things* now imposed; nor could they Absolve all others in the three Kingdoms from being obliged by the Vow and Covenant to endeavour Church Reformation, though they would not have had them take the Vow.

2. A greater Number of the Nonconformists, or Reconcilers, of no Sect or Party, but abhorring the very Name of Parties; who like *Ignatius's* Episcopacy; but not the *English* Diocesan Frame: and like what is good in Episcopal, Presbyterians, or Independents; but reject somewhat as evil in them all: being of the Judgment which I have described my self to be in the beginning of this Book: that can endure a Liturgy, and like not the Imposition of the Covenant; but cannot Assent and Consent to all things required in the Act, nor Absolve three Kingdoms from all Obligation by their Vows, to endeavour in their Places the alteration of the *English* Diocesan Form of Government: Though they doubt not but Sedition and Rebellion should be abhorred of all, whether for Reformation or any other Pretence.

3. A third sort of Nonconformists are the *Presbyterians*, whose Judgment is fore-described, and manifested in their Writings to all the World. Of these two last sorts (if I be not taken for a partial Witness) are the soberest, and most judicious, unanimous, peaceable, faithful, able, constant Ministers in this Land, or that I have heard or read of, in the Christian World! Which I am able to say, I speak without respect of Persons, in Obedience to my Conscience, upon my long Experience.

4. The fourth sort are the *Independents*, who are for the most part a serious godly People, some of them moderate, going with Mr. Norton and the *New-England* Synod, and little differing from the moderate Presbyterians, and as well ordered as any Party that I know: But others of them, more raw, and self-conceited, and addicted to Separations and Divisions, their Zeal being greater than their Knowledge; who have opened the Door to *Anabaptists* first, and then to all the other Sects.

These Sects are numerous, some tolerable, and some intolerable, and being never incorporated with the rest, are not to be reckoned with them. Many of them (the *Behmenists*, *Fifth-Monarchy-men*, *Quakers*, and some *Anabaptists*) are proper Fanaticks, looking too much to Revelations within, instead of the Holy Scriptures. And thus I have truly told you of all the Sorts among us, except the *Papists*, who are sufficiently known, and are no more of us than the other Sects are. The Atheists and Infidels I name not, because *as such*, they have no Pastors.

§ 286. Next it will not be amiss if I briefly give you the Sum of their several Causes, and the Reasons of their several Ways.

I. The Conformists go several Ways, according to their forementioned Differences.

1. Those that are high Prelatists say, 1. For *Episcopacy*, it is of Divine Institution, and perpetual Usage in the Church, and necessary to Order among the Clergy and People, and of experienced Benefit to this Land, and most congruous to Civil Monarchy; and therefore not to be altered by any; no not by the King and Parliament, if they should swear it: Therefore the Oath called the *Et cetera* Oath was formed before the War, to Swear all Men to be true to this Prelacy, and not to Change it.

2. Those that are called Conforming Presbyterians, and Latitudinarians, both say that our Prelacy is *lawful*, though not necessary; and that Mr. *Edward Stillingfleet's Irenicon* hath well proved, That no Form of Church Government is of Divine Institution. And therefore when the Magistrate commandeth any, he is to be obeyed. But since they grew up to Preferment, they grow to be hot for the Prelacy.

§ 287. And therefore as to the Covenant, they all say, 1. That the *End* of it was Evil, *viz.* To Change the Government of the Church, without Law, which was settled by Law. 2. That the Efficient Cause was Evil or Null, *viz.* That the Imposers had no Authority to do it. 3. That the *Master* was Evil, *viz.* to extirpate, and change the Government of the Church by Rebellion and Combination against the King. 4. That the *Swearers Act* in taking it was sinful, for the foresaid Reasons. 5. That the King's Prohibition and disowning it did nullifie all the Subjects Obligations, if any were upon them, by virtue of Numb. 30. 6. That the People being all Subjects, cannot endeavour the Change of Church Government without the King. 7. That King *Charles* took not that same Covenant, but another. 8. That he was forced to it. 9. That he was virtually pre-engaged to the contrary Matter, in that he was Heir of the Crown, and bound to take the Coronation Oath. 10. That to cast so many Men as the Bishops out of all their Honours and Possessions, is Injustice, which none can be obliged to do. 11. That if it were lawful before to endeavour an Alteration of the Government of the Church, yet now it is not, when King and Parliament have made a Law against it. These are Mr. *Fulwood's* and Mr. *Stileman's* Pleas, and the Sum of all that I have heard as to that Point.

§ 288. But further, as to the Interpretation of the Words of the Declaration hereabouts, the Latitudinarians, and Conforming Presbyterians, and some of the Prelatists say as followeth: 1. That the Declaration includeth not the King, when it saith, [*There is no obligation on me or any other person*]: which they prove, because that Laws are made only for Subjects, and therefore are to be interpreted as speaking only of Subjects. 2. Because the King is meant in the Counterpart, or Object, *viz.* the Government of the State, which is not to be altered. 2. They say that it is only *Rebellions*, or other *unlawful Endeavours*, that are meant by the words [*to Endeavour*]. 3. They say that by [*any Alteration*] is meant only [*any Essential Alteration*] and not [*any Integral or Accidental Alteration*] of the Government. 4. And the leading Independents have taught them also to say, that this Covenant was essentially a *League*, between two Nations upon a certain occasion, which therefore (if ever it did bind) is now like an Almanack out of date, *Et cessat obligatio cessantibus persona, materiâ & fine*. 5. They principally argue that all Mens words are to be taken *charitativè*, in the most honest and favourable sence that they will bear: much more the King's and Parliament's: Therefore Charity permitteth us not to judge them so inhuman, irrational, irreligious, and cruel, as to command Men to be perjured, and to change the constituted Government, by prohibiting King, Parliament, or People, to do any thing which belonged to them in their places. These are the Reasons for the lawfulness of declaring against the Obligation of the Covenant.

§ 289. 3. In the same Declaration it is professed, That [*it is not lawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King, or any Commissioned by him*] &c. Concerning this, they are also divided among themselves. One Party say, That this is true universally in the proper sence of the words. The other say, That it is to be understood of such as are *legally Commissioned* by him only; and that if he should Commission two or three Men, or more, to kill the Parliament, or burn the City, or to dispossess Men of their Freeholds, it were lawful forcibly to resist. Or if the Sheriff be to raise the *Posse Comitatus* in obedience to a Decree of a Court of Justice, to put a Man into possession of his House, he may do it forcibly, though the Defendant be Commissioned by the King to keep it. Because they say that the Law is to be taken *sano sensu*, and not as may lay the Law-givers under so heavy an Accusation, as the literal unlimited sence would do.

§ 290. 4. The fourth Matter of Difference, being the *Oath of Canonical Obedience*, they here also differ among themselves. 1. Some of them think that as the Necessity of Monarchy and our Relation to the King, doth make the Oath of Allegiance necessary, or very meet, so the Necessity of Prelacy and our Relation to the Prelates, doth make the Oath of Obedience to them justifiable and meet: For that which *must* be done, may be promised and sworn. 2. Others of them say, That it is only to the Bishops as Magistrates, or Officers of the King, that we swear to them. 3. And others say, That as we may be subject to any Man, in humility, so we may promise or swear it to any Man. And it being but *in licitis & honestis*, that what we may lawfully do, we may swear to do.

§ 291. 5. The fifth Controversie is about *Re-ordination* of such as were not Ordained by Diocesans, but by the Presbyteries which then were (at home or abroad) And here they are also of two minds among themselves. The one sort say, That Ordination without Diocesans is a *Nullity*, and those that are so Ordained, are no Ministers but Laymen; and therefore their Churches, no true Churches (*in sensu politico*): And therefore that such must needs be Re-ordained. The other sort say, That their Ordination was valid before *in foro spirituali*; but not *in foro civili*; and that the repeating of it, is but an ascertaining or a confirming Act, as publick Marrying again would be, after one is privately married, in case the Law would bastardize or disinherit his Children else.

§ 292. 6. The sixth Controversie is about the lawfulness of the *Assent and Consent* to be declared, which is to all contained in the Book of Articles, the Book of Ordination, and the Book of Common Prayer. These comprehend abundance of Particulars; some Doctrinal, some about the Offices and Discipline of the Church, and some about the Matter, the Order and Manner, and Ceremonies of Worship. Here they are also divided among themselves: some few of them take the words plainly and properly, (*viz.* the willing Conformists) and think that indeed there is nothing in these Books which is not to be assented and consented to: And indeed all the Convocation must needs be of that mind (or the Major part) and also the Parliament); because they had the Books before them to be perused, and did examine the Liturgy and Book of Ordination, and make great Alterations in them, and therefore if they had thought there had been any thing not to be assented and consented to, they would have altered it by correction, before they had imposed it on the Church. But for all that, the other Party is now so numerous, that I could yet never speak with any of them, but went that way, *viz.* with the Latitudinarians to expound the words [*all things contained in the Books*] which they assent and consent to [*All things which they are to use*]: and their [*Assent and Consent*] they limit only to the use: *q. d.* [*I do assent, that there is nothing in these Books which may not lawfully be used, and I do consent to the use of so much as belongeth to me*]: Though yet they think (or will not deny but) that there may be something that may be ill framed and ill imposed: The reason of this Exposition they fetch from the word [*use*] which is found after in the Act of Uniformity, though it be not in the words of the Declaration. And for the Books, they say, It is lawful to use the Common Prayer, and the Ceremonies, Crosse, Surplice, Copes, and Kneeling at the Sacrament, and all that is in that or the other Books to be *used*, and therefore to declare so much.

§ 293. More particularly, 1. Concerning the Kalendar imposing the use of so many Apocryphal Lessons, they say that they are read but upon Week-days, and that not as Scripture, but as edifying Lessons, as the Homilies are; and as many Churches have long used them. And that the Church sufficiently avoideth the Scandal by calling them *Apocrypha*.

§ 294. And 2. for the parcelling and ordering of the Prayers and Responses as they are, some of them say that it is the best Form and Order, and it's only Fancy and Errour which misliketh them: Others say that they are *disorderly* indeed, but that is not the Sin of the *Users* (when they are imposed) but of the Framers and Imposers.

§ 295. And 3. as for the Doctrine of the Salvation of Baptized Infants in the Rubrick of Baptism, and all the rest in that Book, and in the Nine and thirty Articles, some of them say that they are all sound (*viz.* the willing Conformists) but the unwilling Conformists say that these are not things to be *used* by them, and therefore not within the Compass of the declared *Assent* or *Consent* in the Act.

§ 296. And 4. as to the Charitable Applications excepted against in Baptism, Confirmation, the Lord's Supper, Absolution of the Sick and Burial, they say they are but such as according to the Judgment of Charity we may use: And if there be any fault, it is not in the Common Prayer Book, which useth but such words as are fit to be used by the Members of the Church: but it is in the Canons and Discipline of the Church; which suffereth unfit Persons to be Church-Members.

§ 297. And 5. as for the Ceremonies, they say, 1. That Kneeling is freed from all suspicion of Idolatry, by the annexing of the Rubrick out of King *Edward* the Sixth's Common Prayer Book: which though the Convocation refused, yet the Parliament annexed; and they are the Imposers, and it is their sense that we must stand to. And as it is lawful to Kneel in accepting a sealed Pardon from the King, by his Messenger, so is it in accepting a sealed Pardon from God, with the Investiture of our Priviledges.

§ 298. And 2. they say that the Surplice is as lawful as a Gown, it being not imposed primarily because significant, but because *decent*, and secondarily as *significant* (say some): Or as others say, It is the better and fitter to be imposed, because it is significant: and that God hath no where forbidden such Ceremonies.

§ 299. And 3. for the Cross in Baptism, they say that it is no part of the Sacrament of Baptism, but an appendant Ceremony: that it is the better for being significant: that it is but a transient Image, and not a *fixed*, much less a graven Image; and is not adored: that it is but a *professing sign*, as words are, or as standing up, or holding up the hand; and not any Seal of God's part of the Covenant; and though it be called in the Canons a *Dedicating Sign*, it is but as it signifieth the Action of the *Person* or the *Church*, and not as it signifieth the Action of God receiving the dedicated Person: And some say, That it cannot be denied but that according to the old and common use of the word [*Sacrament*] as a Military Engagement, it is a Sacrament; yet it is not pretended to be a *Divine*, but a *Humane Sacrament*, and such are lawful: it being in our definition of a Church Sacrament that it is [*Ordained by Christ himself*]: And though Man may not invent New Sacraments, as God's sealing or investing Signs, and so pretend that to be Divine which is not; yet man may invent New Human Sacraments, which go no further than the signifying of their own Minds and Actions. And they say, That if such mystical Signs as these had been unlawful, it is a thing incredible that the Universal Church should use such, as far as can be found, from the Apostles days; even the Milk and Honey and Chrysm and White Garment at Baptism, and the Station on the Lord's Days, and the oft use of the Cross; and that Christ should have no one Witness that would ever scruple or contradict them, either among the Orthodox, or the Hereticks; as far as any Records of Antiquity do make known.

§ 300. 7. The seventh Controversie is about their own practice in Administrations and Church Discipline. And 1. that they must Ministerially deny the Sacrament of Baptism to all Children, whose Parents will not have them use the Cross, they say that it is the *Church* that refuseth them by Law, and not they, who are by the Law disabled from receiving them. 2. The same they say of their refusing to give the Lord's Supper to any that will not kneel in the Reception of it. They say that it is better to Administer the Sacraments to some, than to none at all! which they must do if they refuse not them that kneel not. 3. And for the giving of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper to the unworthy (for all are forced to use them) they say, that the Infants of all in the Church have right to Baptism, at least for their Ancestor's sake, and for the Godfathers and Godmothers, or the Churches sake: And for the Lord's Supper, they have power to put away all that are proved impenitent in notorious Scandal.

§ 301. Having told you what the Conformists say for themselves (as faithfully as will stand with brevity) before I proceed, I think it best to set down here the words, 1. Of the Covenant; 2. Of the Subscription and Declaration; 3. Of the Oath of Canonical Obedience, before your Eyes; that while the Subject of the Controversie is before you, the Controversie it self may be the better understood. And I suppose the Reader to have all the Books before him to which we are required to Assent.

The Solemn League and Covenant.

WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesſes, Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Commons of all ſorts in the Kingdoms of Scotland England, and Ireland, by the Providence of God living under one King, and being of one Reformed Religion, having beſore our Eyes the Glory of God, and the Advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the Honour and Happineſs of the King's Maieſty, and his Poſterity, and the true Publick Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every ones private Condition is included: And calling to mind the treacherous and bloody Plots, Conſpiracies, Attempts and Practices of the Enemies of God againſt the true Religion and Profeſſors thereof in places, eſpecially in theſe three Kingdoms ever ſince the Reformation of Religion, and how much their Rage, Power, and Preſumption are of late, and at this time increaſed and exerciſed, whereof the deplorable Eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of Ireland, the diſtreſſed Eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of England, and the dangerous Eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, are preſent and publick Teſtimonies: We have now at laſt (after other means of Supplication, Remonſtrance, Profeſſations and Sufferings) for the preſervation of our ſelves and our Religion from utter Ruine and Deſtruction, according to the commendable Practice of theſe Kingdoms in former times, and the Example of God's People in other Nations, after mature Deliberation, reſolved and determined to enter into a Mutual and Solemn League and Covenant: Wherein we all ſubſcribe, and each one of us for himſelf, with our Hands liſted up to the moſt high God, do ſwear:

1. **T**hat we ſhall ſincerely, really and conſtantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our ſeveral Places and Callings, the preſervation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland, in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government, againſt our Common Enemies: The Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government according to the Word of God, and the Example of the beſt Reformed Churches. And ſhall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms, to the neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worſhip and Catechizing, That we and our Poſterity after us, may, as Brethren, live in Faith and Love, the Lord may delight to dwell in the miſt of us.

2. That we ſhall in like manner, without reſpect of Perſons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is, Church Government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superſtition, Heretie, Schiſm, Prophaneneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound Doctrine and the power of Godlineſs, leſt we partake in other mens ſins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues: And that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the three Kingdoms.

3. We ſhall with the ſame ſincerity, reality and conſtancy in our ſeveral Vocations, endeavour with our Eſtates and Lives, mutually to preſerve the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preſerve and defend the King's Maieſties Perſon and Authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms: That the world may bear witneſs with our Conſciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminiſh his Maieſties juſt Power and Greatneſs.

4. We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindring the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Faction, or Parties, amongst the People contrary to this League and Covenant, That they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive Condign Punishment, as the degree of their Offences shall require or deserve, or the Supream Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. And whereas the happiness of a blessed Peace between these Kingdoms, denied in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded, and settled by both Parliaments, We shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoynd in a firm Peace and Union to all Posterity; and that Justice may be done upon the wilful Opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent Article.

6. We shall also according to our Places and Callings, in this common Cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; And shall not suffer our selves directly or indirectly, by whatsoever Combination, Perswasion or Terrour, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed Union and Conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give our selves to a detestable indifferency, or neutrality in this Cause, which so much concerneth the Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and Honour of the King; But shall all the days of our Lives zealously and constantly continue therein, against all Opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all Lets and Impediments whatsoever; And that we are not able our selves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: All which we shall do as in the sight of God.

And because these Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins and Provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present Distresses and Dangers, the Fruits thereof, We profess and declare before God and the World, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own Sins and for the Sins of these Kingdoms, especially that we have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the Causes of other Sins and Transgressions so much abounding amongst us, And our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for our selves, and all others under our power and charge, both in publick and in private, in all Duties we owe to God and Man, to amend our Lives, and each one to go before another in the Example of a real Reformation; That the Lord may turn away his Wrath, and heavy Indignation, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms in Truth and Peace. And this Covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great Day when the Secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; Most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our Desires and Proceedings with such Success, as may be Deliverance and Safety to his People, and encouragement to other Christian Churches groaning under, or in danger of the Yoke of Antichristian Tyranny to joyn in the same, or like Association and Covenant, to the Glory of God, the Enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the Peace and Tranquility of Christian Kingdoms and Commonwealths.

The Oath and Declaration imposed upon the Day-Conformists in the Corporation Act, the Vestry Act, &c. are as followeth :

The Oath to be taken.

I A. B. do declare and believe, That it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that Traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him. So help me God.

The Declaration to be Subscribed.

I A. B. do declare, That I hold there lyes no Obligation upon me, or any other Person, from the Oath commonly called, The Solemn League and Covenant; and that the same was in it self an unlawful Oath, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Realm against the known Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.

All Vestry Men to make and Subscribe the Declaration following.

I A. B. do declare, That it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that Traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him: And that I will Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by Law established; And I do declare, That I do hold there lyes no Obligation upon me, or any other Person, from the Oath commonly called, The Solemn League and Covenant, to endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government either in Church or State; and that the same was in it self an unlawful Oath, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Realm against the known Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.

The Declaration: thus Prefaced in the Act of Uniformity; [Every Minister ——— after such reading thereof shall openly and publickly before the Congregation there assembled, declare his unfeigned Assent and Consent to the use of all things in the said Book contained and prescribed, in these words and no other.

I A. B. do here declare my unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the Book, Intituled, The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England; together with the Psalter or Psalms of David; pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches; and the Form or Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons.

The Declaration to be Subscribed.

I A. B. do declare, That it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that Traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him; and that I will Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by Law established: And I do declare that I do hold there lyes no Obligation upon me, or any other Person, from the Oath commonly called, The Solemn League and Covenant, to endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government, either in Church or State; and that the same was in it self an unlawful Oath, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Realm, against the known Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.

The Oath of Canonical Obedience.

EGO A. B. Juro quod præstabo Veram & Canonicam Obedientiam Episcopo Londinensi ejusque Successoribus in omnibus licitis & honestis.

§ 302. II. The Nonconformists, who take not this Declaration, Oath, Subscription, &c. are of divers sorts, some being further distant from Conformity than others; some thinking that some of the forementioned things are lawful, and some that none of them are lawful; and all have not the same Reasons for their dissent. But all are agreed that it is not lawful to do *all* that is required, and therefore they are all cast out of the Exercise of the Sacred Ministry, and forbidden to preach the Word of God.

§ 303. The Reasons commonly given by them are either, 1. Against the *Imposing* of the things forementioned; or, 2. Against the *Using* of them being imposed. Those of the former sort were given into the King and Bishops before the Passing of the Act of Uniformity, and are laid down in the beginning of this Book; and the Opportunity being now past, the Nonconformists now meddle not with that part of the Cause, it having seemed good to their Superiours to go against *their* Reasons. But this is worthy the noting by the way, that all that I can speak with of the Conforming Party, do now justify only the *Using* and *Obeying*, and not the *Imposing* of these things with the Penalty by which they are Imposed: From whence it is evident, that most of their own Party do now justify *our Cause* which we maintained at the *Savoy*, which was against this Imposition (whilst it might have been prevented), and for which such an intemperate Fury hath pursued me to this very day. 2. But it is the Reasons against our full Obedience to the Imposition of this Conformity, which I am now to rehearse: but I must desire the Reader to remember, that my bare Recital is no sign of my Approbation of all that I recite, though I be one of those that dare not Conform.

§ 304. And first there are divers general Reasons which keep some of them more than others from Conformity, and drive them further, even from joyning with them in Liturgy or Sacrament.

1. Some of them look upon the Principles and Lives of many of those who fall in with the established Church, as furnishing them with a sufficient Plea against Conformity: For, say they, it's easie to observe how the Prophane and Vitious and Debaucht and Scandalous (which makes up but too great a part of the Nation), fall in with that Party in the Church that are for Prelacy and Liturgy, &c. and for oppressing those who differ in their Sentiments from them about these Matters. Now how say they, can we safely joyn in with that Body of Men, that harbours so many open Enemies to all Religion, as the prophane part of the Nation comprehends? But some who are more considerate, reply, That this is no other than what is the usual Attendant of a National Establishment; it being a common thing for all those in a State, who are really of no Religion, in appearance to fall in with that Mode of Religion that is favour'd by the Law, and most encouraged by the Prince.

§ 305. 2. The same Persons say, That by *Conforming* they shall own and strengthen *Usurpers*; who have made a New Office which Christ never made, and to the great wrong of Christ, and the peril of the Church, have made themselves Lords of Gods Heritage: And as he that obeyeth the Pope's Law, is guilty of his *Usurpation*, so is he that obeyeth the Prelates Laws, though the Matter commanded were lawful in it self.

But the moderate Nonconformists are not for this Reason; because, say they, it is but *Counsel* as it cometh from the *Convocation*; and it is the King and Parliament that make a *Law* of it, whom we must obey in lawful things. And they say further, That we must not forbear a *Duty*, for fear of Encouraging Men's *Usurpations*.

§ 306. They say also, 3. That these Impositions are done by the Prelates in meer design to root out godly Ministers, and Christians: And that when they feared that the old Conformity would not serve turn, they have added such new Materials of set purpose, which keep out a Thousand at least that would have yielded to the

the Old Conformity : And what they aim at further, when they have thus driven out all the able, faithful Ministers, God knoweth. But if we set in with them, and use the very means which they have fabricated for this very end, to destroy the Interest of Godliness, though the Act commanded were indifferent, we are made guilty of their Sin.

But the moderate Nonconformists say, That such Reasons as these are good Seconds where the Matter is first proved evil : but 1. That Mens *Designs* are latent in their hearts, and the strongest Conjectures will not serve instead of Proof. 2. If that it were *known* to any one of us, not by the Evidence of the thing, but by some other Discovery, that a lawful thing is Commanded with a pernicious design, that will not excuse us from our Obedience, unless it be probable that the Church, is like to be saved from ruine, by our forbearance to obey : And we may do the thing commanded without any participation of the Guilt of Mens private malicious Intentions.

§ 307. 4. Also they say, That we have Covenanted to endeavour a Reformation, and had begun it, and therefore shall be Covenant-breakers and Backsliders, if we yield to any thing which was to be reformed.

But here the more moderate have many Distinctions, between things unlawful and things only inconvenient, and between those that have opportunity to do better, and those that have not, and between seldom Communion, and most ordinary. And they say that things unlawful must not be done, whether we have covenanted against them, or not : But for things only inexpedient or evil by a superable Accident, they become our Duties, and no Covenant disobligeth us from our Duty : and that the Covenant never was intended to oblige us to prefer no *Worship* before that which is *defective*, but only to prefer that which is *better* before it : And that it may be a duty to Communicate sometime with a very faulty Church, in order to our Catholick Communion with the whole, so be it our ordinary particular Communion be in the purest Church and Order (*cæteris paribus*) that we can have.

§ 308. 5. And another Reason given is, That the Aggravation of the Sin of these Imposers is very great, that they have been Persecutors heretofore, and seen and felt God's Judgments for it, and have been convinced and intreated to return to Charity, and yet they have, with renewed Malice, set themselves to the debauching of the Consciences of the Kingdom, and to the extirpation of Natural Honesty, and have branded all their Party with the Mark of *Perjury*, *Perfidiousness*, and *Persecution*, while they brand the Consciencious with the Name of *Puritans* ; And therefore they are a Generation ready for *perdition*, and certainly near some heavy Curse : And for us to joyn with them that are in the way to Wrath, is the way to be partakers of their Plagues.

But the moderate say to this, 1. That the *Extenuation* as well as the *Aggravation* of their Sin must be considered : And that it must be remembred, that among the Nonconformists there is a Party of *Sectaries*, that Rebelled against all the Governours that were over them, and cut off the King's Head, when they had conquered those that are now against them, in the Field, and sequestred their Estates : And that such great Provocation may not only sublimite Malice where it findeth it, but greatly exasperate even temperate Men. 2. That it's true that we must partake with no Men in their Sins, as ever we would escape their Plagues : but when that which is the Imposers Sin, is become the *Subjects* Duty, God will not plague us with them for doing our Duties. 3. That it is dangerous to presume to foretel on whom God will bring his Judgments in this Life, and to presume that we are safe, and they are near perdition ; while all things come alike to all, and the differencing Day of Judgment is not yet come. Therefore it is dangerous on such Prophecies, or Presumptions, or Fears to go out of the way of any Duty, or to avoid any lawful Communion with the Church.

§ 309. 6. Again it is said, That these *Impositions* being the Engines of Division in the Church (as Mr. *Hales* himself affirmeth), we shall be partakers of the Schisms if we use them.

But the moderate say, That indeed if we partake in the *Imposition*, we partake in the Guilt of the Division caused by it : But when they are *Imposed*, we may do that which in it self is lawful, without any consent to the Imposition at all : Yea, and that which as imposed tendeth to Division, may, upon supposition that it will be, and is imposed, be practised sometimes as the way to Unity, and to avoid Division.

§ 310. 7. Lastly it is said, That the *Necessity* which is pretended for this Conformity, is none at all: For, 1. As to a Necessity of Communion with the Church Catholick, it requireth not Personal, Local Communion with each particular Congregation; but that at a distance we own them so far as they are to be owned. 2. And for the Escaping of Punishment from Men, there is no necessity of it, nor yet of our Personal Liberty to preach the Gospel, when we cannot do it upon lawful Terms.

But to this the moderate Nonconformists say, That 1. our Catholick Communion requireth that we in Judgment or Practice separate from no Church of Christ which forceth us not to sin, but hold Communion with them as we have a Call and Opportunity. And that we must not separate from one, upon a Cause that is common to almost all. 2. That though there be no Necessity of our escaping Persecution, nor any *absolute* Necessity of our Personal Preaching, yet there is of this last an ordinate Hypothetical Necessity laid upon us by God himself; and wo to us if we preach not when we may. So that you see that these general Reasons which some Nonconformists extend to all, the moderate allow only as Seconds against those things which first are proved unlawful.

§ 311. 1. For the particular Controversie about Diocesans: 1. Some of the Nonconformists are against all Bishops, as distinct from Presbyters, by any other than a Temporary Presidency or Moderatorship. But the most of them of my Acquaintance are for the lawfulness of some stated Episcopacy; that is, that there be *fixed Presidents* or *Bishops* in every particular Church they take to be lawful, as of Humane Constitution and Ecclesiastical Custom, contrary to no Law of God. 2. That there be more general Overseers of many of these Bishops and Churches, as the Apostles were (though without their extraordinary Call and Priviledges) they think also lawful, if not in some sort of Divine Institution: 1. Because Church-Government being an ordinary standing work, in that the Apostles were to have Successors. 2. Because they think it incredible if the Apostles had been against particular Primitive Episcopacy, that no Church or Person would have been found on Record to have born witness against it, till it had been so universally received by all the Churches.

But they are all agreed that the *English* Diocesan Frame of Government, and so the Popish Prelacy, is unlawful, and of dangerous tendency in the Churches. And that this Controversie may be understood, the *English* Frame must here be opened.

§ 312. There are in *England* two Archbishops, and under one of them four Bishops, and under the other One and twenty Bishops: In all Five and twenty Bishops, with Two Archbishops. Every Bishop hath a Cathedral Church which is no Parish Church, nor hath any People appropriated to it as Parishioners: But a Dean with a Chapter of Prebends or Canons, are the Preachers to it, and Governours of ——— I know not whom. In some Bishopricks are Three hundred, some Four hundred, some Five hundred, some One thousand, some Twelve hundred Parishes, and some more. In the greatest Parishes of *London* are about Threescore thousand Souls (as *Martyns*, *Stepney*, *Giles Cripplegate*): in others about Thirty thousand (as *Giles's* in the *Fields*, *Sepulchres*): in others about Twenty thousand; and in the lesser Parishes fewer. Usually the greater Country Parishes in Market Towns have about Four thousand, or Three thousand, or Two thousand Souls: and the ordinary Rural Parishes about One thousand in the bigger sort, and Two hundred or Three hundred in the lesser; some more, and some less. In these Parishes the Ministers who have watched over them, (and of late times instructed and catechised every Family and Person, young and old, apart in many places) do find that the number of those that are ignorant of the Person and Office of Christ, and the Essentials of Christianity, and of all Religion, and of those that are ordinary Drunkards, Whoremongers, Prophane Swearers, Cursers, Railers, or otherwise notoriously Scandalous or Ungodly, is not small. For the Government of these (besides preaching to them, and exhorting them, and giving them the Sacraments), the Parish Minister hath no power: He hath no power of judging whose Children he shall baptize; but must refuse none, though the Parents be professed Heathens or Infidels, if Godfathers and Godmothers bring them to be baptized (who yet never *adopt* them, nor meddle more as *Owners* of them with their Education, and perhaps know not what Baptism or Christianity is themselves). They have no power to judge what Persons of their Parish shall be confirmed, or admitted into the number of Adult Communicants: so that all their Flocks are imposed on them. They have no more power than any private Man, to admonish the Scandalous before Witness, or to admonish them before the Church, or pray for their

their Repentance by Name, or to judge who is to be cast out of the Communion of the Church, or to be Absolved, nor to deny the Sacrament to any, unless for a particular time, when he is just going to Administer it, he see any there that are notoriously guilty, and he take them then aside, and they will not so much as say, We will do better : And it is uncertain whether he may Suspend any of these, but the *Malicious* that will not be reconciled: So that the Ministers may read Prayers and Preach, and may read an Excommunication or Absolution when it is sent them, and may, if they please, joyn with the Churchwarden as Informers, to present some Men to the Bishops Court, but *Church-Government* is denied them.

The Government then of all these Churches, and Exercise of Holy Discipline, belongeth to the Bishops in Title ; but the Bishops do and must Exercise it in their Courts or Consistories. In every Diocese there is one of these Courts, where the Ordinary Judge is the Bishop's Chancellour, a Lay-man, and a Civil Lawyer (though in many Cases the Bishop may sit himself if he please): The Court hath also a Register, and Proctors to plead Mens Causes, as Counsellors in Civil Courts: And they have some Fellows called Apparators, who are their Messengers for Citation, besides the Churchwardens Presentments, who bring them in Custom. This Court is to hear all considerable Causes, and determine them by Excommunications or Absolutions, and to send their Excommunications or Absolutions written to the Parish Priest, who is to read them. But *pro forma* when the Lay-Chancellour hath resolved who shall be Excommunicated, they have a Clergy-Presbyter present to speak the Sentence in the Court, who yet hath no power, but of meer Pronunciation, but is a Ceremony to put off the *Odium* from the Lay-Judge: And if he have power as a Presbyter, why do the Bishops appropriate it to themselves? If one that is no Bishop may exercise it when a Bishop bids him, then is it not a thing appropriate to the Bishop's Office. Besides these there are Arch Deacons, who by themselves, or their Officials, hold some kind of Inferiour Court, which dealeth in lesser Matters: Some Diocesses have one Arch-Deacon, some two, some few three or four. The Bishops should go visit once a year, and the Arch-Deacon oftner: When they visit they go to some chief Town in the Countrey, and call all the Ministers to meet them, where they hear a Sermon, and Dine together usually. They yearly compile a Book of Articles which Churchwardens are sworn to enquire after, and to present the Names of the Offenders accordingly to the Bishop's Court. In brief, this is the Frame of our Diocesan Government. To which I only add, That Fees and Money for Commutation of Penance are much of their Officers Maintenance; and that such as they Excommunicate in most Cases, are by a Writ *De Excommunicato Capiendo* to be laid in the Jail, till upon their Repentance they have made their Peace, and are absolved.

§ 313. Having told you what our Government is, let me tell you what the Execution of it is. The Books of Articles are fitted somewhat to the Canons, by those Bishops that are most moderate and cautelous, and therefore by the *English* Canons they may be known: some of them usually are against Drunkards and Fornicators; but the main bent of them is against those that wear not the Surplice, that Baptize without the Cross, that omit the Common Prayer, that refuse to Baptize any Infant; or that deliver the Lord's Supper to any that kneel not in receiving it; or that so receive it without kneeling; that stand not up at the Gospel, that bow not at the Name *Jesus*, (though they may sit when the same words are read in the Chapter, and are not required to bow at the Name [*Christ, God*] &c.) Also about the Repair of the Church, the Surplice, the Books; that none piss up to the Church-wall, &c. with many such things. It is a rare thing for the Churchwardens to present any, except Nonconformists, that use not Ceremonies, &c. Swearers, Drunkards, and Whoremongers are seldom presented, lest Neighbours be displeased: but Puritans have some one or other that is more eager in looking after them. When any Scandalous Person is presented, he hath no other Spiritual Conviction or Exhortation to Repentance, tending to Convert his Soul, than at any Civil Court; But telling them that he is Sorry, and paying his Fees or Commutation Money, he comes home: But when Conscientious Nonconformists are before them, whose Consciences will not let them say that they are *Sorry* (*viz.* for praying or exhorting others in their Houses, for giving the Sacrament to them that stand or sit, &c.) they are usually Excommunicated. I have been in most parts of *England*, and in Fifty years time I never saw one do Penance, or confess his Sin in publick, for any Scandalous Crime; nor ever heard but of two in the Countrey where I lived (that stood in a White-sheet for Adultery) (except in the space when Bishops were down, and then I have heard many that have penitently confessed

feſſed their Sin, and begged the Prayers of the Congregation, and been prayed for) : In a word, their Courts are meerly as Civil Courts, for Terrour, but not at all to convince Men of Sin, and bring them to Repentance and Salvation, further than ſuch Terrour is fit to do it. And note here, That the Diſcipline of the Church is not to be judged of by the King's Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, which was never executed before it was void, in theſe reſpects : Nor yet by ſome of our Reformers or Chroniclers, who tell you how it was exerciſed quickly after the Reformation in King *Edward's* or Queen *Elizabeth's* days : As *Hollinghead*, e. g. who telleth you of many Suffragans, and of the Piety and Diligence of their Courts, and of Exerciſes called Propheſying held up at the Arch-Deacons Viſitations (againſt the Subverters of which he thundereth) : But as it is in *England* at this day, and hath been this Sixty or Seventy years by-paſt.

§ 314. Now concerning this Dioceſan Frame of Government, the *Non-Subscribers* (called *Puritans* by many) do judge that it is ſinful and contrary to the Word of God, both in the *Conſtitution* and in the *Adminiſtration* of it. And they lay upon it theſe heavy Charges, the leaſt of which if proved, is of intolerable weight.

§ 315. 1. They ſay, That *quantum in ſe* it deſtroyeth the *Pastoral Office*, which is of Divine Inſtitution, and was known in the Primitive Church : for it doth deprive the Presbyters of the third eſſential part of their Office : for it is clear in Scripture, that Chriſt appointed no Presbyters, that were not ſubſervient to him in all the three parts of his Office, as Prophet, Prieſt and King, to ſtand between the People and him in Teaching, Worſhipping and Governing : And though the *Actual Exerciſe* of any one part, may be Suspended without the Deſtruction of the Office, yet to the Office it ſelf (which is nothing but *Power* and *Obligation* to exerciſe) one part is as eſſential as the other : ſo then they ſay, that [That which deſtroyeth an eſſential part of the Paſtors or Presbyters Office, deſtroyeth the Office as inſtituted by Chriſt]. But the Dioceſan ſtate of Government deſtroyeth, &c. —

Ergo —

The Major will not be denied : The Minor hath two parts ; 1. That governing Power and Obligation (over the Flock) is eſſential to the Office of a Paſtor or Presbyter as inſtituted by Chriſt. Which they prove thus ; 1. The very Name of Presbyter and Paſtor denoteth the Governing Power, and was then uſed in that ſence (as * *Dr. Hammond* hath well proved). 2. There is no ſuch thing found in all the New Teſtament as a Presbyter that had not the Power of Governing his Flock as well as Teaching it. He that can find it, let him : *Dr. Hammond* hath gone over all the Texts in proving it. 3. The Church long after knew no ſuch Presbyters as had not the Spiritual Government of the Flock. 4. The Papiſts confeſs that they have the Power of the Keys *in foro interiori* to this day ; which is the Spiritual Government.

Dr. Hammond. Annotat. in 1 Cor. 20. 28. Lit. g.

2. The ſecond part of the Minor, That the Dioceſan Form denieth this Governing Power to the Presbyters, appeareth 1. By their own Confeſſions : 2. By the Actual Conſtitution, diſabling them, and placing the Power elſewhere : 3. By the inſtance of the forementioned Particulars, and many more : They have not the power of judging who ſhall be taken into their Churches as Members by Baptiſm, or Confirmed, or who ſhall Communicate, or who is to be publickly Admoniſhed, Censured, Excommunicated, Abſolved ; buried as a Brother dying in Chriſt, &c. no nor what Chapter to read in the Church, nor what Garment to wear, nor what words of Prayer to put up to God : in all which they are meer Executioners of other Mens Judgments, as a Cryer or ſuch other Meſſenger.

§ 316. 2. The ſecond Charge againſt this Dioceſan Prelacy is, That it introduceth a *New Humane Species* of Presbyters or Spiritual Officers, inſtead of Chriſt's, which it deſtroyeth : that is, a ſort of meer *Subject Presbyters*, that have no power of Government but meerly to Teach and Worſhip. That this is a diſtinct Species, is proved in that 1. It wanteth an eſſential part which the other Species hath. 2. From the Biſhop's own profeſſion, who in the beginning of the Book of Ordination (Subſcribed to) do declare it plainly determined in Scripture, viz. That Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons are three diſtinct Orders : which word Orders is the common term to ſignifie a Species of Church Officers diſtinct from a meer degree in the ſame Order or Species.

That this Office is *New*, is proved 1. In that Scripture or Antiquity never knew it. 2. *Dr. Hammond Annot. in Act. 11.* and in his Latin Book againſt *Blondell* (*Diſſertat.*) profeſſeth that it cannot be proved that the word Biſhop, Presbyter, or Paſtor, ſignifieth in all the Scripture any other than a proper Biſhop ; or that there was any ſuch

such as we now call Presbyters in Scripture times. And in his Answer to the London Ministers, he saith, That for ought he knoweth, all his Brethren of the Church of England are of his mind: So that Presbyters that had no Governing Power, were not in Scripture times. And though he says that the other sort came in before Ignatius's time, yet 1. He saith not that this sort had no Government of the Flock, but that they were under the Bishop in Government; so that yet they are not the sort that we are speaking of. 2. And he doth not prove any more.

§ 317. 3. A third Charge which they bring against our Prelacy is, That it destroyeth the *Species* or Form of particular Churches instituted by Christ: The Churches which Christ instituted are [*Holy Societies associated for Personal holy Communion under their particular Pastors*]: But all such Societies are destroyed by the Diocesan Frame ———— Ergo it is destructive of the Form of particular Churches instituted by Christ.

They distinguish between [Personal Local Communion of Saints, by Pastors and their Flocks] and Communion of *hearts* only; and Communion by Delegation or Deputies: 1. We have *Heart-Communion* with all the Catholick Church through the World. 2. Particular Churches have Communion for Concord and mutual Strength, in Synods by their Pastors or Deputies. 3. But [a holy Communion of Souls or individual Persons, as Members of the same particular Church, for publick Worship and a holy Life] is specifically distinct from both the former, as is apparent, 1. By the distinct end; 2. The distinct manner of Communion, yea and the matter of it.

And that this Form of Churches (or *Species*) is overthrown by this Prelacy, they prove: [The Churches of Christ's institution were constituted of Governing Pastors, and a Flock governed by them in Personal holy Communion, every Church having its proper Pastor, or Pastors]. But such Churches as are thus constituted are destroyed by our Frame of Prelacy: Ergo ————

The Major is confessed *de facto* by Dr. Hammond (*ubi supra*) as to Scripture times, and sufficiently cleared in my Treatise of Episcopacy. Ignatius his Testimony alone might suffice, who saith, That [*to every Church there was one Altar, and one Bishop, with the Presbyters and Deacons his Fellow Servants*]. A Church of one Altar, and of a thousand Altars; A Church that is for Personal Communion, and a Church that hath no Personal Communion with her Pastor or Bishop, or with one of a hundred of her Fellow-Members, a Church which is a Church indeed, and that which is no Church, but only a part of a Church, are more than specifically distinct; for indeed the Name is but equivocally applied to them as distinct Natures or Societies. Every Church (univocally so called in *sensu politico*, as a governed Society) hath its *pars gubernans* and *pars gubernata* to constitute it: But so have not our Parish Churches as such: indeed, as *Oratories* and *Schools* (as instructed and worshipping Societies) they have their Parochial Heads; but as governed Societies they have no Heads proper to themselves, nor any at all as Churches, but as parts of a Church: For the Diocesan is Head of the Diocesan Church as such, and not of a Parochial Church as such, but only as a part of the Diocesan Church. And as it is no Kingdom which hath no King, so it is no Political Church which hath no Governour or Pastor. So that Diocesans destroy particular Churches, as much as in them lyeth. Unless any will say, that as one King, as he is *persona naturalis*, may be three, or twenty Kings, as *persona civilis*, as related to several Kingdoms; and so one Bishop, as *persona naturalis*, may yet be a thousand Ecclesiastical Persons, as Pastor of so many Churches: But this being ridiculous, and yet said by none that I have heard of, I shall not stand to confute it.

But were it so, yet a Pastor that never seeth or speaketh to his People, nor hath any personal Communion in Worship with them, and this according to the Constitution it self, is not of the same sort with a Scripture Pastor, 1 *Thess.* 5. 12, 13. *Hebr.* 13. 17, &c. which labour among them, and preach to them the Word of God, and watch for their Souls, &c. And consequently the Churches constituted by them are not of the same *Species*. It is one Office personally to Teach, Oversee, Rule and Worship with them; and another to do none of these to one of a thousand, but to send the Churchwardens a Book of Articles.

§ 318. 4. A fourth Charge is, That it setteth up a *New Church-Form* which is unlawful, instead of that of Christ's institution; that is, a Diocesan Church consisting of many hundred Parishes (which none of them are Churches according to the Diocesan Frame, but parts of one Church): It hath been shewed that this Diocesan Church is of another *Species* than the Parochial, one being for *personal Communion*, which

which the other is incapable of; the far greatest part of the Members never seeing their Pastor, nor knowing one another any more than if they lived in several parts of the World. And that this Church Form is new, is proved already; that is, that there was no Dioceſan Church having many ſtated Congregations and Altars, (much leſs many hundreds) and all under *one only Biſhop* or Governour, either in Scripture time, or two hundred years after, excepting only that in *Alexandria* and *Rome*, ſome ſhew of more Aſſemblies than one under one Biſhop, appeared a little ſooner.)

Here note, That it is not an *Archbiſhop's* Church that we are ſpeaking of, who is but the *General Paſtor* or *Biſhop*, having other *Biſhops* and *Churches* under him; but it is a *Church infimæ Speciei*, commonly called a *particular Church*, which hath no other *Churches* or *Biſhops* under it. And that none ſuch was in Scripture times, Dr. *Hammond* hath manifeſted (there being then no *Presbyters* diſtinct from *Biſhops*, as he ſaith on *Act. 11.*) And that there was none ſuch of long time after, is abundantly proved in my *Treaſure of Episcopacy*.

§ 319. 5. The fifth Charge againſt the Dioceſan Form is, That it extirpateth the *ancient Episcopacy*: which they prove, by what is ſaid already: The ancient *Biſhops* were the Heads of the *Presbyters* and People of *one ſingle Church only*: To every Church, ſaith *Ignatius*, there is *one Altar and one Biſhop with the Presbyters, and the Deacons my Fellow Servants*. There was then no *Biſhop infimæ Speciei* as diſtinct from an *Archbiſhop*, that had more than one Altar and Church: But now all theſe *Biſhops* of particular Churches are put down, and no Church of one Altar hath a *Biſhop* of its own, but only a Church conſiſting of many hundred Worſhipping Churches. In the ancient times every City that had a Congregation of Chriſtians had a *Biſhop*: But now every *Biſhop* hath many Cities under him, which have all but one *Biſhop*. For all our Corporations, called *Oppida*, *Towns*, or *Burroughs*, were then ſuch as the word *πόλις* ſignified, though we have appropriated the Engliſh word [*City*] to ſome few, that have that Title as honorary in favour from the Prince.

§ 320. 6. The ſixth Charge is, That inſtead of the *ancient Biſhops*, a later ſort of *Biſhops* is introduced, of a diſtinct *Species* from all the ancient *Biſhops*: for then, there were none but meer *Biſhops* of particular Churches, and the *Archbiſhops*, *Metropolitans*, and *Patriarchs* that had the general overſight of theſe. But ours are of neither of theſe ſorts: They are not *Biſhops* of particular worſhipping Churches that have *one Altar*; but have hundreds of ſuch: Nor are they *Archbiſhops*; for they have no *Biſhops* under them: But they are juſt ſuch as the *Archbiſhops* or *Metropolitans* in thoſe days would have been, if they had put down all the *Biſhops* that were under them, and taken all the Charge of Government on themſelves, leaving only Teaching Priests with the People: Even as the *Papiſts* feign *Gregory* to have meant, when he ſo vehemently denied the Title of *Univerſal Biſhop*, as putting down the Inferiour *Biſhops*: Now any Man that thinketh the *Species* of *Episcopacy* deſcribed by *Ignatius*, and uſed in the Primitive times, to be of Divine, or Apoſtolicall Inſtitution, muſt needs think that a *Species* which having depoſed them all, doth ſtand up in their ſtead, is utterly unlawful. And therefore this Argument againſt Dioceſans is not managed by the *Presbyterians* as ſuch, but by thoſe that are for the Primitive *Episcopacy*.

§ 321. 7. The ſeventh Charge againſt the Dioceſan Form, (and that which ſticketh more than all the reſt) is, That it maketh the *Church Government* or *Discipline* which Chriſt hath commanded, and all the ancient Churches practiſed, to be a thing impoſſible to be done, and ſo excludeth it; and therefore is unlawful: For to diſpute *Who ſhall be the Governours of the Church*, when the meaning is, *Whether there ſhall be any Government at all* (of that ſort which Chriſt commandeth) is the preſent practice. For the clearing of this, theſe Queſtions are to be debated.

Queſt. 1. *Whether Chriſt hath inſtituted any Church-Discipline?*

2. *What that Discipline is which he hath inſtituted?*

3. *How many Pariſhes there be in a Dioceſs, and Perſons in a Pariſh, who are to be the Objects of this Discipline?*

4. *Who they be that in England are to exerciſe this Discipline?*

§ 322. 1. And for the firſt Queſtion, It is agreed on by all *Proteſtants* that I know of, except ſome of thoſe that are called *Eraſtians*; I ſay, ſome of them: for I think there are very few even of the *Eraſtians* that deny it. Dr. *Hammond* hath written a *Treaſure* for it, Entitled, *Of the Power of the Keys*: yea the *Papiſts* differ not from the *Proteſtants* in this point. It will therefore be labour in vain to prove it.

§ 323. 2. And as to the second Question, [*What this Discipline is ?*] It is considerable, 1. As to the *Matter* ; 2. As to the *Persons* ; 3. As to the *Place* ; 4. As to the *Manner* ; and 5. As to the *End*.

1. As to the *Matter* ; We are agreed that it consisteth in receiving Persons into the Church ; in preserving and healing those that are in the Church, and in casting out those from the Communion of the Church which are unfit for it, and in Absolving and Restoring the Excommunicate when they are penitent. And therefore it is called, *The Power and Exercise of the Keys*: By these Keys, the Door is first opened to Believers and their Seed, and the Bishops judge who are fit to be let in by Baptism. When any are lapsed into scandalous sin, they are to be proceeded with as Christ hath directed, *Matth.* 18. 15, 16, 17. We must first tell men privately of their private Faults, and if they hear us not, we must take with us two or three ; if they hear not them, we must tell the Church ; and finally, if they hear not the Church, they must be to us as Heathens and Publicans. And whatsoever is thus bound on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever is loosed on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven, *vers.* 18. The Church is the Body of Christ, his Spouse, his Family, his Garden ; It is a Communion of Saints which is to be held in it : It is commanded to put away wicked Persons from among them, and not to keep company, *if any that is called a Brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such a one no not to eat,* 1 *Cor.* 5. 11, 13. And we are to withdraw our selves from every Brother that walketh disorderly, and to note them, and to have no company with them, that they may be ashamed, 2 *Thess.* 3. 6, 14. If any come to us, and bring not sound Doctrine, we must not receive him into our houses, nor bid him good speed, lest we be partakers of his evil deeds, 2 *John* 10. 11. A Man that is an Heretick, must, after the first and second Admonition, be avoided, as Self condemned, *Tit.* 3. 10, 11. And the penitent must be restored and re-admitted. All this is agreed on.

§ 324. 2. And as to the *Persons* who are *Parties* in this Transaction, we are agreed 1. That it is such Persons as desire Communion with us, that are to be admitted, (being fit), and such as having Communion with us, become unmeet for it that are to be cast out, &c. so that it is to be exercised on Persons, so far as they are to have Communion with us, and not on those that are incapable of that Communion. 2. That sentimentally it must be done by the Pastor or Governour of that particular Church, which the Person is to be admitted into, or cast out of : And by the judgment of the Pastors of other neighbour Churches, when they also, as Neighbours, are to refuse Communion with him. 3. That executively it is to be done by every one in their places, the Pastors giving or denying the Sacraments, &c. and the People holding or refusing Communion or Company with Men according as they are judged by the Church. I think there is no Controversie among us about these.

§ 325. 3. And therefore the *Work* will resolve us of the *place* ; *viz.* That the Execution must be in that place where he had or desired Communion, or was capable of it : And therefore that the *Judgment* should be by those that being upon the *place*, have fullest opportunity to know the Persons and the Case : Even by those Pastors who labour amongst the People that are over them in the Lord, 1 *Thess.* 5. 12, 13. who have the rule over them, and preach to them the Word of God, *Hebr.* 13. 7, 17, 24. and not by those that are strangers to them.

§ 326. 4. And as to the *Manner*, all Divines are agreed, That it is not to be like the proceedings of a Civil Court, where there is no more to be done, but examine the Cause and pass the Sentence, and execute it by Corporal Penalties and Mulcts: But, 1. That it is to be managed by grave Divines, the Physicians of Souls, for the saving of the Sinner, if it may be, with great seriousness, and light, and weight of Scripture Argument, convincing the Erroneous, terrifying the Secure with the terrors of the Lord, reproving and admonishing and perswading the penitent Offender, and all this with Love and Compassion and due Patience ; and restoring the Penitent with Tenderness and Consolation and necessary Caution. From all which it is evident, That one single Person thus dealt with in case of Heresie, may hold the Pastor or Bishop many days time, and one gross Sinner may hold him many hours time, before this Work can be done as the Nature and Ends of it do require. 2. And it is to be done by the meer Keys of the Kingdom of Christ, by managing God's Word by particular Application to the Case and Conscience of the Sinner, and not by outward Force or Penalties.

§ 327. 5. And all this is apparent in the *Ends* of it ; which is, 1. That Church-Communion may be a Communion of Saints, 2. That the Sinner may be saved, and converted to that end ; 3. Or however, that others may be warned by his sad Example. 4. And that the unbelieving and ungodly World, may see the Excellency of Christian Religion, and not be hardened in their Infidelity and Impiety. 5. And so that Christ, and the Father by him, may be honoured in his holiness among the Sons of Men : These are the *Ends* of Church-Discipline.

§ 328. 3. And as you see what the Discipline is that is to be Exercised, so the Number of Persons on whom it is to be exercised, may be gathered from what is said in the beginning : where is shewed, 1. How many hundred Parishes are in a Diocese. 2. How many hundred or thousand Souls in a Parish : (unless the very smallest). 3. And how many Hereticks, Atheists, Papists, Infidels, or Swearers, Cursers, Railers, Drunkards, Fornicators, and other scandalous Sinners there are proportionably in most Parishes, I leave to the judgment of every faithful Pastor that ever tried it by a particular knowledge of his Flock.

§ 329. 4. And lastly, who they be that are to Exercise all this Discipline, I have shewed before ; even one Court or Consistory in a whole Diocese, with the inconsiderable subserviency of the Arch-Deacon's Court : (For the Rural Deans do nothing in it, and are themselves scarce known : and the Pastor and Churchwardens do nothing but present Men to the Courts, and execute part of their Sentences.)

§ 330. All this being laid together, the impossibility of Christ's Discipline in our Churches is undeniable: 1. Because by this Computation there must stand at once before the Court many thousand Persons to be at once examined, convinced, reprov'd, exhorted, or a great Multitude at least : whenas they can speak but to one at once. 2. Because the second Admonition which should be before two or three, is there before an open Judicature ; which is not suited to the appointed End : so that really our Controversie with the Diocesans is the same in effect, as if it were controverted, whether a thousand or six hundred Schools shall have as many governing School-masters ; or whether one only shall govern all these Schools, and the rest of the School-masters have only power to teach, and not to govern ? (were it only whether one should have a general Inspection over the rest, that they may be punished for Male-administration, we should not be so far disagreed : for though we might question whether Christ ever made or allowed any such Officer, besides the Magistrate, yet if the Work were but done by any, we should judge it more tolerable.) Or the Controversie is as if it were questioned, whether all the Dioceses should have any more than one Physician, that should have any power to prescribe any Government to the Patients, and all the rest should only read general Lectures of Physick to them, and be his Apothecaries, to carry them his Prescripts and Medicines ; which were to question, whether most shall have any Physician or none ? and whether the People shall have their Lives sacrificed to the mad Ambition of some one Man that would be their only Physician. Shifting may deceive the unexperienced, but let any Minister in *England* be but so faithful as to know all his Flock, and regard their Souls, and he can never deny that this is the true Case. For my own part, the Lord knoweth that I did with too much remissness exercise some Discipline a few years (when I had liberty) in one Country Parish, upon one of the most Reformed People in the Land, and that with the help of many Fellow-Ministers, and of many of the People in their places, and the countenance and presence of three Justices of the Peace ; and yet I found the burden too great for me, and that one *half of that Parish* would have been enough. It is in this, as in Military Discipline, or Navigation ; The Judgment of that Man that never tried it, is of very little value in the Case. Do but try the Government of one Parish, in the Scripture way, and we shall not differ.

§ 331. And the Nonconformists further prove, that our Prelacy maketh this Discipline morally impossible, thus : Were it not morally impossible, some one godly Bishop in *England* would have executed it, as Christ appointeth : But no one godly Bishop in *England* doth, or ever did, so execute it : *Ergo*—

The Major will not be denied, of a Moral Impossibility, or at least of a difficulty next it : That which no one Man, no not the wisest or the best ever did, may well be called morally impossible, or neer it. And that *England* hath had some such Bishops, we are not so uncharitable as to question, when we remember *Hooper, Farrar, Latimer, Cranmer, Ridley, Jewel, Grindall, Hall*, and many more. And I never met with the Man that would assert, or did believe, that the fore-described Discipline was ever exercised by any Man of them throughout his Diocese, no nor

in any three Parishes in it, if in one : Bishop *Edward Reynolds* of *Norwich* was one that went along with us to the last in our *Desire*, and *Treaties* for *Discipline* and *Reformation* : And who heareth of any such *Discipline* exercised by him? who doubtless would do it if he could. Nay, I am confident that he will say himself, that he hath not exercised it on a tenth part that are the due Objects of it, in any two Parishes in his Diocese : Nay, in his Diocese there are as many hundreds of godly People Excommunicated or troubled (by Sentence at least) for Nonconformity, as in any Diocese that I hear of in *England* ; and the poor Bishop looks on, and cannot hinder it. Could it be done, some one would do it : But none doth it. *Ergo*——

§ 332. 8. The eighth Charge against our Prelacy is, That having cast out Christ's Church-Discipline, prescribed in the Gospel, it setteth up, instead of it, an unlawful kind of Church-Discipline : And the unlawfulness they shew in these Particulars.

§ 333. 1. In that the Judges of the Courts, as well as the rest, are meer Lay-men (the Bishops Chancellors) who ordinarily Admonish, Excommunicate and Absolve : For though the King's Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, did speak against this, yet that was dead before it took place, and the old Course is now taken in all their Courts : And what the Tongue of Man can rationally say, for Lay-mens exercising the Power of the Keys, most essential to the Sacred Pastoral Office, it is beyond my reach to know. The common Answer is, that Lay-Elders are as bad : As if one Man's sin would justify anothers, and warrant all Men to Subscribe to it. But yet they know, 1. That Church-Elders are not accounted Lay-men, but Sacred Officers, by those that are for them. 2. That they meddle but with one Parish, and that but as Assistants to the Pastors ; whereas the Chancellors meddle with many hundred Parishes, and that as the sole Judges in the Court (when the Bishop is not there, which is the ordinary Case). Indeed, I hear that *pro forma* they use to get some Priest or other, to pass the Sentence in Court, when the Lay-Chancellor hath determined it. But this a meer juggling mockery : And if they were serious, it would confute themselves ; who say, That a Presbyterian hath not the power of Excommunication : And they justify the Cause of the Presbyterians who claim it (as is aforesaid).

§ 334. 2. As to the *Matter* of the *English* Discipline, it consisteth not in the fore-described Convictions, Reproofs, Exhortations to Repentance, praying for the Sinner's Repentance, telling him before two or three, or telling the Church ; but in a Citation, and such a Course of Process as is in Civil Secular Courts.

§ 335. 3. And for the *Manner* ; it is not with holy Seriousness and Patience as may tend to the melting of a Sinner's heart into true Contrition, nor as may tend to awake him from his Security with the Terrours of the Lord, nor is it at all fitted to work upon the Conscience : (who can expect that Lay-men, and such Men, in a Publick Court, and such a Court, should do it) : Nor do I believe that any Subscribing conscientious Minister will say that he ever heard a Chancellor convert a Sinner, or say that which was like or apt to bring him to true Repentance. But on the contrary, they work on them by Terrour of Corporal Penalties and Mulcts, and harden them into a hatred of those that thus vex them : so that a Pastor that ever hopeth to do good on his Parishioners, will take heed how he presenteth them to one of these Courts, lest by so much he seem to be their Enemy, and they never regard his Doctrine more : whereas Christ's Discipline is Paternal, by Love and convincing Reason, and to the very last extremity, is to be done with so much Fatherly Kindness and Compassion, as tendeth to melt and win the Sinner.

§ 336. 4. And for the *Adjuncts* ; your Discipline of Excommunication is all enforced with Imprisonment and the utter ruine of the Excommunicate, upon a Writ *de Excommunicato capiendo* : If you say that it is the Magistrate's Action, and not ours, I answer, 1. You are the Judges, and make the Magistrate your Executioners. 2. You take the very Life of your Discipline to lye in it ! How ordinarily do you say, That were it not for the Sword and Corporal Penalty, who would care for Excommunication ? And your Confession hath in it much of Truth, as to your Excommunications : But hereby you corrupt the Discipline of the Church, and lamentably corrupt the Church it self. It is a great Truth which the Churches welfare lieth on, That no Man is fit for the Communion of the Church, that so far despiseth it, as not to be moved by a meer Excommunication. • Shall he have the Communion of the Church, who will rather be cast out of it than repent ? when, of old, Penitents long begg'd the Churches Communion prostrate, or at the Church

Door, before they were re-admitted : And now if Ten thousand Men scorn the Churches Communion, and will stand out a bare Excommunication, you will drive them into the Church, and to a feigned Repentance by the fear of a Jail : And so all Men shall be Members of your Churches, that do but so far love their Skins, as rather to endure the Church than the Prison : (of this also the *Scots* Presbytery hath been guilty in part) : And what Churches these are, it is easie to judge. And you cannot say that this is only Male-administration ; for it is the very Constitution of your Government.

§ 337. 5. And your Discipline is exercised by Strangers upon Strangers, at many Miles distance, where the Church that the Sinner is to hold Communion with, heareth not the Process, nor knoweth of the Matter, nor perhaps the Minister that should be his Governour, but only they receive a Paper from the Court, containing the Sentence ; which the Parson must read, and then in despite of him must admit the vilest to the Churches Communion, and read his Absolution if the Court require it, let him never so well know the Sinner to be impenitent.

§ 338. 6. Lastly, Let any Man of Charity, free from Faction, judge by the Canons, Whether the Discipline of Excommunication be not exercised upon many godly upright Persons (for fasting, and praying together, and such like) who are unfit for such Severity. And let him that readeth both Liturgy and Canons, judge, Whether the Communion of the Sacrament be not denied to holy Persons, if they do but fear Idolatry in kneeling before the Bread ; who are not worthy of so great a Penalty. So that in a word, a kind of Secular Courts are set up instead of the Discipline of Christ, and the edge of their Severity is turned against those conscientious People, that be not of their Opinions in Ceremonies, or such things. If it be said that the Magistrate may set up Civil Courts who may judge *Circa Sacra* : I answer, but 1. These judge *de Sacris*, and Excommunicate and Absolve. 2. They do it under the Name of Church-Discipline, and the Power of the Keys. 3. And instead of Christ's deposed Discipline.

§ 339. 9. The ninth Charge against our Prelacy is consequential, That it bringeth on us a multitude of grievous Calamities, and ill Consequences, by this abolition of true Discipline, and the aforesaid Corruptions. As for instance—

1. That it giveth up our Cause to the *Brownists*, *quantum in se*, who say that our Churches are no true Churches, and our Ministry is no true Ministry : For if we have true Churches and Ministers, it is either the Parochial, the Diocesan, or the National. But 1. for the Parochial, they say that they are no true Churches or Ministers : for a true Church, *in sensu politico*, is constituted of the Governing part and the Governed part : But a Parish Church hath no Governing part (as such) : For the Diocesan is not the Head of it as a Parish Church, but as a part of his Diocesan Church. (Otherwise one Man should be a Thousand Heads and Political persons). And the Parson or Vicar, though perhaps called Rector, is only the Teacher and Priest, and denied all Government : *Ergo* he is no Pastor, as wanting an essential part of that Office, nor the Church a true Church. And for my part, I know not how to confute these Men, but by telling them, that the Pastor of that Parish-Church must be judged of by God's description, and not by the Bishop's : which I doubt not is a true and satisfactory Answer.

And for a *Diocesan Church*, the *Brownists* say that it is not only no Church of Christ's institution, but contrary to it : and therefore not to be acknowledged.

And for the National Church, unless you speak equivocally, they know no such thing : for what is it that is the Constitutive Head of it ? The King is the Civil Head : But the *Constitutive* Head of a Church must be an Ecclesiastical Head, or a Clergy-man, or Society of Men : It cannot be an Archbishop, for neither of the Archbishops pretendeth to it, having but a priority of place, and not any Government over one another (*Canterbury* over *York*) or in each others Provinces. And the Convocation it cannot be, because the Canon Anathematizeth them that take it not for the *Representative* Church of *England* : And if it be but the *Representative*, it cannot be the *Constitutive* Head : For either it representeth the Governing part of the Church, which is indeed the Head, or the Governed part, which is the Body : If it represent the latter only, then *as such* it can have no Governing power at all ! For as *Representative* it can have no more power than those that are represented : But the Governed party as such have no Governing power : *Ergo* neither have their Representatives as such. If they represent any higher power, What is it ? It must be either in a *single Person*, or a Collective Body, which is one *Political Person* : But the former is not at all pretended, nor can be : If it be said that they represent all the *Pastors* of *England*, I answer, no doubt that is the meaning of the Canon :

non :

non : and yet no Man affirmeth that the *real Body* of all those Pastors in conjunction is one Collective Political Head of this Church: For Parish-Ministers are only Heads of their several Parishes (if so much) but not of all the rest of the Parishes in the Nation, any otherwise than of those in other Lands: Wherefore it is most evident that there is no such thing as a Church of *England* in a Political Formal sence, as it hath one Constitutive and Ecclesiastical Head: but only in an improper larger sence, either as the Pastors of many Churches, met in a Synod, do make binding Agreements by way of voluntary Concord and Consent (as many Kings may do in a voluntary Meeting, which doth not constitute a Political Society): Or else as they have one accidental Civil Head (the King: who is Head of all Religious Societies in his Dominions, *Papists, Anabaptists, &c.*) But these are none of them Denominations *à formâ*. But hence it may be noted, 1. That as Bishop *Usher* said, Synods are not properly a Superiour Governing power over the particular Bishops, but only for voluntary Concord. 2. That the Bishops must, against their wills, grant that all Parish-Ministers are *de jure* Church Governours: or else how come their *Representatives* to be part of the Governing-Church, even in Canon-making for common Government (as they judge). As for the Democratical conceit of them that say that the Parliament hath their Governing power as they are the Peoples Representatives, and so have the Members of the Convocation, though those represented have no Governing power themselves, it is so palpably Self-contradicting, that I need not confute it.

§ 340. 2. A second evil Consequence is, that by neglect of Discipline (or excluding it) the Vicious want that remedy which God hath provided to bring them to Repentance and Salvation: That God hath appointed Discipline, is proved from *Lev. 19. 17. Matth. 18. 15, 16, 17, 18. 1 Cor. 5. Tit. 1. 13. & 2. 15. & 3. 10. 1 Tim. 3. 5, 15. & 5. 19, 20, 21, 22, 24. 2 Tim. 3. 5. & 4. 2. 2 Thess. 3. 6, 14.* And as neglect of Preaching, so neglect of Discipline tendeth to the hardening of Sinners in their sins. And when in the Application of Baptism, Confirmation, the Lord's Supper, Absolution, and all Church Consolations to them, they are all *used by the Church as pardoned Sinners*, and *judged to be such* (how vicious soever) they will the easilier believe they are such indeed, and reject all passages in Sermons that would convince them, and all that would perswade them of the Necessity of a Change. So that no doubt but many Thousands are hindered from Conversion and Salvation for want of Discipline.

§ 341. 3. And it tendeth to *propagate the Sin*, as Impunity from Magistrates or Parents would do: which made the Apostle say, *1 Cor. 5. A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump*: many will be encouraged to do that which undergoeth no more censure.

§ 342. 4. It keepeth up the Credit of Sin it self, and gratifieth Satan, while the Church is deprived of the Publick Means appointed by God, for putting Sin to open shame, and bruising the Serpent's Head, by a solemn Condemnation of his Works of Darknes.

§ 343. 5. It depriveth *Holiness* and *Obedience* of the honour which God hath appointed for it, by this publick differencing Judgment of the Church, which being, as *Tertullian* calleth it, *præjudicium futuri judicii*, doth represent the Justification and Condemnation of that Day; and wonderfully tend to the publick honour of Godliness and Honesty, and consequently to the Conversion and Establishment of Mens Souls.

§ 344. 6. It greatly tendeth to the dishonour of the Church by its pollution: whenas Christian Societies shall be conspurcated with those Vices which are the shame of Infidels and Heathens; and those of our Communion are in their Lives no better than the Unbelieving World! All Men will think that that is the best Society which hath the best People, and will judge rather by Mens *Lives* than their *Opinions*.

§ 345. 7. And hereby it greatly dishonoureth *Christianity it self*; and when the Church is as full of Vices as the Mahomitan Societies are, or the Heathen, it is a publick perswading the World that our Religion is as false or bad as theirs.

§ 346. 8. And hereby God himself and our blessed Redeemer are greatly dishonoured in the World: As his *Saints* are his honour, so when the Communion of Atheists and Prophane Persons, and Oppressors and Deceivers, and Fornicators and Drunkards, is called by us, *The Communion of Saints*, it tendeth to make the Church a Scorn, and to the great dishonour of the Head of such a Body, and the Author of the Christian Faith.

§ 347. 9. And it lamentably conduceth to the hardening of the Heathens and Infidels of the World, and hindering their Conversion to the Christian Faith: It would make a Believer's heart to bleed (if any thing in all the World will do it) to think that five parts in six of the World are still Heathens, Mahometans and Infidels, and that the wicked Lives of Christians (with Popperies, Ignorance and Divisions) is the great Impediment to their Conversion! To read and hear Travellers and Merchants tell, that the *Banians* and other Heathens in *Indostan*, *Cambai*, and many other Lands, and the *Mahometans* adjoining to the *Greeks*, and the *Abassines*, &c. do commonly fly from Christianity, as the Separatists among us do from Prelacy, and say, God will not save us if we be Christians; for Christians are Drunkards, and proud, and Deceivers, &c. And that the *Mahometans*, and many Heathens have more, both of Devotion and Honesty, than the common sort of Christians have that live among them! O wretched Christians! that are not content to damn themselves, but thus lay stumbling blocks before the World! It were better for these men that they had never been born! But if all these notorious ones were disowned by the Churches, it would quit our Profession much from the dishonour, and shew poor Infidels that our Religion is good, though their Lives be bad.

§ 348. 10. Lastly, it galleth the Consciences of the Ministers in their administrations of the Sacraments to the openly ungodly and grossly ignorant: It hindereth the Comfort of the Church in its Communion: It filleth the Heads of poor Christians with Scruples, and their Hearts with Fears; and is the great cause of unavoidable Separations among us, and consequently of all the Censures on one side, and wrathful Penalties on the other, and uncharitableness on both sides, which follow thereupon. If the Pastors will not differ between the precious and the vile, by necessary regular Discipline; tender Christians will be tempted to difference by irregular Separations; and to think, as *Cyprian* saith, That it belongeth to the People to forsake a sinful Pastor: They will separate further than they ought; and will take our Churches as Sinks of Pollution, and fly from the noisomness of them; and come out from among us, for fear of partaking in our Plagues, as men run out of a ruinous House lest it fall upon their Heads. And then they will fall into Sects among themselves, and fall under the hot displeasure of the Bishops, and then they will be reproached and vexed as Schismatics, while they reproach our Churches as Hypocritical and Prophane, that call such Societies, the Communion of Saints: This hath been, and this is, and this will be the Cause of Separations, Sects, Persecutions, Malice and Ruins in the Christian World: And it will never be cured, till some tolerable Discipline cure the Churches.

§ 349. 10. The tenth and last Charge against our Frame of Prelacy is, That by its use of Civil or Coercive Power, it at once breaketh the Command of Christ, and greatly injureth the Civil Government. Both which are thus proved by the Nonconformists.

§ 350. 1. It violateth all these Laws of Christ: *Luke 22. 24, 25. And there was a strife among them which of them should be accounted the greatest: And he said unto them, the Kings of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them, and they that exercise Authority upon them, are called Benefactors: but ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger, and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.* That is, it is a Ministerial Dignity, and not a Magistratical, which you are called to: that which is allowed to Kings here, is denied to Ministers, even Apostles: But it is not Tyranny or Abuse of Power, but Secular Magistratical Power it self, which is all owed to Kings: Ergo it is this which is forbidden Ministers. This is the very sense of the Text which is given by Protestant Episcopal Divines themselves, when they reject the Presbyterians sense, who say that it forbiddeth Ecclesiastical Superiority and Power of one Minister over another, as well as Coercive. Therefore the old Rhymer said against the Prelates,

Christus dixit quodam loco:

[Vos non sic] nec dixit joco:

Dixit suis: Ergo isti

Cujus sunt? non certo Christi.

So 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3. Feed the Flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint but willingly; Not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind: Neither as being Lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the Flock. But our Bishops take the oversight of those that are not among them, and whom they feed not; and they rule

rule them by *constraint* and not as *voluntary* Subjects, not by Example (for one of an hundred never seeth or knoweth them) but as *Lords* by Secular Force. Dr. Hammond taketh the word [*Constraint*] here *Actively*, not *Passively*; not as forbidding them to be Bishops against their *own Wills*, but to *Rule* the *People* by *constraint* against the *Peoples wills*.

It would be tedious to recite all those Texts, which command the People to imitate the Apostles as they imitated Christ, (who never used Magistratical force; nor did any of his Apostles) and say that the *Weapons of our warfare are not carnal*; and that he that warreth entangleth not himself with the Affairs of this Life, and that the Servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle, &c.

§ 351. 2. And that this Coercive Church-Government is an heinous Injury to Christian Magistrates, even where it seemeth to be subordinate to them, appeareth thus.

1. Though they do mostly confess that they can exercise no Power of Coercion of themselves, but by the Magistrates consent, yet do they take it to be the Magistrates duty to consent to it, as if he were not else a tender Nursing Father to the Church: and so they lay his Conscience in Prison, till he trust them with his Sword, or serve them by it.

2. They call their Magistratical Government by the Name of *Spiritual* and *Ecclesiastical* Government; And so by the Name, they seduce Mens minds, to think that this is indeed the use of the Keys, which God hath put into the Churches Hands.

3. Hereby they greatly encourage the Usurpation of the Pope and his Clergy, who set up such Courts, for probate of Wills, and Causes of Matrimony, and rule the Church in a Secular manner (though many of them confess that *directly* the Church hath no forcing Power): And this they call the *Churches Power*, and *Spiritual Government*, and *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*; and say that it belongeth not to Kings, and that no King can in Conscience restrain them of it; but must protect them in it: And so they set up *Imperium in Imperio*, and, as Bishop Bedle said of Ireland, *The Pope hath a Kingdom there in the Kingdom, greater than the Kings*: (Against which *Ludov. Molinæus* hath written at large, in two or three Treatises): So that when the Papal Power in *England* was cast down, and their Courts subjected to the King, and the Oath of Supremacy formed, it was under the Name of *Ecclesiastical* and *Spiritual Power* that it was acknowledged to be in the King (who yet claimeth no proper *Spiritual* or *Ecclesiastical Power*): so greatly were these Terms abused; and so are they still as applied to our Bishops Courts: so that the King is said by us to be Chief Governour in all Causes Ecclesiastical, because Coercive Power in Church Matters (which is proper to the Magistrate) was possessed and claimed by the Clergy. And in all Popish Kingdoms, the Kings are but half Kings, through these Usurpations of the Clergy. And for us to Exercise the same kind of Power, mixt with the Exercise of the Keys, and that by the same Name, is greatly to countenance the Usurpers.

§ 352. If it be said, That the Church claimeth no Coercive Power, but as granted them by the King, or that it is the Magistrate that annexeth Mulcts and Penalties, and not the Church: I answer, 1. They persuade the Magistrate that he ought to do so. 2. Force is not a meer Accident, but confessed by them to be the very Life of their Government: It is that which bringeth People to their Courts, and enforceth all their Precepts, and causeth Obedience to them; so that it is part of the very Constitution of their Government: And as to Fees and Commutation of Penance, Pecuniary Mulcts are thus imposed by themselves. 3. Their very Courts and Officers are of a Secular Form. 4. The Magistrate is but the Executioner of their Sentence: He must grant out a Writ, and imprison a Man *quatenus excommunicate*, without sitting in Judgment upon the Cause himself, and trying the Person according to his Accusation. And what a dishonour do these Men put on Magistrates, that make them their *Executioners*, to imprison those whom they condemn, *inaudita causâ*, at a venture, be it right or wrong.

So much of the Nonconformists Charges against the English Prelacy.

§ 353. By this you may see what they Answer to the Reasons of the Conformists. As,

1. To the willing Conformists, who plead a *Jus Divinum*, they say, That if all that *Gerfon*, *Bucer*, *Didacrius*, *Blondell*, *Salmasius*, *Parker*, *Baines*, &c. have said against Episcopacy it self were certainly confuted, yet it is quite another thing that is called Episcopacy, by them that plead it *Jure Divino*: If 1. Bishops of single Churches

Churches with a Presbytery under them, 2. and General Bishops over these Bishops, were both proved *jure Divino*, yet our Diocesans are proved to be *contra jus Divinum*.

2. To the Latitudinarians and involuntary Conformists, who plead that no Church-Government, as to the form, is of Divine Institution, they answer; 1. This is to condemn themselves, and say, [Because no Form is of God's Institution, therefore I will declare that the Episcopal Form is of Divine Institution]: for this is part of their Subscription, or Declaration, when they Profess, Assent, and Consent to all things in the Book of Common Prayer and Ordination: And one thing in it is in these words, (with which the Book beginneth) [*It is evident to all Men, diligently reading holy Scripture, and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: which Offices were evermore had in such reverend estimation, &c.*] So that here they declare that Bishops and Priests are not only distinct Degrees, but distinct Orders and Offices, and that since the Apostles time, as evident by Scripture, &c. (when yet many of the very Papists Schoolmen do deny it). And the Collect in the Ordering of Priests runs thus, [*Almighty God, giver of all good things, who by thy holy Spirit hath appointed divers Orders of Ministers in the Church*]. So that in plain English they declare, That [*Episcopacy even as a distinct Order, Office, and Function* (for all these words are there) *is appointed by the Spirit of God; because they believe that no Form is so appointed.*

2. That which Mr. Stillingfleet calleth [*A Form*] is none of the Substance of the Government it self, nor the Offices in the Church: He granteth that 1. Worshipping Assemblies are of Divine appointment; 2. That every one of these must have one or more Pastors who have power in their Order to teach them, and go before them in Worship, and spiritually guide or govern them. But 1. Whether a Church shall have one Pastor or more; 2. Whether one of them shall be in some things subject to another; 3. Whether constant Synods shall be held for concord of Associated Churches; 4. Whether in these Synods one shall be Moderator? and how long? and with what Authority? (not unreasonable), these he thinks are left undetermined: And I am of his mind; supposing General Rules to guide them by as he doth. But the Matter (and Manner) of Church-Discipline being of God's appointment, and the Nature and Ends of a particular Church, and the Office of Pastors (as well as the Form of the Church Universal), it is past doubt that nothing which subverteth any of these is lawful. And indeed, if properly no Form of Government be instituted by God, then no Form of a Church neither: for the Form of Government is the Form of a Church (considered in *sensu politico*, and not as a meer Community). And then the Church of England is not of God's making: *Quest.* Who then made it? Either another Church made this Church (and then, what was that Church, and who made its Form, and so *ad Originem*) or no Church made it: If no Church made the Church of England, *quo jure*? or what is its Authority and Honour? If the King made it, was he a Member of a Church or not? If yea, 1. There was then a Church-Form before the Church of England; And who made that Church *usque ad Originem*? If the King that made it was no Member of a Church, then he that is no Member of a Church, may institute a Church-Form; but *quo jure*? and with what Honour to that Church? But it is certain that a particular Congregation with its proper Bishop or Pastors is a Church-Form of Christ's Institution.

§ 354. II. The Second Controversie is about the Obligation of the *National Vow* or *Covenant*: And here there is a Law made, That every Man shall forfeit all his Estate, and be perpetually imprisoned, who affirmeth, [*That there is any Obligation on him, or any other, from this Vow, to endeavour any alteration of Government in the Church*]. So that those that think there is such an Obligation dare not affirm it: And therefore almost all that write or speak on the other side against the Obligation, remain unanswered (save what Mr. Crofton, Mr. Cawdry, and some others lightly have done), because they must be answered at so dear a rate. I suppose the Reader will not take my words as *Affertory*, but as *Historical* herein, acquainting you what it is that sticks with the Nonconformists, and maketh them that they dare not say *this Oath bindeth none*, for fear of God, as they will not say that it *bindeth any* for fear of Confiscation and Imprisonment.

§ 355. And here first they premise these General Suppositions, which should make all Men exceeding tender of venturing further than they are sure the ground is firm.

§ 356. 1. That Perjury is confessedly one of the most heinous sins that can be committed by Man : and if this Subscription should prove perjurious, or a justifying of Perjury, it would bring upon them the Guilt and Misery following.

1. It is an Atheistical Denial of the Omniscience or Justice of God, and a taking of his Name in vain, and making him the Favourer of a Lie.

2. It is a treacherous Breach of Promise to him.

3. It is a Sin that deeply woundeth an awakened Conscience, and may drive it to despair.

4. It overthroweth Humane Societies, and maketh a Man unfit for Humane Converse. For mutual *Trust* is the Foundation or Bond of Societies: And he whose Oath is not to be trusted, is not at all to be trusted any further than his Interest commandeth it.

5. It exposeth Kings to the Fury of all that dare venture to do them hurt: For if once Subjects be taught that Oaths oblige not, what is there to keep them from Treasons and Rebellions, but their Carnal Interests! And if they be once taught that Princes take not themselves to be obliged by their Oaths and Covenants, such Teachers tempt them to think that they are bound no more to their Princes, as being incapable of Trust. So that the Doctrine of Perjury, that disobligeth Men from under Vows and Covenants, is the most traitorous pernicious Doctrine.

5. It exposeth the Kingdom, Church and Religion, which is guilty of it to reproach; yea, the *greatest* reproach of all its Adversaries; making them worse than many Heathens.

6. It bringeth the Judgments of God on a Nation: *For God will not hold them guiltless that take his Name in vain.* Saul's Posterity must be hanged before the Famine could be stayed, because Saul had broken the Vow made to the Gibeonites by Joshua, 2 Sam. 21. And this heavy Judgment on England at this day, which falleth on London and many Corporations, terrifying many that read the Corporation Act, which casteth all out of Trust and Power, who disclaim not absolutely *all obligation* of the Vow or Covenant as on themselves or any other.

7. And how can one that entereth into the Ministry by publick owning Perjury and Falshood, ever look for any acceptance of his Ministry by Men, or blessing on it (or himself in it at least) from God? Hath God need of Lies and Perjury to his Service? Shall we offer such a Sacrifice to him that is most Holy, and this under pretence that we desire to serve him by the preaching of his Gospel? With what face can we preach against any Sin to the People, when our Declarations, Subscriptions, and Publick Actions have first told them that Perjury it self may be committed? I say, if this should prove to be perjurious, the Covenant being obligatory, then would these terrible Consequents follow.

§ 357. 2. And then they say, That such enormous Crimes as these should be avoided with much more fear than lesser sins: as a Man will less venture upon the danger of the Plague, than of the Measles; or upon a desperate Precipice than an easie Fall; and will avoid more a wound at the Heart, than a prick of the Finger: And therefore no Rational Man can expect that here they should be venturous.

§ 358. 3. And they add, That seeing Affirmatives bind not *ad semper*, and Positive Duties are not Duties at all times, therefore to a Man that is rationally fearful and in doubt of so great a sin as Perjury, the preaching of the Gospel can be no Duty, till those Doubts be sufficiently removed: And therefore they wonder to perceive that abundance are brought to Conformity by this Argument, [*I am sure it is a Duty to preach the Gospel: but I am not sure that it is a sin to conform: therefore Uncertainties must give place to Certainties*]. For it is not a Duty to one of many hundreds to preach the Gospel! but only of Ministers: Nor is it any more a Minister's Duty that cannot do it without sinful Conditions, than it is a Womans Duty. Therefore so far as any Man doubteth whether the Terms be lawful, he must needs doubt whether it be his Duty (yea, or lawful) for him to preach: No Man can be surer that it is his Duty to preach, than he is sure that the Conditions of his preaching are lawful. But on the other side, a Man may for some time well judge that preaching is *no Duty to him*, though he be not sure that the Condition is sinful, if he have but rational cause of doubting: especially when it is no less than Perjury that he feareth.

§ 359. 4. But they say, If it should prove that the Covenant is obligatory, it would prove such a sin as is hard to be matched. 1. For a Minister of the Gospel to be so guilty: 2. And this upon pretence of Serving God: 3. And this upon deliberation. 4. And to declare the justification of three Kingdoms from so great a

guilt, even from the highest to the lowest : and so to hinder them all from repenting ; and to Subscribe to it, that their Vows oblige them not, and the violation of them is no sin. And if Perjury be a damning sin, hereby to endeavour the damnation of so many thousands, and all the Plagues and Miseries on the Land that Perjury may bring. 5. And to declare against so *needful a Reformation*, that it is no Duty at all for Rulers or Subjects to endeavour it ; no not if they have *sworn* to do it. 6. And to put down all this under *my Hand*, as some Conjurors have done that have covenanted with the Devil, and given him their *Hands* to it. All this is exceeding terrible, if this Vow prove obligatory.

§ 360. 5. In this Case they suppose that it is dangerous for Men to go against the concurrent Judgments of Casuists, yea, of their own Casuists, in the Case of Vows: And they know not how to save Subscription, from the enmity of the determinations of Dr. *Sanderſon*, and all other ordinary Casuists. And these are the general Reasons of their fear.

§ 361. But I shall hear tell you what they grant about the obligation of the Covenant.

1. They assert that it can bind no Man to any thing that is sinful.
2. No nor to any thing that may hereafter be sinful, nor from any thing that may be a Duty, when it cometh to be such: though it were neither Sin nor Duty at the making of the Vow.
3. That it bindeth no Man therefore against Obedience to the King, though the thing be in it self indifferent, and was not commanded by the King when they vowed: For if a Man might prevent the Commands of Prince or Parents by his own Vows, he might free himself from his Obedience. The Command of God, to obey Kings and Rulers is antecedent to our Vows, and above our Vows, and cannot be evacuated or avoided by them. Therefore if there be any *indifferent thing* in the Covenant, I will obey the King if he command or forbid it, contrary to the Covenant.

4. That we take our selves bound by the Covenant to nothing, but what is our Duty if there were not such Covenant: Not that a *Vow* doth not bind a Man to things before indifferent: We confess it doth: But because *this Vow* included and intended nothing meerly indifferent: For it is the Judgment of Protestants, and so both of the *Framers* and the *Takers* of it, that the use of a Vow is not to make *new Duties* to our selves which God never made, but to bind us to that which God had made our Duty before. Else it is a taking of the Name of God in vain. All the doubt therefore is but whether it be a *secondary Obligation* to that which God had before obliged us to. So that there is no one Action materially, whose doing or not doing we take to depend upon the Covenant's obligation primarily or alone; nor do we imagine any thing to be our Duty, which would not be so, if the Covenant had never had a being.

5. That if the Covenanters did then suppose that they were bound to defend and obey the Parliament in that War, and to bring a contrary Party to punishment, yet now there can be no place for any such Imagination; because the Parliament is not in being, the War and Difference of Parties is ended; *Cessante materia cessat obligatio, & cessantibus personis & rerum statu*: It is now past doubt that we are bound to obey the King, and that there is none to stand in competition for our Obedience: so that as a *League with those persons* it ceaseth with the persons.

6. That if we had been allowed but to Subscribe, That [*there is no Obligation—to endeavour unlawfully*] or [*by any unlawful means*] We had not scrupled to disclaiming any Obligation, as on our selves or any other Subjects. Thus far there is no Controversie among us about the Covenant.

§ 362. I come now to the Non-Subscribers particular Scruples, which are such as these.

1. They say, That all Men confessing that an *Oath or Vow* is obligatory, they must see good proof that *this particular Vow* is not so before they can exempt it from the common force of Vows: But such proof they have never seen, from Mr. *Fullwood*, Mr. *Stileman*, Dr. *Gauden*, or any that hath attempted it, and on whom it is incumbent: but rather admire that Men of so great Judgment and Tenderness of Conscience should ever be satisfied with such halting Arguments; which they had long ago more fully confuted, if the Law had not forbidden them. They herein argue as the Bishops in another Case: Uncertainties must give place to Certainities, *cæteris paribus*: But they are certain in general that Vows are obligatory, if materially lawful: and they are *uncertain* that this Vow is *materially unlawful*, and so not obligatory: Ergo they dare not say that no Man is obliged by it.

§ 363. 2. They say, That all the World confesseth that a Vow obligeth *in re necessaria*, to that which is antecedently a Duty : but they propound it to consideration, whether all these things following, which are in the Covenant are certainly no Duties antecedently.

1. [To endeavour in our several Places and Callings, the preservation of the Reformed Religion.]

2. [The Reformation of Worship, Discipline, and Church-Government according to the Word of God, in England].

3. [To bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in Religion].

4. [To endeavour the extirpation of (not Episcopacy, but) Prelacy, that is, Church-Government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellours, Commissaries, &c.] that is, the fore described Frame : Whether that Frame be so blameless as to be allowable, I leave to their Judgments who have weighed what is before said.

5. [The Extirpation of Popery].

6. To endeavour [the Extirpation of Superstition]

7. And [of Hereſie]

8. And [of Prophaneneſs]

9. And of [whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound Doctrine and the Power of Godlineſs]

10. [To endeavour with our Estates and Lives to defend the King's Majesty's Person and Authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms?] and [not to diminish his Majesty's just Power and Greatneſs,]

11. [To be humbled for our own sins and the sins of the Kingdoms,]

12. [To amend our Lives, and each one to go before another in the Example of a real Reformation].

If all these be not Duties, let the question be, Whether any one of them be a Duty? And then, Whether that which is antecedently a Duty by Divine Obligation, be not further so by Self-obligation, when it is vowed with an Oath? Or whether a Vow bind not to a Duty? But this is but by the by, about the sence of the Imposers of Subscription exprest in the Corporation Act. But it is only [the Alteration of Church Government] which the present Controversie is about : And if all that was said against our Prelacy on the first Controversie prove it a Duty to endeavour an alteration of the Church-Government, then the Controversie is at an end.

§ 364. 3. They say, That all Men confess that an Oath and Vow is obligatory in a lawful matter, though it were not antecedently necessary : But whether [in their Places and Callings] to endeavour an alteration of the Church-Government be not lawful, is the question. Here 1. let it be observed, what the matter of the Vow is : 2. Who be the Persons whose Obligations are in question. 1. The matter of the Vow was not to extirpate Episcopacy in general, nor the Primitive Episcopacy in particular, but only the fore-described English Diocesan Prelacy, in Specie : which I prove beyond all denial : 1. Because that which was not in being in England could not be extirpated out of England : But it was not the Primitive Episcopacy, or any other sort, but the present Diocesan Prelacy which was in being in England : Ergo no other could be extirpated. 2. Because when the Covenant was debated first in the Synod at Westminster, abundance of Divines who Subscribed the Covenant, did openly profess that they were not against Episcopacy ; and would not consent to it in any such sence. 3. Because the said Divines upon that profession, caused the Description of the word [Prelacy] to be exprest in a Parentheses, which is only the Description of our Diocesan Frame : which is to be seen in the words of the Covenant. 4. Because when the House of Lords (who imposed it) did conjunctly and solemnly take the Covenant, Mr. Tho. Coleman who preached and gave it them, did openly declare at the giving and taking of it, that it was not all Episcopacy that they renounced or vowed by this Covenant to extirpate, but only the Diocesan Prelacy there described. All this, with the words themselves, I think is sufficient Evidence of the matter of that Clause.

§ 365. 2. And for the Persons, here are especially three sorts in question : 1. The King, 2. The Parliament, 3. The People. The first question is, Whether the People (in the number allowed by the Act) may not by humble petition endeavour a reforming Alteration of the Prelacy? 2. Whether Parliament Men may not lawfully speak and vote for it? 3. Whether King and Parliament may not alter it, by altering the Laws? If all these Actions be the endeavouring of a Duty, or of a lawful Thing in their several Places and Callings, and that be the very thing which the Vow obligeth them to, then the question is, Whether hereto it do not bind them?

§ 366. 1. To say that the People may not so much as *petition* for a Thing so much concerning their Felicity, is to take away, not only that Liberty which the King hath in many of his Declarations against the Parliament, professed to maintain, but also such Liberty as Lawyers say is woven into the Constitution of the Kingdom by the Fundamental Laws, and cannot be taken from them but by changing the Constitution, yea, and reducing them to a state below that of a Subject.

§ 367. 2. To say that a Parliament Man may not *speak* or *vote* for such an alteration, seemeth to be against the old unquestioned Priviledge of Parliaments, which was never denied by the King who opposed them in other things. And this Opinion also by such an Alteration of Parliaments, would alter the Constituted Government of the Land.

§ 368. 3. To say that the King and *Parliament* may not alter Prelacy by altering the Law, doth seem to be the highest Injury to Sovereignty, by denying the Legislative Power.

§ 369. If it be a thing which the People may not petition for, nor Parliament vote for, nor speak for, nor King and Parliament alter, then either because the Law of God disableth them, or the Common Good forbiddeth them, or the Laws of the Land restraineth them from: But it is none of these: *Ergo*——

1. It is before shewed, That no Law of God hath established the *English* Form of Prelacy; nay, that the Law of God is repugnant to it.

2. And that the Common Good forbiddeth not the Alteration, but requireth it.

3. And that no Law restraineth in any of the three formentioned Cases is plain, in that there is no Law against the Peoples Petitioning as aforesaid, nor can be without alteration of the Government: And the King with his Parliament are above Laws, and have power to make them, and to abrogate them. So that it seemeth a thing that *may* be done; and a Vow turneth a *may* be into a *must* be, where it is of force. And thus far they think that there is no great difficulty in the Controversie.

§ 370. Before I tell you their Answers to the contrary Reasons, I may tell you that not only Dr. *Sanderſon* granteth, but all Conformists that ever I talkt with hereabout, do agree with us in these following Points.

1. That we must here distinguish between the *Actum Imperantis*, the *Actum Jurantis*, and the *Materiam Juramenti*: the Act of the Parliament imposing it; the Act of the Persons taking it; and the *Matter* of the Oath or Vow.

2. And also between the *Sinfulness* of an Oath (the Act of the Swearer) and the Nullity of it.

3. And that if the Imposers Act be sinful, and the Taking Act be sinful, yet the Oath is obligatory if the *Matter* vowed be not unlawful, and the *Actus Jurandi* were not a Nullity as well as a Sin.

4. That if there be six Articles in a Vow, and four of them be unlawful, this doth not disoblige the Swearer from the lawful part: Otherwise an unlawful Clause put in, may free a Man from a Vow for the most necessary Duties.

5. That if a Nation take a Vow, it is a *personal Vow* to every individual Person in that Nation who took it.

6. That if there be in it a mixture of a Vow to God, and a League, Covenant or Promise to Men, the Obligation of the Vow to God may remain, when as a League or Covenant with Man ceaseth: unless when the Vow is not co-ordinate, but subordinate to the League or Covenant, as being only a Vow or Oath that it shall be faithfully performed.

7. That if a Vow be imposed in lawful proper Terms, it is not any unexpressed Opinion of the Imposers, that maketh the Matter unlawful to the Taker.

8. That if the Imposers be many Persons naturally making one collective Body, no fence of theirs is to be taken as explicatory, but what is in the words or otherwise publicly declared to the Takers: Because they are supposed to be of different minds among themselves, when they agree not in any Exposition.

9. That though a Subject ought to take an Oath in the fence of his Rulers who impose it, as far as he can understand it; yet a Man that taketh an Oath from a Robber to save his Life, is not alway bound to take it in the Imposers fence, if he take it not against the proper fence of the words.

10. That though a Subject should do his best to understand the Imposers fence, for the right *taking* of it, yet as to the *keeping* of it, he is bound much to the fence in which he himself took it, though possibly he misunderstood the Imposers.

§ 371. Now to their Answer to the Reasons of the Conformists.

Object. 1. *The End was evil ; to change the Government of Church and State without Law, which was settled by Law : The Bishops were a part of the House of Lords, and therefore could not be cast out but by their own consent, and the whole Parliament's with the King.*

Ans. 1. It is not the ill ends of the Persons imposing that can disoblige the Taker, unless it had been the *finis proximus ipsius Juramenti* essential to the Vow it self, and inseparable from it. The Ends of Parliaments may be manifold and unknown, which the People cannot know, nor are bound to search after. The words of the Vow it self are [*in our several Places and Callings we shall endeavour*] : And this was the expressed work and end: And this was not doing any thing against Law. If a discontented Person now should say, that the Parliaments End in the Act of Uniformity, and that against Conventicles, was Persecution and the Suppression of Religion, and therefore they are not to be obeyed, how would this hold, while *Uniformity* and *Peace* are the published Ends, and the rest are either uncertain or impertinent to us.

2. Whether indeed the Imposers Ends were ill, is a Controversie fit to be touched by it self. They thought such a Change of Church-Government was a good End : And for *doing it against Law* they put not that into the Swearers part, in this Clause ; and professed the contrary themselves. But if they did themselves purpose to do that *against Law*, which others swear to do [*in their Places and Calling*] that is, *according to Law*, are those others therefore not obliged to do what they vowed to do *according to Law*, because the Imposers intended to do their part against Law?

3. I suppose all the King's Party who took the Oath at their Composition, had no ill end in it, and are they not then to interpret it by their own Ends, as it is their Personal Vow?

4. If we teach Men that the bad Ends of the Imposers do disoblige Men from performing Vows materially good, take heed lest it follow that it will disoblige them much more from obeying Commands and Laws materially good : And then every Subject will take himself to be disobliged, who is but confident that *Persecution, Oppression, &c.* were his Rulers Ends. What if a Man for evil Ends command me to obey the King, or to worship God, or to give to the Poor : Or make me swear to do all this ; Doth not my Vow oblige me, because he had evil Ends that drove me to it ? Nay, if I had my self vowed to do all these for some evil end, though it is certain that I must not do it to that end, yet whether the change of my End, does disoblige me also from my Vow, as to the Matter, is a difficult question, which I think Caluists commonly resolve in the Negative. But if any Man did mistake their Design, and had good Ends himself, while theirs were bad, yea, and the Ends commanded him were good, the Case is much plainer.

5. Who can say that the King had an ill End in taking it ? Or that his Place and Calling did not impower him to do that which in a Subject would have been illegal ; and that he may not lawfully endeavour accordingly ?

And whereas it is said, That the very War it self expounded their meaning who imposed it, they being then in Arms against the King ;] It is answered by the Non-Subscribers, 1. That they openly professed to take up Arms only against Delinquent Subjects according to Law. 2. That their misapplication made not good words to be bad to others. 3. That if they make me swear to do it in my Place and Calling, I am not obliged to expound this to be [*out of my Place and Calling*] because they go out of their Place and Calling.

And whereas it is said, That [*the Bishops were part of the Parliament, and so of the Civil Government*] ; It is answered,

1. That the Parliament declared that they were no Constitutive, Essential, Unchangeable Part, without whom the Acts of both Houses were invalid : They were but part of the Lords House, where they might be over-voted.

2. The Scruple of the Non-Subscribers is not at all, whether they are obliged to endeavour to dispossess them of their Baronies or Places in Parliament, which is in the power of the King to give them ; but only about their Ecclesiastical Power and Government as here formed. And if it could be proved that the Covenant intended both the Ejection of them from their Church Power, and their Places in Parliament, it followeth not that it obligeth not to the lawful act ; because it obligeth not to the unlawful !

3. Nor can it easily be proved unlawful for the King and Parliament, either to make a separation of these Powers, or to take both from them, and so set up the Primitive sort of Bishops, either with or without any Civil Authority: Abbots had once also a place in Parliament, and yet they are now taken down, it is supposed not unlawfully. The King himself doth lawfully make Members of both Houses, by making Earls and Barons, and by giving Corporations power to choose Burgesses, who before had none. And as the new making of these, so the excluding of some Members, may be without any change in the Form of Civil Government: Certainly many Fathers and Canons are against the Civil Government of the Clergy.

§ 372. 2. The second objection is [*That the Authority of the Imposers was null as to that Act*].

Ans. That is a distinct Controversie, which here I shall pass by: But granting it to be so, no more will follow but that the People were not bound by any Command of theirs to take it: But a Vow that is taken in my Closet, without any Man's imposition or knowledge, may be obligatory; or one that a Robber forceth me to by the High-way: The nullity of the Obligation to take it, is all that followeth the nullity of their Authority; which will not infer the nullity of the Obligation to keep it: for it maketh it but equal to a Vow which is made of a private Will without any Command of Authority at all.

§ 373. 3. The third Reason (which most nearly toucheth the Controversie) is, That the Matter vowed (to extirpate Prelacy) was unlawful, both as against the Law of God and of the Land.

Ans. If this be proved, no doubt but the Obligation is void, and of no effect. But, 1. It is before proved to be far from being against the Law of God to alter this Prelacy by warrantable means: And also, that it is not against the Law of the Land, for Subjects modestly to petition, or Parliament Men to speak, or the King and Parliament to change; which are the Actions which belong to their Places and Callings. And if it had been expressly part of the matter of that Vow [*to do this by unlawful means*] the question is, Whether this can disoblige the Swearer from the lawful part adjoining, which is [*to do it in their Places and Callings*]? Whatever other matter is, this matter is not yet proved to be unlawful.

§ 374. Object. But Episcopacy is Jure Divino, and the Covenant mentioneth the extirpation of Prelacy, which is of the same Species with the other Episcopacy: And therefore it is to be understood as to the extirpation of all Episcopacy, and so not obligatory.

Ans. 1. It is before proved that our Prelacy is not of Divine Right, but against it. 2. And that it differeth even specifically from the Primitive Episcopacy. 3. But that's nothing to the Covenant: For whether it differ specie, vel gradu, vel accidentibus, it is proved that the Covenant talketh not of the extirpation of any other Episcopacy but it alone. 4. But if it did, it followeth not that the Obligation against the unlawful Prelacy is null, because the conjunct Vow against all Episcopacy is null: If a Man Vow at once to do two things, of which one is lawful, and the other unlawful, he may be bound to the lawful part, when he is not bound to the unlawful. But it's plainly proved, that it was our Prelacy existent, as such, described expressly, (yea, the inclusion of Episcopacy openly disclaimed) which was the thing covenanted against.

§ 375. Object. The finis proximus is part of the matter of the Vow: for the several Acts are vowed only as means to that end: And therefore the obligation to the end ceasing, the obligation to the means as such doth cease: Now the end was the maintaining a War against the King, and the illegal taking down of Prelacy: And every Clause in the Covenant receiving its sense from this unlawful End, is it self unlawful.

Ans. Though I hear none use this Reason, yet it being the strongest that I could devise, and all that can seem of any weight being comprized in it, I will not pass it by; (though it be for Substance the same with that first answered). And,

1. It is plain that the finis proximus of altering Prelacy, can be neither of these mentioned: Neither the War, nor the illegality of the Change: The finis proximus must be the cessation of Prelacy: The next End was a (real or supposed) ease to the Nation by it; and a (real or supposed) Reformation of the Church by it: And so far are the two aforesaid things from being the nearest Ends, that they would be no Ends. For, 1. The nature of the thing sheweth it: It may much fitlier be said that the War was for the taking down of Prelacy (as is commonly said by the Prelatists) than that the taking down of Prelacy was for the War: And the War was long before Prelacy was taken down: And it is contrary to sense to say,

ay, That [*the taking down of Prelacy*] was [*for the illegal manner of doing it*], but liker that [*the illegal manner of doing it*] (if it were illegal) was [*for the taking down of Prelacy*]: The manner was for the work as its end, and not the work for the manner. 2. And there is no such end expressed in the Covenant but contrarily all along, Reformation is the professed end. And it is not secret ends, but the ends expressed in the Covenant that the Takers were to look at.

If it be said, That *these two were the unlawful Ends of Imposing the Covenant, though not the finis materiae, the End of extirpating Prelacy*. I answer, If that were proved, it is nothing to the Point; for it will only prove the Imposing to be unlawful.

If it be said, That it was also [*the End of Mens taking it*]. I answer, 1. He that saith it was the intended End of the Takers, must know all their hearts, and know that all their Ends were the same; which is impossible. 2. If it be only [*the commanded End*] that is meant, I further answer, 1. It is visible in the Words of the Covenant, that there is no such End commanded: Reformation is the End expressed in the Covenant. 2. If it had been commanded, that was the sin of the Commanders, but proveth not that the Covenanters all took it to the commanded ends: And it bindeth according to the Takers fence. 3. If it had been certainly taken to a wrong end by every Man that took it (which is not proveable), this would only prove the *Actum Jurandi* to be a sin, but not the *Materiam Juratam* to be evil; which is the heart of all the Controversie. There is great difference between the *finis jurandi* and the *finis rei juratæ*; the end of swearing, and the end of the thing sworn. If the *finis jurandi* only be evil, it will only prove the *actum jurandi* to be a sin: but it will not prove the *materia juramenti* to be unlawful: and then the Oath may be obligatory (as shall be further shewed). 4. Nay, go to the highest, and if it had been the end of the matter sworn, (*viz.* of the extirpation of Prelacy) that was evil, yet (as I have said) most Casuists, I think, will determine that the matter is separable in most Cases from the end, (unless it be a meer relative Act which the *finis proximus* is essential to). If a Man swear Allegiance to the King to a wrong end, is he not therefore obliged to Allegiance by his Oath? If a Man swear to do many things in themselves indifferent, upon a mistaken supposition that they are Duties, and so for the pleasing of God; when it is discovered to that Man, that they were *media inepta*, or no means at all to that end (of pleasing God) but things indifferent, I suppose he is not therefore disobliged, though he vowed them only *sub ratione mediorum*: because the keeping of a Vow about things lawful, is pleasing to God, though the matter vowed were indifferent. And if this hold not true, then wicked men can scarcely ever be obliged by any Oath or Vow to God or their Superiours, because they have wrong Ends in all, or most things which they do. But this last part of the Answer is needless, because the former are of undoubted certainty.

§ 376. 4. The fourth Reason against the Covenant is, That it *was sinfully taken*.

Ans. 1. It may be sinfully taken of one (that had no sufficient Motives, or had evil ones) and not of another: This Objection chargeth sin on the King and all the Lords and Knights and Gentlemen of his part, who took it unwillingly; when none of them have been heard speak for themselves, nor have produced the Reasons that moved them to take it.

2. If this were all granted of King and Kingdoms (that they sinned in taking it) it proveth no more, but the *actum jurandi* was a sin, and not the *materia juramenti* evil; which is no proof of the nullity of the Obligation. Many a Man or Woman that sinned in marrying (for wrong ends, or without just cause, &c.) is yet bound by the Marriage Covenants. Many things are *sinful* that are not *nullities*. A rash, or ignorant, or causeless Vow is *sinful quoad actum*, and yet obligatory if it be lawful *quoad materiam*, and be no nullity. When it is either really no Vow, or the thing vowed be forbidden of God, then it is not to be judged obligatory.

§ 377. The fifth Reason against the Obligation is, from Numb. 30. That it *was nullified by the King's declared dissent*. To which it is answered by the Non-Subscribers,

1. That the Text is nothing to the Point, or at least, no Man can be sure it is. For, 1. it speaketh only *de materia non necessaria*; but the Covenant is supposed by the Non-Subscribers to speak *de materia necessaria*. 2. The Text expressly limiteth the indulgence to a daughter in the family, or a wife, and doth not extend it to the stronger Sex. 3. It limiteth it to Families, where the Ruler is still at hand, and extendeth it not to Kingdoms. 4. It doth not prove the Obligation null from the beginning, but only dissolved afterward by the Father's or Husband's dispensation (as many Verses express). 5. Therefore to pretend a parity of reason, for a King's dispensing

dispensing with his Subjects Vows, is a bare pretence, and unproved, and disproved. 6. If it would hold, then it is in the power of Kings to save all their Subjects from the guilt of Perjury, by dispensing with all their Vows. 7. This Law in Numbers is no further in force than it appeareth to belong to the Law of Nature, or of Christ: For as Moses's Law, it dy'd with Christ, and was nailed to his Cross: Though the general equity of it be still of force. 8. How many Thousands in this Land and Scotland never knew of the King's Declaration against the Covenant? How then could that dispense with their Vows, which they never knew of, nor possibly could know of, being in the Parliaments Garrisons or Quarters? 9. What's this to all those that took it when the King was dead, and therefore could not dispense with their Oaths? 10. What is this to the King himself, who took it long after his Father's Death, over whom no man had a dispensing Power? 11. What's this to all those that took it after the present King had taken it, and published a Declaration for it? Did not this then confirm the Obligation? (*Though for my part I am one of those that think that the Scots did ill, unmannerly, disobediently, unlawfully, inhumanly, foolishly, in forcing the King to take the Covenant against his will, and to publish so harsh a Declaration against his Father's Actions, contrary to his own Judgment*). Yet it is his open Declarations, and not his secret Unwillingness, which his distant Subjects could take notice of. So that this reason seemeth strongly to make against the pleaders of it, because of the King's confirming Act.

§ 378. 6. The sixth Reason is, [*That the People cannot lawfully endeavour the change of Church Government without the King*] *Ans.* 1. Cannot the Subjects petition, and the Parliament speak and vote without him, and petition him also? 2. Cannot a Bishop lawfully advise the King to do it, if the King ask his Advice? 3. Cannot the Subjects endeavour it if the King command them? Are they all bound to disobey the King if he should command their Service for the Change of Prelacy into the Primitive Episcopacy? Their Place and Calling is to do it when the King commandeth them: And so many of them understood and took it: And it seemeth too near a kin to Rebellion, to say that no Subject must obey the King in such a matter, though he swear it. If you say, This is never like to be: I answer, No Man knoweth what Change the Mind of Kings, as well as other Men, may admit: And they that read the King's Declaration in Scotland, thought they had a visible proof of it. 4. And what's all this to the King's own Act, who took it himself; whom we must also by our Subscription disoblige?

§ 379. 7. The seventh Reason answereth this, [*That the King took not the same Covenant mentioned in the Act of Uniformity, but another*]. *Ans.* This is so thin a shift, that the King himself doth not own it, but saith, That his Enemies drove him to it against his will. As if [*mutatis mutandis*] the various Names and Cases of Persons made an Oath or Covenant not to be the same! Because it's said in the beginning [*We Noble men, Knights, &c.* and not [*We the King and Nobles,*] they suppose another Name or Person maketh it specifically another Covenant. Or because the Article of protecting the King's Person, belonged not to him to take.

§ 380. 8. Another Reason is, [*That the King was forced to it*]. *Ans.* The more to be blamed are they that did it, then: But all the World acknowledgeth that the Will of Man cannot be forced absolutely: and that a voluntary Act, though caused by necessity or terrour, is moral; and that a Promise made to Man (much more a Vow to God) in *materia licita*, though forced by a Robber that would take away ones Life, may yet be Obligatory. A Man that may choose whether he will *vow* or *die*, is bound by his *Vow*, if he choose it, before Death: Though yet the choosing it may possibly be his sin.

§ 381. 9. Mr. Fullwood's great Reason is, *That the King was pre-engaged to take the Corporation Oath as Heir of the Crown, and consequently engaged to Episcopacy, and consequently he was not obliged against it by the Covenant.*

Ans. 1. If he were not obliged to take the Crown, he was not obliged to take that Oath. If he were obliged under the Peril of a Sin to take the Crown, then Charles the Fifth, and other Princes that have laid down Crowns, or refused them, have sinned: (unless some peculiar Reason be here brought). But this is not affirmed by any, That a Prince may not lawfully refuse a Crown, unless when it would hazard the Happiness of the Kingdom.

2. He might have taken the Crown with an alteration of that Oath: Who ever said, That the King and Parliament have not power to change that Oath, who can change the Laws.

3. Who can prove that it is any violation of that Oath, or wrong to [*the liberties of the Church*] which the King sweareth to preserve, to change the Prelacy into the Primitive Episcopacy? by taking down Lay-Chancellors, and restoring Pastoral Power, &c. any more than it was to take down Abbots, and to cast out the Pope, and to subject the Clergy to the Magistrate, who before were much exempt: All these seem to be much more against the Liberties of that which was called the Church when this Oath was formed, than the shewing Mercy to Prelates and the whole Land, by reducing them to a lawful rank, can be.

4. Do any Casuists in the World teach such Doctrine, That a former Oath is null, because some Conveniencies required the taking of a later?

5. If this hold true, then God's Law, which is *former and higher* than all, having first made it (as many Non-Subscribers think) a sin to cherish the Diocesan Frame at all, and consequently to swear to do it, the question is, Whether the Obligation to swear the upholding of them, or the Obligation not to swear it, were the greater?

§ 382. 10. Mr. Fullwood's further Reason is, That [*it is injustice to cast out so many Men from their possessed Dignities and Estates*]; and therefore no Vow can oblige any to it].

Ans. 1. If indeed it were so, then the Vow extending but to *our Places and Callings*, cannot bind us to it: But is it any Injustice to make a Law against Prelacy in Specie, and to let their Places and Honours die with them? The Government may be so altered without putting out any Man, if none be put in to succeed them when they die.

2. And what if the King continue them as Church-Magistrates (only to do what his own Officers may do, to keep the Churches Peace as Justices) and continue their Baronies and their Lands and Places in Parliament, and only reform the pretended Spiritual Power of the Keys: would not this have been a taking down of Prelacy without the wrong of any?

3. Or what if he had taken down all their Power, and given them a Writ of Eafe, and therewith left them, *durante vita*, their Estates and Honours? Would this have been any injury to them?

4. If Prelacy be as sinful as the Non-Subscribers foregoing Arguments would prove, can it be injustice to save a Man from Sin and Hell? and to save all the Churches from such Calamity, for some fleshly abatements that follow to a few Persons?

5. Was it injustice to put down the Abbots? Or cannot King and Parliament do good by Laws to the Church or Commonwealth, whenever a single Person or a few do suffer by it?

6. Especially where the Maintenance is Publick, and given for the *Work*, and the Work is for the Publick Good? Doth any Prince scruple the removing of an intolerable Pilot or Captain from a Ship? Or an intolerable Minister from the Church? Or an intolerable Officer from the Court, though it be to his loss? For my part, I never accused them for casting out so many Hundred Ministers from their Livings or Benefices, upon supposition that it be no wrong to Christ and Mens Souls to cast us out of the Church; but should rather justify it.

§ 383. 11. The last and not the weakest Reason against the Obligation of the Covenant is, That [*if it were lawful before for subjects to petition, and Parliament Men to speak and vote against Prelacy, yet now it is not; because by this Act the Parliament hath made it unlawful*].

Ans. 1. The Parliament doth only declare their sense of a thing past [*that no Man is bound*] and not enact by a Law that no Man shall hereforth be bound.

2. If it had been otherwise, all Protestants confess that neither Pope, nor any Earthly Power can dispense with Oaths and Vows.

3. They do not so much as prohibit all Men to endeavour an alteration of Government in the Church, but only forbid them to say, That *they are bound to it by the Covenant*.

4. They have allowed Subjects to petition for the change of Laws, so they do it but ten at a time.

5. The Parliament is not by any Man to be accused of such a Subversion of Liberties and of Parliaments Priviledges, and of the Constitution of the Kingdom, as to forbid Subjects petitioning, and all Parliament Men speaking, and to disable the King and Parliament from changing a Law when they see cause: If they should do any of this, the Charges now brought against the Long Parliament, would teach and allow us to suppose all to be null.

6. If the Laws of God be against Prelacy, those oblige above all Humane Laws. And he that should forbid another to save him or his Neighbour when he is drowning, doth not by that prohibition make the saving of them unlawful before God.

§ 384. Now to the Latitudinarians addition of Reasons *de modo & sensu*. 1. They say that the Act extendeth not to the King at all, when it biddeth us subscribe, that [there is no Obligation on me, or any other person]: for Laws being made for Subjects, are so be interpreted only of Subjects, unless when the King is named.

To this it is easily answered, That they distinguish not between the King as the Subject of a Law, and the King as the Object of my Assertion or Belief. It's true, that the Law speaketh of Subjects only whenever it speaketh of the Duty of Subjects; and the King is no Subject: But it is as true, that the Law speaketh of the King only, whenever it speaketh of the Prerogatives of the Crown and Sovereignty; and as the Object of the Subjects Acts of Loyalty. The question is not here, *Who is commanded by this Act?* but *who is obliged by the Covenant or Vow?* And if I be commanded to say, that [no person is obliged] without any limitation, I can with no reason except the King, whom the Law excepteth not: Princes may be obliged by Vows as well as others, and their Obligations may be the Subject of our Assertions and Belief.

§ 385. 2. The second Reason is, *Because the King's Government is part of that whose alteration is declared against, therefore he can be none of the [any other persons].*

Ans. 1. So the Prelates are the Persons whose Government is here mentioned, and yet no doubt they are included in the [any other persons]; as their Chancellors, Commissaries, Deans, &c.

2. If the King may be included, when it is said, That no Man must extirpate Monarchy; no not the King; much more when it is said, That no Man may extirpate Prelacy; for there the reason of the Objection faileth.

§ 386. 3. They further say, That [the Act meaneth only that no Man is bound by the Vow to endeavour against Law, as by Rebellion, Sedition, Treason, &c. and not that Subjects may not petition, Parliament Men speak, or King and Parliament alter the Law: which they prove, because it was taking up Arms and illegal Actions only that the old Parliament was blamed for.

Ans. This one pretence hath drawn abundance of laudable Persons to Subscribe: but how unsatisfactory it is, may thus appear: 1. Why then could it never be procured to have the word [unlawfully] put into the Act? when it was known that in that sense none of us would have scrupled it.

2. All Casuists agree that *Universal Terms* in or about Oaths and Vows, must not be understood any otherwise than *Universally*, without apparent cogent Reason: On such Terms as these else a Man may take any Oath in the World, or disclaim any: The Parliament hath exactly tyed Subscribers to the particular words, and they long deliberated to express their own sense: And they say [neither I nor any other person]; and now cometh an Expounder, and saith, The King is not the [any other person]. What! Is he no Person? or is he not another Person? So they say [no Obligation lieth on us to endeavour], and the Latitudinarian saith, That I may endeavour it, and that they mean no Endeavour but unlawful. This contradictory Exception and Exposition is against all common Use and Justice, and such as will allow a Man to cheat the State, by saying or unsaying any thing in the World.

3. We have many a time told some Latitudinarians how this matter may be soon decided if they will: The Parliament hath past another Act with the self same words in it, making it a Question for any Man to say, That [he or any other person is obliged by the Covenant to endeavour any Alteration of Church-Government]: Let them write or say openly [Men are obliged by the Covenant to endeavour it by lawful means, but not by unlawful]: and let them give leave to another to accuse them in a Court of Justice for these words; and let it be there tried and judged, and then the sense of the Law will be declared: If they be in the right the Accuser shall lose his Costs, and no danger can befall them. If they be not in the right, they will be punished by Confiscation: And is not the hazard of such a Law Suit cheap enough for a Man to save himself and others from so great a Guilt, as the Justification of three Kingdoms in the Sin of Perjury (if it so prove)? And yet I could never hear of the Man that would hazard his Estate thus on the confidence of his Exposition of the Law; but multitudes venture their Souls upon it.

4. The Parliament, who is the Expounder of their own Laws, have given us their sence of the Subject of our Controversie, in a former Law, which puts all out of doubt: For in the Corporation Act all Men are put out of Power and Trust, who will not declare, that (absolutely, without any limitation) [*There is no Obligation upon me or any other person, from the Oath called, &c.*] so that all Obligation to any thing at all by that Vow, is in this most important Act denied, and the profession of this denial thus imposed. By which it is past doubt that the Law-makers sence is against all Obligation absolutely.

5. And that it is so, is well know to those that know what was said in the Parliament, when among the Commons this Reason carried it; viz. That if any Obligation at all be acknowledged, even to things lawful, every seditious person will be left to think that he is bound to all which he conceiveth lawful, which with some will be to resist the King or commit Treason: Therefore all Obligation absolutely must be denied. I confess such Villains there may be, and they should be carefully restrained; but as I doubt this Act of Parliament will no whit change their belief of their Obligations (for they will think Parliaments cannot dispense with Oaths or with the Laws of God) so it is a sad remedy for such villanous Errours, to disoblige Men from the lawful part of Vows, for fear lest they take the unlawful to be lawful: As it is to teach Men to take nothing which God commandeth, to be their Duty, for fear lest they should take their Sin to be their Duty.

§ 387. Object. But what if the Bishop give me liberty to put in the word [unlawfully] or to Subscribe only in that sence; may I not then lawfully do it?

Ans. This was the only Expedient to draw in Nonconformists heretofore, and so it hath proved of late again. But I distinguish, 1. There is much difference between Subscribing the very words of the Act, with the verbal or by-addition of your own Explication, and the putting in of your Explicatory words into the Sentence which you Subscribe. 2. Between Subscribing this as the imposed Declaration in the Act, and Subscribing it only as another thing. 3. Between the secret and the open Explication of your Mind. For my part, if the word [unlawfully] had been joyned to [endeavour] by the Law-makers, I would not have scrupled to Subscribe that part of the Declaration. But 1. the Bishop is not the Law-maker, and therefore hath no more power than a private Man to expound the Law: Nor is he so much as a Judge in this business (who may expound it in order to the decision of a particular Cause); but only a Witness that you Subscribe. 2. If you only Subscribe the very words of the Declaration, and speak your Explication, or write it in a by-paper, you do then provide an insufficient Plaister for the Sore: you do that which is evil in it self, and would cure it by an uneffectual accidental Medicine: You harden both the Imposers and Subscribers by your Scandal, while you are said to Subscribe the very thing imposed, whose sence is so plain, that your Exposition is but an apparent ludicrous distortion. As if I were commanded to Subscribe this Sentence [God hath no knowledge nor no love]; The Imposer understandeth it vulgarly and blasphemously: The words in the most strict and proper sence are true (which cannot be said in our Case): because knowledge and love are spoken primarily of the Creatures Acts, and are not in God formaliter, but eminenter, that is, somewhat more excellent which hath no other name, because we have no formal Conceptions of them, but must speak of God after the manner of Men, while Man is the Glass and Image by which we know him: yet would I not Subscribe this imposed Proposition, while the Imposer meaneth it blasphemously; because it is a heinous Scandal to be said to Subscribe and own such Villany, and so to encourage others to it; no though I might express my sence. 3. Especially I may express it but privately, where the Remedy against the Scandal will be ineffectual: But if you may Subscribe the whole Sentence with your own words therein, and that not as it is the imposed Declaration (which is otherwise expounded by the Law-makers themselves) but as another, and may make this as publick and notorious as your Subscription it self is, then I have less to say against it. There are no words utterable which a Man may not put a good sence on if he please: And yet I durst not so far play with Death, and comply with the Spirit of Impiety, as to Subscribe that [There is no God, or God is unjust, or unwise, or unholy, &c.]; though I had liberty to say, I mean it in this or that sence which is true and warrantable.

§ 388. 4. Another Motive of the Latitudinarians to Subscribe is, That by [to endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government in the Church] is meant only [any change of the Species of our Church-Government, and not any Reformation of integral or accidental Defects, or Depravations.

Answ. 1. And yet these very Men do profess to believe, with Mr. *Stillingfleet*, That no Form of Church-Government is of *Divine Appointment* or Imposition : And if so, why is it not lawful for the King and Parliament to change that which God hath not made necessary ? Or for Subjects to endeavour it by Petition ?

2. It is agreed on by Casuists (and their Bishop of *Lincoln* Dr. *Sanderfon*, with the rest) That Oaths are to be taken *sensu strictiore*, and so are Laws, and those especially which determine of the Obligation of Oaths : But it is an unwarrantable audacious liberty for any Subject unnecessarily thus to turn an *Universal Enunciation* into a Definite and Particular ; and when the Law saith [*any alteration of Government*] to say that [*some alteration*] is not included. Their reason is because it is said [*of*] and not [*in*] Government. *Answ.* There is no Language (much less the *English*) that alloweth you such a sence of these two Prepositions, as if [*of*] must needs mean the *Species*, and [*in*] may mean only the *Integrity* or *Accidents*. We dare not be so bold as to feign such a Difference and Latitude of sence, to be in the Preposition [*of*] unless we could prove it.

* And the same [*of*] is annexed to both [the Government of Church or State]. Therefore if it be treasonable to expound it in your sence, of the One, it is sure unlawful so to expound it as to the Other.

3. * Will it not be taken for Treason if you make the same Exposition of the other Clause of the Declaration, and say that the King and Parliament meant no more, than to say that no Man is bound by the Covenant to endeavour an *Essential* or *Specifick Change of State-Government* ; or no greater Change than what may leave it still in the *Species* of a *Monarchy*. Or do you believe that they meant no more ? and that they determined not against supposed Obligations to lower Changes of the Royal

Government ?

4. There is not the accuratest Grammarian and Logician of them all, that can tell just what may be said to *Specify* a Government, and what but to *integrate* it ; and just how far a Change may go before it may be called a Change of the *Species*.

5. But suppose all this were nothing : It is clearly proved that it is not the *Genus* of Episcopacy, but the *Species* of *English Prelacy* (described) which the Covenant meaneth. And I have proved already that a *specifick alteration* of this Prelacy is lawful ; and whether also not-necessary let the impartial Reader judge. I have asked the most Learned of the Diocesan Party that I could meet with, this Question, Whether it be not lawful for the King and Parliament to take down Chancellors, and all Lay-Judges in Spiritual Courts, and Deans, Arch-deacons, Commissaries, and the Courts themselves, and to take down a Bishop of a Thousand or many Hundred Churches, and to set up a Bishop in every Market Town with the adjacent Villages, yea, or in every great Parish, to govern with his Presbyters, as it was in *Ignatius* his days (and in *Cyprian's*) ? And never Man of them denied it lawful for them to make such a Change, if they saw it meet. I have asked them further, Whether they would not call this a Change of Government *de specie*, or according to the sence of the Act ? And they all confest it : (For if they did not,

† I pray ask the Law-givers, whether they will excuse you from breaking this Oath or Promise, if you endeavour to extirpate the *English Prelacy*, but not to root out all Episcopacy.

the Act and Declaration would herein do them no good †, but leave private Men to endeavour such an Alteration, which they know is all the Alteration that ever we desired of them ; and for which they have called us *Presbyterians*). I have asked them further, Whether a Vow turn not a *licet* into an *oportet* ? And they never deny it. Where then can you imagine any remaining difference ? Why this was all that they said, That it was not this *Species* of Prelacy, but Episcopacy *in genere* which the Covenant meant, and consequently the Act meaneth ||. Which I have proved to be most evidently untrue ; there being no other *Episcopacy* but our Prelacy then existent, nor Episcopacy ever named in the

|| O for a Mind prepared and willing to know the Truth.

Covenant *in genere*, but this Prelacy, being exactly described, and this purposely for the deciding of this very Doubt, by the means of Mr. *Gataker*, Dr. *Burges*, and many more in the Assemblies who renounced the extirpation of all Episcopacy, and the Lords having taken the Covenant in that openly declared sence : But suppose all this had not been so : Doth not a renunciation of the *Genus* contain the *Species* ? And if any Man voweth against the *Genus*, mistaking it to be all sinful, will not his Vow bind him against that *Species* which indeed is sinful, though not against the others ? As suppose that a Man should think that *All swearing* and *Accusing* others were a sin, and so to save himself from the said sins, should Vow to God against them all : If afterward this Man discover that some *swearing before a Magistrate* is a duty, and some *accusing of another*, is he not for all that still bound against

prophane

prophane and rash swearing? and malicious or unjust accusing, which indeed are sins? for therein he was not mistaken. So if Men had (as they did not) upon mistake make a Vow against all Episcopacy or Prelacy as a sin, and afterward discover that one sort is a Duty, and the other a Sin, do they not remain obliged against that wherein they were not mistaken?

6. Lastly, Let it be noted, That though it be said in the Declaration [of] Government, yet it is added [in the Church] and not [of the Church]: which is as much against them as the other is for them, seeming to intimate, that it is not the Form only Constitutive of the Church, which they here intend.

§ 389. 5. Some leading Independents say, That it was essential to this Vow to be also a League: and as a League it is ceased, by the cessation of Persons and Occasions. This shift they were put upon first themselves (being the first that nullified these Bonds) that they might do what they did against the Covenant, and make it as an Almanack out of date.

Ans. 1. Though as a Political Instrument, it be called by one Name, A Solemn League and Covenant, and so all the parts of it do make one Instrument, yet 1. The formality of it as a League, and as a Vow, are different. 2. And as a Vow to God, and a Moral Act of Man, there are in it as many distinct Vows as there are Matters vowed. The League is not the end of the Vow, but Reformation was the professed end of both, to which they were taken as co-ordinate means. And therefore if as a League it were ceased, it followeth not that as a Vow it is so: For Men are the parties in the League, but God is one of the Parties in the Vow, and every individual Person is the other Party: And if one Vow or Article should cease, it followeth not that all the rest do so.

2. It is not proved that it ceaseth as a League: Though it oblige us not to war, or to any thing against the King or State; and though many of the Persons be dead that took it. For, 1. War was not mentioned in the Covenant; much less as the Duty of all the Covenanters: sure it was never intended that all the Women must fight. 2. If it had, that was but one of the means there mentioned: and every Man bound himself [to endeavour in his Place and Calling]; and that was not to fight, for all.

3. Therefore though the particular Occasions cease, the general Cause continueth (the need of Reformation); and though no Man be bound to any unlawful means, it followeth not that there is no bound to lawful means: And though some Persons be dead, not only the Nations, but many individual Covenanters are living.

4. And in express Terms they bound themselves [all the days of their lives zealously and constantly to continue therein]; and therefore intended no such cessation.

§ 390. 6. Lastly, The Latitudinarians say that the general Rule is, That all Sayings are to be interpreted in the best sense that the words will bear. Ergo——

Ans. In the best sense which hath Evidence of Truth, Charity requireth us to take all the words of others: But the question is first, Which is the true sense? and not which is the best. And if it can be proved that another is either certainly or probably the true meaning of any words, we must not feign a better sense, because it is better. In the Case in hand, the Law-makers have plainly declared their own sense, by their Speeches, and Votes, and deliberate plain Expressions, and by another Act (for Corporations.) If I might take all Oaths and Statutes in the best sense which possibly those words may be used to express, than I could take almost any Oath in the World, and disobey any Law in the World under pretence of obeying it; and tell any Lie under the pretence of telling Truth, and Jesuitical Equivocation would be but the common Duty of the Charitable. But Charity is not blind, nor will it prove a fit Cover for a Lie. He that knoweth the Parliament, and is but willing to know their sense, may know the mistakes of this pretended Charity. And especially Laws and Oaths are to be taken in the sense which is plainest in the words.

§ 391. Besides all that is already said, I shall end this Subject with this question on the Non-subscribers part, Whether an Oath doth not bind Men in the sense of the Takers? (though they be bound to take it in the sense of the Imposers if they know it.) As if I had been commanded to swear Allegiance to the King; and he that commandeth it should mean Cromwell, or some Usurper, and I thought he had meant my rightful King, Am I not bound hereby to the King indeed? And if so, Query further, Whether any Man so well know the sense of every Man and Woman in England, Scotland and Ireland, as to be able to say that it was so bad, that they are not obliged to it? And in what Age it was that all Ministers were forbidden to Preach the Gospel of Christ, till they knew the Hearts of all the People

ple in three Kingdoms, so far as to justify them before God from the Obligations of such Vows and Oaths?

§ 392. And though I heartily wish that the Prelates would have been intreated to have chosen another course of proceeding with their Brethren, and not have tempted any to Repinings or Complaints (for endeavouring which I lost their love), yet I would admonish all my Brethren to take heed of aggravating this Difference so far, as to bring the present Ministry into Contempt, and hinder the Efficacy of their Labours. I did my best to have prevailed beforehand, that we might not have had any occasion of Divisions; but if we must needs be divided, that it might have been upon some lower Points, than the Obligation of Oaths and Vows! It had been better for the Prelates that the Non-subscribers had seemed to be scrupulous Persons that refused only some tolerable Ceremonies, than that the fear of so great a Crime as justifying three Kingdoms from the Bond of an Oath, and the guilt of Perjury, should be the occasion of their Ejection, and the Matter of this Publick Controversie: But seeing this could not (by us) be prevented, let us not be so partial as to wrong the Church, by making them odious to justify our selves. It was sad when the Names of *Formalists* and *Puritans*, and afterwards of *Malignants* and *Rebels*, and *Cavaliers* and *Roundheads*, distinguished the divided Parties: But it

is now grown worse, when they are called PER-^{fidious}_{jured}^{secutors} } and *PURITANS*: For the most odious Names do most potently tend to the extinguishing of Charity, and the increase of the Difference between them.

§ 393. III. The next Controversie is *Political*: That [it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take up Arms against the King; or as is after said, against any Commissioned by him]. In this the Lawyers are divided, yea and Parliament themselves; one Parliament saying one thing, and another another thing. And the poor ejected Ministers of England are commonly so little studied in the Law, that in these Controversies they must say as they are bidden, or say nothing: And they think it hard that when Lawyers and Parliaments cannot agree, every poor ignorant Preacher must be forced to decide the Controversie, and say and subscribe which of them is in the right, upon pain of being cast out of their Office and silenced: which they think as hard as if they were required to decide a Controversie between Navigators, or Pope Zachary and Boniface's Case about the Antipodes, or else be silenced. We are ready to Subscribe [That King Charles the Second is our lawful King, and that we owe him Obedience in all his lawful Commands, and that we are bound to defend his Person, Dignity, Authority and Honour with our Lives and Estates against all his Enemies, and that neither Parliaments nor any other at home or abroad, have any power to judge or hurt his Person, or depose him, or diminish any of his Power; and that it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to conspire against him, or stir up the People to Sedition, or to take up Arms against either his Authority or his Person, or against any lawfully Commissioned by him; or any at all Commissioned by him, except he himself by a contrary Commission, or by his Law do enable us, or not forbid us, or when the Law of Nature doth oblige us]. In all these Cases we are ready to Subscribe: And one would think this much might procure our Peace. But that which is scrupled by the Non-subscribers is as followeth.

The words [on any pretence whatsoever] studiously put into a Form of Declaration by a Parliament, are so universal, as to allow no Latitudinarian Evasions or Limitations or Exceptions by any Man that is sincere and plain-hearted, and doth not Equivocate with God and his Governours: Now.

1. Though the King's Authority or Person may not be resisted by Arms, they are not certain that his Will may not in any Case be resisted.

2. Though none Authorized, that is Legally Commissioned by him may be resisted, yet they are not certain that all that are Commissioned by him are Authorized or Legally Commissioned.

3. Either this Declaration requireth us to suppose that the King never will Commission any illegally; or else that though he do, yet such may on no pretence whatsoever be resisted by Arms. If the former be the sense, then either it is because no King will do it, or only because no King of England will do it. The former, all Historians, Politicians, Lawyers and Divines, are against. And the latter hath no Evidence of Certainty to us. But yet if that had been the sense, we should have consented [that on supposition the King commission Men legally, they are not to be resisted].

resisted]. But this no Man will say is to be supposed, as an Event certainly and universally future. But if the worst that is possible might be supposed possible, then in these several Cases they are doubtful.

1. In Case that a Man pretend to have the King's Commission, but doth not shew it me, what am I then to do ?

2. In Case he shew it me under the Privy Seal, and another shew the Broad Seal to a Commission to resist him.

3. In Case he shew the Broad Seal, and I know not whether it be counterfeit or surreptitiously procured.

4. In Case that by the fault of Officers, or forgetfulness, or any other cause, one Man should have a Commission to defend and command a Ship or Fort, or Country, and another shew a Commission of the same date to command and defend the same Ship, Fort, or Country, and to resist any that oppose him ; Is it unlawful for both of them here to obey the King's Command ?

5. In case that any shall shew or pretend a Commission for any *illegal Act*, as to take Mens Purfes by the High-way, to break into their Houses, and take their Money and Goods, and seize their Estates, or kill their Families : Or to lay a Tax upon the Country without the Consent of Parliament ; or to ravish Mens Wives, or Daughters, or to burn the City, or if two or three should shew a Commission to come into the House of Lords or Commons, and kill them all in the place, &c. It is certain that a Sword is *Arms*, and that to fight in a Man's own Defence is to take up Arms : Or if any say it must be the fighting of many together only that is called the *Taking up of Arms*, as that is not to be understood by the words which have no such restriction, so no Man knoweth *how many* it must be that by concurrence must make the Act to be a *Taking up of Arms*. We have put some of these Cases to Parliament Men, and they tell us, That in any such Case they would use their Arms to defend themselves : But these are single Members : What the Houses mean, we know not, but by the words : And no words can be more exclusive of any Exception, than these, That *[it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever]*. Also, what if *Saul* gives Commission to his Armour-bearer to kill him ? Might not a Subject by Arms defend the King, and rescue his Life, against his *Will* and *Commission* ? And what if a Court of Justice decree a Subject the Possession of his House and Land, and require the Sheriff of the County to put him in possession, and to raise the *Posse Comitatus* to do it, if there be resistance ; And what if the Person to be ejected shew a Commission from the King to keep possession, contrary to this Judgment ; is it unlawful for the Sheriff to obey the Court ? (And the *Posse Comitatus* of *Yorkshire* hath been a considerable Army).

§ 394. The Things which increase the Doubt of the Non-subscribers in this Case, are these :

1. Because if, as it is said by some, the *Laws* are the *King's Laws*, and the Acts of his *Will*, as well as his Commissions are : Then if his *Law* and his *Commission* be contradictory, I must need disobey the King which soever I disobey, and resist the King's Will which soever I resist. We have no Laws but what are Acts of the King's Will ; and till they are repealed, they still express his Will.

2. Because that the Laws are made purposely to be the Subjects Rule of Obedience, being also the Rule of Judgment in all Courts ; and being that Act of the King's Will which the Subjects have publick certain Notice of : They *know* that the Laws are indeed the King's Laws, and are not counterfeit : And they are of universal Obligation : But a *Seal* to a *Commission* may possibly be counterfeit, or the Subject can have no such certifying notice of it.

3. And they know that the King is not himself every where present, to tell his doubtful Subjects, which signification of his Will he owneth, and which they should prefer ; and that he governeth his Kingdom by his Courts and Officers ; they sit and send forth their Orders in his Name : And a known publick Court of Justice, seemeth to be a more credible declarer of the King's Will, than a Stranger or particular Person, who saith that he hath his Commission. It is the Form of the Law, to be the Act of the *Governing Will* of the King, and the use of his Courts, to declare it, and expound it, and judge by it for his Subjects : But a private Commission wanteth these Advantages.

4. Because they think that the *Law of Nature*, and the *Constitution of the Kingdom* must else submit to this Declaration : For if two or three, or more, shew a Commission to kill all the Parliament, and fire the City, *Nature* seemeth to allow them *Self-defence* ; and *Parliaments* (which are part of the *Constitution*) are vain if they have no better Security for their Lives.

§. They

5. They find a Statute of King *Edward* the Third, That if any Man bring from the King a Command under the Little Seal, or the Great Seal, to require any Judge to go against Justice, or to contradict it, the Judge shall go on, as if it signified nothing : And the Sheriff's forcible Assistance, may be part of his Judgment, or the legal Consequent.

And we fear lest by this we put it in the power of the Lord Keeper or Chancellor to Depose the King at his pleasure, by sealing Commissions to any to seize on all his Forts, Garrisons, Navies, Treasures, Guards, &c.

6. Else no Subject seemeth to have any Security for his Estate or Life, nor the Subject any Liberties: For if their Estates or Purves be taken away, or their Lives assaulted by pretended Commissions, or Taxes imposed contrary to Law, what remedy have they? To say they may question the Instruments at Law, is vain and worse, as long as that Law, whatever it decreeth, must submit to a Commission, and must never resist it, nor use any force of Arms, though against a single Man for its own Execution. Who will begin a Suit at Law, against the King's Will at all, if he first know that his Will must not be resisted, and that the End will but be his greater ruine?

7. They said, King *James* asserting in his Writings (for Monarchy) that a King may not make War against his whole Kingdom: In case then that he should do it, they are uncertain that the whole Kingdom might not at all resist his commissioned Officers.

8. They find the late King *Charles* the First, in his Answer to the Nineteen Propositions of the Parliament, asserting a Protecting Power in the Lords, and setting up the Laws above his own Will.

9. They know that the Laws are made by King and Parliament, and Commissions here supposed to be by the King alone: And the whole Authority of all parts seemeth more than of one alone.

10. They find that it hath been familiar with Lawyers to prefer the Law before the King's Commissions; and Parliaments have been of that mind: And they are too weak to Condemn them all in their own Faculties.

11. They find that the greatest Defenders of Monarchy of all Foreign Lawyers, even *Barclay* and *Grotius*, have instanced in many Cases in which it is, as they say, lawful by Arms to resist a King! And we pretend not to more skill in Laws than they.

12. They find that even the greatest Episcopal Divines, approved by our Princes, and most Learned Defenders of Monarchy and Obedience, do yet set up the Laws above the King, and write more in this Case than we can consent to. Mr. *Tho. Hooker* (whom King *Charles* the First commended to his Children to be read) speaketh so very high, not only in his whole Eighth Book (dedicated by Bishop *Gauden* to the King) but also in his First Book (which was extant when King *Charles* the First commended his Works) that for my part I do not believe him, (that the Body as such hath the Legislative Power, and that the King is *singulis major* and *universis minor*, with much of the like: And therefore I have wrote a full Confutation of him in the Fourth Tome of my *Christian Directory*. And yet he is one of the most magnified Authours with the Bishops. And so is Bishop *Bilson*, who in his Treatise for *Christian Subjection*, dedicated to Queen *Elizabeth*, hath that terrible passage for resisting Kings before-recited § 253.

13. And they find that not only Politicians speak more in this Case than we allow, and the Roman, Greek, and other Historians; but the Historians and Chroniclers of this Land. For instance, *Hollingshead Lib. 1.* in his Chapter of Parliaments, saith, [*This House hath the most high and absolute Power of the Realm: For thereby Kings and mighty Princes have from time to time been deposed from their Thrones; Laws either enacted or abrogated, Offenders of all sorts punished, and corrupted Religion either disannulled or reformed; which commonly is divided into two Houses or Parts, &c.*] Here is more than I assent to, or think to be justifiable. Now when all these say so much more for Resistance than we judge sound, it seemeth hard to us to go so far contrary to them all (in Matters of other Mens Profession) as to Subscribe, That on no pretence whatsoever no one Commissioned by the King, may be resisted by taking up Arms.

14. And we read how Dr. *Mainwairing*, and other Divines, have been condemned by Parliament for Matters of this Nature. And whatever any Latitudinarian may say, we are sure that [*on no pretence whatsoever*] are words that exclude all these fore-mentioned Pretences from being lawful. And if it yet be said, That it is disloyal to suppose that any such illegal Commission will be granted, we do not suppose that it will be so, but if it be not possible to be so, in this Age or another, then we are contented to Subscribe this Clause: For Parliaments will not differ about Impossibilities.

§ 395. Incident to this Controversie are other Clauses of the Declaration, as that the Covenant was in it self an unlawful Oath, and imposed against the known Laws, &c. which though they contradict not, yet many that were Children then, and know neither Matter of Law or Fact, no not so much as the Fundamental Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom, do think themselves very incapable of determining.

§ 396. And for the Trayterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him: We see no position here recited; and therefore must annex this Clause to the former (as before) supposing that the meaning is, that it is a Trayterous Position to say, That it is lawful by the King's Authority, to take up Arms on any pretence whatsoever, against, &c. And we all confess that it is a Contradictory and Trayterous Position for any man to say, that he may take up Arms by the King's Authority against his Authority, or Dignity, or Honour, or Person: But all the Doubt is as aforesaid, Whether the King's Laws have not his Authority? and whether his Laws and his Commission may not be contrary? or one Commission contrary to another? And in that case, whether it be Trayterous to say that one side hath his Authority against the other? As if his Law allow Men to defend their Lives and Purse against Assaults, and an Assailant produce a Commission, whether the King's Authority in his Laws and Courts enable not a Man by Arms to save his Purse or Life against such a pretended Commissioner: (And how shall any Subject, at the time of the Assault, be sure whether the Commission be true or spurious?) If as *Joab* and *Abner* sent the young Men to play (mad play) before them, and the *Romans* caused their Gladiators to fight to make them sport, so if the King to try the Valour of some Subjects, would Commission a few on both sides to fight against each other, doth it follow that both sides were Traytors, because they both fought by his Authority against such as were Commissioned by him? If it be said, That this is not the meaning of the Act: we answer, That where Forms are supposed to be deliberately worded by a Parliament, if we must not understand Universals universally, but may put in Limitations or Exceptions at our Pleasure, then their words are not the signifiers of their Minds, and we know not whether to go to understand them, nor what be the Exceptions and Limitations allowed, but every Man may except according to his Fancy, and thus all will be but Equivocation and Deceit. And Dr. *Sanderson* resolveth it, That when Oaths (and consequently subscribed Forms) are ambiguously worded, and the Imposers will not explain them, it is not fit at all to take them.

Some Lawyers tell me, that if it came before the Judges they would judge an unlawful Commission to be no Commission; and that the Judges are the Expositors of the Law. I answer, 1. We have no assurance that the Judges would so judge; much less unanimously: nor that they have so done. 2. Lately Mr. *Joseph Read* offered at the King's Bench-Bar to take the Oxford Oath as expounded in that sense by the Vote of the Lords about the Test; and he was reprov'd for his Offer, and told that he must take it as the Law imposed it, and was sent back to Jail. 3. The Law-makers only can expound a Law as antecedently Obligatory to all the Subjects: The Judges can only expound it consequently for the decision of a particular Case, in order to Execution; and *ad hoc*, which warranteth no Man to take that for the true meaning of the Statute.

§ 397. IV. The Fourth Controversie is about the Oath of Canonical Obedience: And the Reasons why this is scrupled by the Non-Conformists are these: Because they take the Power it self to which they are to swear, to be specifically Evil, and against the Word of God: of which their Proofs are given before: And therefore they dare not be guilty of swearing Obedience to them, lest they 1. Take the Name of God in vain; an Oath being a thing which is not to be ventured on, but with the greatest reverence, deliberation and sincerity. 2. And lest they scandalously approve of Usurpation in Christ's Kingdom, to the wrong of his Crown and Dignity, and contract the guilt of Treason or Disloyalty against him. 3. Lest they encourage Usurpers in these insolent Novelties and Corruptions, which the ancient Churches never knew, and came not into the Church till the Roman Papacy grew to some degree of Impudency in their Usurpations.

§ 398. Yet these two things the Non-conformists are contented readily to do: 1. To obey the Bishops Chancellors, &c. by meer Submission, without an Oath, in all things lawful. To appear at their Courts, and answer them with due reverence. For they think that Subjection and Submission towards Usurpers greatly differ: and

that as in the late *Cromwellian* Usurpation in *England*, many submitted, as they would have done to a Robber, whom they could not resist; who yet would not swear Subjection, nor do any thing which seemed to justify his Usurpation or Title: So here, though they dare not state themselves by an Oath, in the relation of Subjects to the Prelates, yet they can obey them *materially* in lawful things. 2. And they are willing to swear Obedience to them as they are the King's Officers; commissioned by him to exercise such Coercive Power as belongeth to the Magistrate about Church Matters: But not as they exercise the Power of the Keys, in Absolving, Excommunicating, &c.

§ 399. Object. 1. *It is but in licitis & honestis that you swear to obey them: And who will refuse things lawful and honest.*

Ans. 1. But it is in the relation of our lawful Ordinaries that we are required to swear this Obedience to them. It may be lawful and honest to do the things commanded, when it is neither lawful nor honest to subject my self to the Commander as his Subject. The most just Authority that is can command us nothing but *licita & honesta*. And if *Cromwell* or the Engaging piece of the Parliament had required me to swear Obedience to them *in licitis & honestis*, I think to have done it had been a subjecting my self to them as my Governours, which had neither been *licitum* nor *honestum*. If a Rebel now should usurp Authority against the King's will, for the Government of *Ireland* or *Scotland*, he that would go swear Obedience to him *in licitis & honestis* I think would be disloyal.

2. And it is Obedience according to the Canon, which is their [*in licitis & honestis*]: And this is to Lay-Chancellors Exercise of the Keys, and many other things which are supposed *licita & honesta*, but not yet proved to be so.

§ 400. Object. 2. *What a Man may do, he may swear to do: But licita & honesta a Man may do: Ergo——* Ans. 1. I deny the Major as universally taken: There is many a thing that may be done, which may not be sworn: Else you might swear to speak every word before you speak it, and to do every trivial Action that you do. 2. Some time the Oath reacheth further than the Act to be done, even to the Relation in which it is done, and the reason for which; and this is the Case here: So that here is a feigning of a false state of the Question; which is not, *Whether we may swear to do licita & honesta?* but *whether we may swear to obey them as our lawful Ordinaries in licitis & honestis?* 3. The Conclusion therefore might be granted without any Decision of the Controversie: For the Question is not, *Whether we may swear to do such things?* but *whether we may swear to obey those Men in that relation, and to do those things sub formalit ratione obedientiæ?* Which their Loyalty to Christ their King, they think prohibiteth. What if you lived in a Popish Country, would you swear to obey the Pope *in licitis & honestis?* If not, you may see our Reasons, while you give your own.

§ 401. Object. 3. The Scripture commandeth all Men to subject themselves one to another. Ans. There is an Equivocation in the word [*subject*]. The Text speaketh only of private submission and yielding to others, voluntarily carrying our selves with that lowliness as Subjects do to their Rulers: But this is nothing to publick relative stated subjection, of which the Controversie is. He would be but an ill Subject to the King, or an ill Member of the Church, who would make every man his King or his Pastor, on this pretence that we must all subject our selves to each other.

§ 402. Object. 4. *You are to swear Obedience to them only as Church-Magistrates appointed by the King.* Ans. That cannot be true: because it is as our Ordinaries, who have the power of Ordination, Excommunication and Absolution, and in the exercise of this power: But the power of the Keys is not Magistral.

§ 403. V. The fifth Controversie is about Re-ordination. Now in this the Non-conformists are the more shie, 1. Because in our most Publick Meetings before the King and the Lords and the Bishops, some of them (as Dr. Gunning oft) have openly declared that the Ordination which hath been in *England* without Bishops is null, and those that were so Ordained without them are no Ministers, but Lay-men. And his Majesty himself hath signified openly his own Judgment accordingly, that he would no more take the Sacrament from such then from Lay-men. So that it being thus openly declared to be their sence, and no one of their Bishops or Doctors contradicting it, we have reason to think that by submitting to be Re-ordained, Men do interpretatively confess the nullity of their former Ordination. 2. And it is a new thing, contrary to the Judgment and Practice of all the Reformed Churches.

Churches. 3. And there is a Canon among those called the Apostles which is express against it, commanding the Deposition of the Ordainers and Ordained. 4. I have fully proved in my *Disputation of Church Government*, That the said Ordination without Diocesans is valid, and better than the Prelates, and was performed by such Bishops as were in *Ignatius's* days; viz. City-Pastors who had Presbyters under them: And no Man hath attempted to answer what I have there said. 5. And at best to be Re-ordained, seemeth but a taking of God's Name in vain, and a solemn praying to God for that which they have already, and a pretending *de novo* to receive that Authority which they had before. And to come, as upon a Stage, thus ludicrously to play with holy Things, to fulfil the Humours, and confirm the claim of Usurpers, is somewhat hard.

§ 404. VI. The sixth Controversie is about the first Declaration, [*I do here declare my unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the Book entituled, &c.*] * Here the Non-conformists have to do with two sorts; the *willing* and the *unwilling* Conformists. The first say that this Declaration may be lawfully made in its proper fence. The Non-conformists refer you for the Answer of this, to all their foregoing Exceptions against the Book, besides what they have said against our Order of Diocesans, and so against the Book of Ordination, which asserteth three Orders as of Divine Institution! And besides all their Exceptions against the New Common Prayer Book, in the Points wherein it is much worse than the old.

* There is a Direction to be assented to, to find out *Easter-day*, which every Almanack will tell you is a flat falsehood: and it's contrary to another there given.

This is more fully opened in other Papers.

§ 405. And for the Latitudinarians and Unwilling Conformists, their Plea is, That [the use of the Forms and Ceremonies is lawful, and that is all that they are required to subscribe to; because the Act saith [*they shall declare their Assent and Consent to the use of all things, &c.*] They do not subscribe their Consent to the thing in it self, but to so much as is to be used by them, and so far only as that they will use it. But this is so gross, that the Non-conformists cannot stretch so far. For, 1. What Man can doubt whether all things in the Book were intended for some use or other; though not each part to the same use? Did the Convocation and Parliament contrive and impose things, which they themselves did judge to be of no use? Is not the Kalendar and Direction for reading Scripture, of use to tell you what Days to keep, and what Chapters to read? Is not the Rubrick of use to direct you in the several Offices? Is not the Doctrinal Determination about the Saving of Baptized Infants (and other such like) of use to tell us its Doctrine is taken to be true? Doubtless every part hath its intended usefulness. 2. The words are as express to exclude such stretching as could well be devised: For, 1. It is *Assent* as well as *Consent*, which is declared: 2. It is *to all and every thing*, which includeth every word: 3. It is *to every thing contained in it*, as well as *to every thing prescribed by it*: And the Doctrinals (as of three Orders *Jure Divino, &c.*) are contained in it. 3. To put all out of doubt, since this Act the Parliament made another Act; to which while Proviso's were offered, the whole House of Lords sent it back to the Commons with this Proviso, *That those that declared Assent and Consent to all and every thing, &c. should be obliged to understand it only as to the use of what was required of them, and not as to the things in themselves considered.* The Commons refused this Proviso: and the Houses had a meeting about it; in which the Commons delivered their Reasons against that Exposition of the Declaration: And in the end the Lords did acquiesce in their Reasons, and consented to cast out the Proviso: so that now the Parliament hath expounded their own words, and there is no more pretence left for the Latitudinarian Equivocation.

Note, That this Declaration justifieth even the Imposition of the whole that is by the Rubrick imposed: because imposing is the use of those Rubricks.

And it is not the words of the Declaration, which is *de medio*, that hath the term [use] but the previous words which are but *de fine*. The means are made larger for securing the end. And the word [*Approbation of all Orders, &c.*] is after express. If we were commanded to subscribe to the use of the Decretals in these words, and no other; [*I do Assent and Consent to all Things contained in them, and prescribed by them*] should we say, It is but so far as I must use them, and not others?

§ 406. But if it were otherwise, is the use of all things contained there lawful? 1. To what they say about the *Apocrypha*, it is answered, That it is not lawful to read publickly in the Church, on any days, so many (above One hundred in two Months) of the Apocryphal Chapters, in the same manner, time and title (of Lessons) with the holy Scripture, with no fuller distinction: When 1. Experience telleth us, That many of the People (who understand not the Greek word *Apocrypha*) are thereby drawn to take them for Canonical Scripture, (being also bound up with it in the Books.) 2. And when *Tobit, Susanna, Bell and the Dragon, Judith,*

are ordinarily by Protestants taken for Fables or Untruths, and therefore not so much as pious Instructions.

§ 407. 2. And for the *disorder* and *defects* of the Common Prayer, before proved, they seem but ill matter for such an unfeigned Assent and Consent.

§ 408. 3. And for the new Clause of the Salvation of Baptized Infants as certain by the Word of God, the Scruple were the less, if it were confined to the Infants of true Believers: But our Church admitteth of all Infants, even of Infidels and Heathens without distinction, if they have but Godfathers and Godmothers; and the Canon enforceth Ministers to Baptize them all, without exception. And when in our Publick Debate with the Bishops, I instanced in one of my Parishioners that was a professed Infidel, and yet said he would come and make the common Pro-

* And none of the Bishops contradicted him, but some seconded him.

fession for his Child for Custom sake; even Dr. *Sanderfon* the Bishop of *Lincoln* answered me*, That if there were Godfathers it had a sufficient Title; which Bishop *Morley* and others of them confirmed. Now these Godfathers being not Adopters nor Own-

ers, we cannot see it certain in God's Word, That all those are saved whom they present to Baptism; no nor whom ungodly and hypocritical Christians present: for how can the Covenant save the Child, as the Child of a Believer, which saveth not the Parent as a Believer himself: So that while unmeet Subjects are Baptized, we cannot Subscribe to this Assertion.

§ 409. And it is strange, that when Infant-Baptism it self, and commonly said by these Men, to be a Tradition, and not commanded or found in Scripture, that yet they find it certain by the Word of God that Baptized Infants are saved!

§ 410. But some say, That it is certain that *all Infants* (so dying) are saved, and therefore *all Baptized Infants*. But 1. They never shewed us any Word of God, from whence that certainty may appear to us! nor have they answered what is said against it. 2. And what jesting with holy Things is this, to speak that of the Baptized only which they mean of all! As if they would persuade People that it is some effect of Baptism, and privilege of the Children of the Church, which they think belongeth to all the Children of Heathens.

§ 411. Some say that the word [*All*] Children is not in, and of some its true. *Ans.* The Indefinite here, according to common Speech, is equivalent to an Universal: [*Children baptized, dying before actual sin*] is equal to *all Children baptized*: your Consciences must tell you, that if you limit it to some only, you cross the sense of the Compilers of the Liturgy. I am sure Dr. *Gunning*, who brought it in, hath publickly exprest his sense for the Salvation of *all* such Infants.

§ 412. 4. As to the Practice of Baptizing all Children that can have Godfathers, and of *Confirming*, *Administring the Lord's Supper*, *Absoiving*, *Burying*, &c. with unjust Application to Persons unfit for the Sacraments or Titles given them, we know not how to *Assent* and *Consent* to the Imposition or Form of, as long as we know that the same Church which commandeth us to use those words, doth command us to apply them to unworthy Persons: And how it may harden the Wicked to Perdition, is easily conjectured.

§ 413. 5. And for the Ceremonies they are so largely written about on both sides, that I need not stay here to recite the Arguments. For my own part, as I would receive the Lord's Supper kneeling, rather than not at all, so I have no Censure for those that wear the Surplice, though I never wore it. But that Man may adjoyn such a Human Sacrament as the Cross in Baptism, to God's Sacrament, I am not satisfied in: And cannot Assent or Consent to it, that such a solemn dedicating Sign, should be stated in God's Publick Worship by Man: 1. It is a (*transient*) *Image*, used as a *means of Worship*: Therefore unlawful by the Second Commandment. 2. It is a *stated* Human Ordinance, in God's Worship; an instituted, fixed Sacramental, dedicating Sign. 3. It is no less than the Covenant of Grace which it signifieth, yea somewhat of God's part as well as ours, and acted by the Minister, and not by the Parents, as a professing Sign. It signifieth the Cross and Sufferings of Christ, the Ground and Seal of the Covenant on his part. And if God would have had such Sacraments used, he could as well have instituted them as he did the rest.

VII. § 414. The 7th Controversie is about *Actual Administrations* according to the Common Prayer and Canons. 1. We dare not when we give the Sacrament to others, refuse it to all those faithful Persons, who fear to take it kneeling lest it be Idolatry. Though I can so take it my self, I cannot execute so unjust an Imposition, as to cast out Christ's Members upon that account, no more than to cast out

Children,

Children for crying, or for being Children! And I think it better for me not to meddle with the Sacrament at all, than to be guilty of such Oppression, Uncharitableness, Injustice and Division, and to do such actual wrong to one part, that I may give the Sacrament to the other part.

§ 415. 2. And I dare not knowingly Baptize those Children that are not in the Covenant of God, nor call every Child *regenerate*, without exception, that can but have Godfathers. Nor dare I (while I receive all these) reject all the Children of godly Parents, who dare not bring them to be Baptized with the *Sacrament of the Cross*. To say that *others forbid me*, is nothing, while I must be the *Executioner* of their Decrees.

§ 416. 3. And I dare not, if I undertake a Pastoral Charge, give the Sacrament to the notoriously unworthy, though the Chancellor absolve him (or never question him) nor utterly neglect all that part of Discipline, which belongeth to my Office, though Men forbid it, nor be guilty of all that corruption and confusion, which the neglect of Discipline bringeth into the Church.

4. Nor dare I absolutely pronounce a wicked Man forgiven, if in his sickness, he superficially say, I repent.

5. Nor dare I at the Burial of every notorious wicked Man, that is not Unbaptized, Excommunicate, nor a Self-murderer, solemnly pronounce, That [*God hath taken to himself the Soul of this our dear Brother, &c.*] lest I harden the wicked in their damnable Presumption. If the Child of the holiest Parent die unbaptized; we must not say these words for it, that is, in their Language, we must not bury it by the Office of the Church with Christian Burial; but such are numbred with the Excommunicate and Self-murderers. But if a hundred Thieves, Adulterers, Drunkards die; or Murderers or Traytors be hanged for their sin; though they never so much as say, I repent, but justify themselves to the last breath, yet must we bury them all with these words, [*God hath taken to himself the Soul of this our dear Brother*] to teach the People to give him the lie, who giveth himself the lie by preaching that the Impenitent and Wicked are not saved: And to teach all the most ungodly to look to speed as well as others: Purgatory is a better Doctrine than this; for it leaveth the Wicked under some awe. Yet all this we must *Assent* and *Consent* to, and use, if we will have leave to preach in the Publick Churches. Nor do the little poor Evasions used for these things, seem worth the answering. It tendeth to the vitiating also of the Commonwealth, to pronounce thus the Salvation of every Traytor, Thief, Murderer, as well as of Drunkards, Whoremongers and Atheists, who never so much as said, *We repent*. How can we preach the Misery of Sinners, or the Necessity of Renovation and Sanctification, without contradicting our selves, when we must tell a Man in the Pulpit, [*That except he repent he shall perish; and if he live after the flesh he shall die; and without holiness he shall not see God*]: And yet if he die without one Penitent word, we must say, [*God hath taken to himself the Soul of this our dear Brother*].

So much of the Controversie between the present Conformists and Non-conformists.

§ 417. Having thus interposed the State of the Controversie, and Cause of the Ejected Ministers of *England*, and so being got past *Bartholomew-day*, I proceed in the History of the consequent Calamities. When I was absent (resolving to meddle in such Businesses there no more) Mr. *Calamy* and the other Ministers of *London*, who had Acquaintance at the Court, were put in hope that the King would grant that by way of Indulgence, which was before denied them: And that before the Act was past, it might be provided, That the King should have power to dispense with such as deserved well of him in his Restoration, or whom he pleased: But that was frustrate*. And after that, they were told that the King had power himself to dispense in such Cases, as he did with the *Dutch* and *French* Churches: And some kind of Petition (I have not a Copy of it) they drew up to offer the King: But when they had done it, they were so far from procuring their Desires, that there fled abroad grievous Threatnings against them, that they should incur a Premunire for such a bold attempt: when they were drawn to it at first, they did it with much hesitancy (through former Experience) and they worded it so cautiously, that it extended not to the Papists. Some of the Independents presumed to say, That the Reason why all our Addresses for Liberty had not succeeded, was because we did not extend it to the Papists, and that for their parts, they saw no reason why

* If I should at length recite the Story of this Business, and what peremptory Promises they had, and how all was turned to their Rebuke and Scorn, it would more increase the Readers astonishment.

why the Papists should not have Liberty of Worship as well as others; and that it was better for them to have it, than for all us to go without it. But the Presbyterians still answered to that motion, That the King might himself do what he pleased: and if his Wisdom thought meet to give Liberty to the Papists, let the Papists petition for it, as they did for theirs: But if it be expected by any that it shall be forced upon *them*, to become Petitioners for Liberty for Popery, they should never do it, whatever be the issue: Nor shall it be said to be their work.

§ 418. On the 26th of Decemb. (1662.) the King sent forth a Declaration, expressing his purpose to grant some *Indulgence* or *Liberty* in Religion

* 1. The Declaration for Liberty at Breda was for them.

2. Next the Clause offered to be added to the Declaration of Ecclesiastical Affairs gave them the free Exercise of their Religion.

3. The foresaid Motion next attempted it.

4. This Declaration Dec. 26. 1662. expressly promised it them.

5. Our Treaty after set on foot by the Lord Keeper *Bridgman*, would have offered it them. And by breaking all these offers, we are our selves in our present afflicted state.

(with other matters) not excluding the Papists, *many of whom had deserved so well of him* *. When this came out the ejected Ministers began to think more confidently of some Indulgence to themselves: Mr. Nye also, and some others of the Independents, were encouraged to go to the King, and when they came back, told us, That he was now resolved to give them Liberty. On the Second of *January* Mr. Nye came to me, to treat about our owning the King's Declaration, by returning him Thanks for it; and I perceived that it was designed that we must be the Defenders or Procurers of it: But I told him my Resolutions to meddle no more in such Matters, having incurred already so much hatred and displeasure by endeavouring Unity: And the rest of the Ministers also had enough of it, and resolved that they would not meddle: so that Mr. Nye and his Brethren, thought it partly long of us that they mist of their intended Liberty. But all were

averse to have any thing to do with the Indulgence or Toleration of the Papists, thinking it at least unfit for them.

§ 419. The Independent Brethren also told me, That the Lord Chancellor had told them that their Liberty was motioned before when the King's Declaration came out, and that we spake against it, even I by name. But when I told them what words I spake (before recited) they had no more to say: But now they grew greatly affected to the E. of B. (a Papist) thinking that the King's Declaration was procured by him, and that he and the Papists must be the means (for their own ends) to procure our Liberty: But the Declaration took not at all with the Parliament or People, and the E. of B. setting himself against the Lord Chancellor (accusing him by Articles of High Treason in the Lord's House), was cast off by the King as an Incendiary, and forc'd to hide his head.

§ 420. Good old Mr. *Simeon Ash* was buried the very Even of *Bartholomew-day*, and went seasonably to Heaven at the very time when he was to be cast out of the Church. He was one of our oldest Non-conformists (of the old Strain; for now Conforming is quite another thing than before the Wars): He was a Christian of the Primitive Simplicity: not made for Controversie, nor inclined to disputes, but of a holy Life, and a cheerful mind, and of a fluent Elegancy in Prayer, full of Matter and Excellent Words: His ordinary Speech was holy and edifying: Being confined much to his House by the Gout (and having a good Estate, and a very good Wife, enclined to Entertainments and Liberality) his House was very much frequented by Ministers: He was always cheerful, without profuse Laughter or Liberty, or vain Words: never troubled with doubtings of his Interest in Christ, but tasting the continual Love of God, was much disposed to the Communicating of it to others, and Comforting dejected Souls: His eminent Sincerity made him exceedingly loved and honoured; insomuch as Mr. *Gataker*, Mr. *Whittaker*, and other the most excellent Divines of *London*, when they went to God, desired him to preach their Funeral Sermons: He was zealous in bringing in the King; having been Chaplain to the Earl of *Manchester* in the Wars, he fell under the obloquy of the *Cromwellians* for crossing their Designs: He wrote to Col. *Sanders*, Col. *Barton*, and others in the Army when G. *Monk* came in, to engage them for the King. Having preached his Lecture in *Cornhill*, being heated, he took cold in the Vestry, and thinking it would have proved but one of his old fits of the Gout, he went to *Highgate*; but it turned to a Fever: He died as he lived, in great Consolation, and cheerful Exercise of Faith, molested with no Fears or Doubts discernable: exceeding glad of the Company of his Friends: and greatly encouraging all about him, with his joyful Expressions in respect of Death, and his approaching Change; so that no Man could seem to be more fearless of it. When he had at last lain speechless for some time, as soon as I came to him, gladness so excited his Spirits, that he spake joyfully and freely of his going to God to those about him:

him : I stayed with him his last Evening, till we had long expected his Change (being speechless all that day), and in the night he departed.

§ 421. On the first of *January* following was buried good Mr. *James Nalton*, another Minister of the Primitive Sincerity : A good Linguist ; a zealous excellent Preacher, commonly called, *The weeping Prophet*, because his Seriousness oft expressed itself by Tears : of a most holy blameless Life : Though Learned, yet greatly averse to Controversie and Disputes : In almost all things like Mr. *Ash*, except his natural temper, and the influence it had upon his Soul : both of them so composed of Humility, Piety, and Innocence, that no Enemy of Godliness that knew them, had a word (of sense) to say against them ! They were scorned as Puritans as their Brethren, but escaped all the particular Exceptions and Obloquy which many others underwent : But as one was cheerful, so the other was from his Youth surprised with violent Fits of Melancholy once in a few years, which though it distracted him not, yet kept him, till it was over, in a most despondent Case, and next unto Despair : And in his health he was over humble, and had too mean Thoughts of himself and all that was his own, and never put out himself among his Brethren into any Imployment which had the least shew of Ostentation. Less then a year before he died, he fell into a grievous fit of Melancholy, in which he was so confident of his Gracelessness, that he usually cried out, [*O not one spark of Grace, not one good Desire or Thought ! I can no more pray than a post ! If an Angel from Heaven would tell me that I have true Grace, I would not believe him*]. And yet at that time did he pray very well ; and I could demonstrate his sincerity so much to him in his Desires and Life, that he had not a word to say against it : But yet was harping still on the same string, and would hardly be persuaded that he was Melancholy. It pleased God to recover him from this fit, and shortly after he told me, That now he confessed that what I said was true, and his Despair was all but the effect of Melancholy, and rejoiced much in God's deliverance : But shortly after came out the *Bartholomew Act*, which cast him out of his Place and Ministry, and his heart being troubled with the sad Case of the Church, and the multitude of Ministers cast out and silenced, and at his own unserviceableness, it revived his Melancholy (which began to work also with some fears of Want, and his Family's Distress), and this cast him so low, that the violence of it wore him away like a true *Marasmus*, so that without any other Disease, but meer Melancholy, he consumed to Death, continuing still his sad Despondency, and Self-condemning Means. By which it appeareth how little Judgment is to be made of a Man's Condition by his Melancholy Apprehensions, or the sadness of his Mind at Death : and in what a different manner Men of the same Eminency in Holiness and Sincerity may go to God ! Which I have the rather shewed by the instance of those two Saints, than whom this Age hath scarce produced and set up a pair more pious, humble, just, sincere, laborious in their well-performed Work, unblameable in their Lives, not meddling with State Matters, nor Secular Affairs, and therefore well spoken of by all ! Only the Interest of the piece of the Long Parliament (which ejected the rest, and was called *The Rump*, and cherished *Cromwell* till he pull'd them down also) did cause them to persecute Mr. *Nalton*, with many other *London* Ministers, at the time when Mr. *Love* was beheaded by them, for being true to the Covenant in endeavouring to restore the present King : And then when good old Mr. *Jackson*, Dr. *Drake*, (a very holy man) Mr. *Jenkins*, and many more of them were in the *Tower* Prisoners, Mr. *Nalton* and Mr. *Cawton* were glad to fly into *Holland*, where the latter died, and the former lived to see himself, and every one of those imprisoned Ministers, with the rest of their Brethren, all cast out, and forbidden upon pain of Imprisonment and Banishment to preach the Gospel in the King's Dominions.

§ 422. And as we were forbidden to preach, so we were vigilantly watcht in private, that we might not exhort one another or pray together ; and (as I foretold them oft, they would use us when they had silenced us) every Meeting for Prayer was called a dangerous Meeting for Sedition, or a Conventicle at least. I will now give but one instance of their kindness to my self. One Mr. *Beale* in *Hutton Garden* having a Son (his only Child, and very towardly and hopeful) who had been long sick of a dangerous Fever, (as I remember a *Quartan*) and by relapse brought so low that the Physicians thought he would die, desired a few Friends, of whom I was one, to meet at his House to pray for him : and because it pleased God to hear our Prayers, and that very night to restore him, his Mother shortly after falling sick of a Fever, we were desired to meet to pray for her Recovery (the last day when she was near to Death) : Among those that were to be there, it fell out,

out, through some other occasions, that Dr. *Bates* and I did fail them, and could not come : But it was known at *Westminster* that we were appointed to be there ! Whereupon two Justices of Peace were procured from the distant parts of the Town, one from *Westminster*, and one from *Clerkenwell*, to come with the Parliaments Serjeant at Arms, to Apprehend us ! They came in the Evening, when part of the Company were gone, (there were only a few of their Kindred there, besides two or three Ministers to pray) : They came upon them into the Room where the Gentlewoman lay ready to die, and drew the Curtains, and took some of their Names, but missing of their Prey, returned disappointed ! What a joy would it have been to them that reproached us as Presbyterian seditious Schismatics, to have found but such an occasion as *praying with a dying Woman*, to have laid us up in Prison ! Yet that same Week, there was published a witty malicious Invektive against the silenced Ministers, in which it was affirmed, that Dr. *Bates* and I were at Mr. *Beal's* House such a day keeping a Conventicle ! But the Lyar had so much extraordinary modesty, as within a day or two to print a second Edition, in which those words (so easily to be disproved) were left out. Such Eyes were every where then upon us.

§ 423. Many holy excellent Ministers were about these times laid in the Jails in many Counties, for private Meetings to preach and pray ! and some for venturing to preach publicly in Churches which had no Ministers : (for so many were cast out, that all their Places could not presently be supplied). In *Chester* Mr. *Cook* of *Chester* was imprisoned, who not long before had lain long a Prisoner in *Southwark* (by *Lambert's* Faction) for Delivering up *Chester* to Sir *George Booth* for the Restoring of the King. In *Somersetshire* were imprisoned Mr. *Norman* of *Bridgwater*, Mr. *Allen* of *Taunton*, and others : In *Dorsetshire* were imprisoned Mr. *Francis Bampfield*, Mr. *Peter Ince*, (taken at a private Meeting in *Shaftsbury*) Mr. *Sacheverill*, and divers others : In *Dorchester* Jail they preached to the People of the Town who came to them, every day once, and on the Lord's Day twice ; till at last the Jaylor was corrected, and an Order made against Jaylors letting in People into the Prisons to hear. The rest at last were released upon some Bonds given for their good Behaviour, but Mr. *Francis Bampfield* abode in the Common Jail several years, although he was all along against the Parliaments War. His Brother, Mr. *T. Bampfield*, was a Member of many Parliaments and Speaker of the Parliament in *Richard Cromwell's* time, which the Army broke : He was Recorder of *Exeter* ; and though he sequestred Recorder, had Satisfaction from the City for his Place, yet he (succeeding him in time of *Cromwell's* Usurpation) restored to the Poor of the City all that

* But since, alas, *Francis* having fall'n into the Opinion for the *Saturday Sabbath*, &c. their Afflictors think themselves justified for afflicting them.

he had received in that place, and perswaded Ministers to restore * all that they received from Sequestrations in time of the Usurpation, because it was not Law that gave it them (Though they had but their Bread while they preached, which was hardly restored). He was chosen by the Gentlemen of the West to carry their Remonstrance to encourage General *Monk* when he

came in ! He is a Man of most exemplary Sincerity and Conscientiousness : He never took the Covenant, nor any other Oath in his Life, till he was a Member of the Parliament that brought in the King, and then he was put upon taking the Oath of Supremacy, which I had much ado (being my dear and much valued Friend) to perswade him to, so fearful was he of Oaths, or any thing that was doubtful and like to sin : Yet hath this prudent holy Man been laid in Jail as well as his Brother, because (having a worthy Minister, Mr. *Philips*, in his House) he would set open his Doors, and meet freely for preaching and prayer in his House, forbidding none : But though he and his Brother were the likest Men I knew in *England* successfully to have perswaded those that are contrary minded, that it is unlawful for a Parliament to take up Arms to defend themselves, or punish Manufactures, against the Will and Word of the King, yet this would not keep either of them out of Prison : And so their endeavours for that work were stopt against their wills.

§ 424. It is worthy the mentioning how God's strange Judgments about this time, were turned by the Devil to his own advantage. Most certainly abundance of real Prodigies and marvellous Works of God were done, which surely he did not cause in vain ! But the over-fervent spirits of some Fanaticks (Fifth-Monarchymen) caused them presently to take them up boldly with the Commentary of their own Applications, and too hastily venting Matters of Common Report before they were tried, they published at several times three Volumes of the History of these Prodigies, in which there were divers lesser Matters magnified, and some things which

which proved false! And though upon strictest Examination both I and all Men are convinced that very many of the Things were true (as the drying up of the River *Derwent* in *Darbyshire*, upon no known Cause, in Winter, the Earth opening and swallowing a Woman near *Ashburn* in the same County, upon her own Imprecation, the Appearance of an Army to many near *Montgomery*, and abundance more); yet were Fallhoods thrust in through their heady Temerity and Credulity; whereby it came to pass, that these Wonders were so far from moving Men to Repentance, or the fear of God's Judgments, that they greatly hardened them, and made them say, [*These Fanaticks are the odious lying Deceivers of the World, that to cheat the poor People into a seditious Humour, care not to bely even God himself*]. And what the Fanaticks had been guilty of was imputed to the ejected Ministers and their Followers, by them who thought it their interest to do so. So that the poor obdurate Enemies of Godliness did not only lose the benefits of God's strange and dreadful Warnings, but were much hardened by them; to the increase of their Enmity.

§ 425. In the beginning of June 1663. the old peaceable Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Fuxton*, died, and Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, Bishop of *London*, succeeded in his room.

§ 426. About these Times the talk of Liberty to the silenced Ministers (for what ends I know not) was revived again, and we were blamed by many that we had never once petitioned the Parliament (for which we had sufficient Reasons); and it was talkt about that they were resolved to grant us either an Indulgence (by way of Dispensation) or a *Comprehension* by some additional Act, taking in all that could Conform in some particular Points. Hereupon there was great talk upon the Question, Whether the way of *Indulgence*, or the way of *Comprehension* were more desirable? And it was debated as seriously, as if indeed such a thing as one of them had been expected. And Parliament Men themselves perswaded them that it would be done. The Sectarians (as they then called all that were for Liberty of Sects, and for separated Churches) were for the way of *Indulgence*, that the Act might not enlarge the Terms of the Publick Ministry, but give Liberty for gathering private Churches to all: Else they thought that when the most considerable of the Ministry were embodied with the Conformists; their own Exclusion and Suppression would be unavoidable: The most of the Independents yet were resolved against Petitioning for the Papists Liberty as well as the Presbyterians. But some of the Politick Leaders of them said, *You are blind if you see not that this very Act of Uniformity was made so rigorous, and the weight of Conformity so much increased, that so the Number of the ejected Ministers might be so great, as to force them to be glad of a general Toleration, which might take in the Papists: And if you think to stand it out, they will yet bring you to it in despite of you: They will increase your Burdens, and lay you all in Prisons, till you are glad to petition for such a Toleration: and stand it out as long as you can, you shall be forced to procure the Papists Liberty; and the odium of it shall not lye on the Bishops, but on you that are so much against it: The Bishops shall speak against it; and they will force you to beg for it who are against it: And if you will not do it now, you do but stay till the Market rise, and your Sufferings be made greater, and you shall be glad to do it at dearer rates.* On the other side, the Presbyterians said, *It is against our Covenant to promote Popery and Schism, and whatever we suffer, we will never do it: nor will we contract that odium with the People, nor contribute so much to betray them by deceiving them! And if we should do it, we are assured we shall be never the better for it: for the Toleration shall be clogged with the Renunciation of all Obligations from the Covenant, or some one other particular Condition, which shall seem no matter of Religion, which they know we will not conform to, and the Papists will; and so when we have petitioned for a Common Liberty, we shall have the odium, and they only the Liberty.* And thus they sat still, and meddled not with that Business.

§ 427. For my own part, I meddled but little with any such Business since the failing of that which incurred so much displeasure; and the rather because, though the Brethren Commissioned with me stuck to me as to the Cause, yet they were not forward enough to bear their part of the ungrateful part in the management, nor of the consequent displeasure: But yet when an Honourable Person was earnest with me, to give him my Judgment, Whether the way of *Indulgence* or *Comprehension* was more desirable, that he might discern which way to go in Parliament himself; I gave him my Thoughts in the following Paper, though I thought it was to little purpose.

SIR,

YOur first Question is, *Whether the way of Comprehension or Indulgence be more desirable?*

Ans. If the Comprehension were truly *Charitable* and *Catholic*, upon the Terms of the Primitive Simplicity in Doctrine, Discipline and Worship, extending to all that the Apostolick Churches in their times received; it would end all our Differences and Miseries, except what in this imperfect state of the Church Militant must be still expected: and it would prevent the sin and everlasting woe of multitudes of Souls. But because there is no hope of this, by reason of the ignorance, impiety, uncharitableness, malice and factiousness of the Times; *rebus sic stantibus*, it is most evident that no Friend of the Church should be for *Comprehension* without *Indulgence*; nor for *Indulgence* without the Enlargement of the Act of Uniformity to a greater *Comprehension*; but for the *Conjunction of both*: which will attain the ends of both, and avoid the chief Inconveniencies of either alone.

1. The way of *Comprehension* alone is not sufficient (on Terms not *Catholic*, which must be expected): 1. Because such *Comprehension* will still leave out many worthy Persons, whose Gifts God would have exercised for his Churches Service. And he that rightly valueth the preaching of the Gospel, and the saving of Souls, would rather choose to have a Millstone hang'd about his Neck, and be cast into the Sea, than unnecessarily to silence any faithful Ministers of Christ. 2. Because even the *Culpable* should be punished but according to the measure of their offence: Those therefore whose Labours are like to do more good in the Church than their Faults to do harm, should be Corrected for those Faults, with such personal gentle Chastisement, as may not take them off their Labours for the Church. It is a lighter Punishment to honest Ministers, to make Brick as the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, so they may withal but preach the Gospel, than to be forbidden to preach for the Saving of the People. See *1 Thess. 2. 14, 15, 16.* 3. Especially considering that the loss by silencing them redoundeth to the Souls of others, especially the ignorant and prophane: and why should *other Men* be denied the Means of their Salvation, and so perish, because a Minister differeth from the State in some lesser things? 4. Considering also that there are not competent Men enough to do the Work of the Gospel without them: Nay, there will be much want when all are employed. 5. It is desirable that his Majesty have Power to indulge the Peaceable, and abate Penalties, as in his Wisdom he shall see most conducive to the *Peace of Church and State*, and not to be too much tied up by an indispensable Establishment. These Reasons (and many more) are considerable for the way of *Indulgence*.

2. The way of *Indulgence* alone is not sufficient; but *first*, the Law should be made more *Comprehensive*: 1. Because indeed the present Impositions and Restrictions of the Law (considering also the direful Penalty) are such (especially the *Declaration* and *Subscription* required), as the Age that is further from the heels of Truth, will so *describe* and *denominate*, as will make our Posterity wish too late that the good of Souls, the welfare of the Church, and the Honour of our Nation had been better provided for. 2. Because it is exceeding desirable that as much *strength* and *unity* as may be, may be found in the established Body of the Clergy: which will be the glory of the Church, the advantage of the Gospel, the prevention of many sins of Uncharitableness, and the great safety and ease of his Majesty and the Realm: When as meer *Indulgence*, (if frustrated by Restrictions, will be unsatisfactory, and not attain its ends; but if any thing large and full) will drain almost all the established Churches, of a more considerable part of the People than I will now mention; and will keep much disunion among the Ministers. 3. If there be no way but that of *Indulgence*, it will load his Majesty with too much of the offence and murmur of the People. If he indulge but few, those that expected it will lay all the blame on him: If he indulge all or most that are meet for it, he will much offend the Parliament and Prelates, who will think the Law is vain: But a power of indulging a small Number, when the most are embodied by a *Comprehension*, will be serviceable to God and the King, and the Common Peace, and justly offensive unto none. 4. The *Indulgence* will be hardly attained by so many as need it, and are meet for it; most being distant, many friendless and moneyless, and too many misrepresented by their Adversaries as unworthy. 5. If the *Indulgence* be for private Meetings only, it will occasion such Jealousies that they preach Sedition,

dition, &c. as will not permit them long to enjoy it in peace. These and many more Reasons are against the way of Indulgence alone. It is therefore most evident that the way desirable, is first a Comprehension of as many fit Persons as may be taken in by Law; and then a power in his Majesty to indulge the Remnant so far as conduceth to the Peace and Benefit of Church and State.

Your second Question is, *What abatement is desirable for Comprehension?*

I answer; Suppose there is no hope of the Terms of *Primitive Simplicity* and *Catholicism*, but that we speak only of what might now be hoped for.

1. It is most needful that the old and new Subscriptions and Professions of Assent and Consent to all things in the Book of Ordination, Liturgy, and the two Articles concerning them be abated.

2. That the Declaration be abated; especially as to the disobliging *all other Persons* in the Three Kingdoms from the endeavouring in their places any lawful Alterations of the Government of the Church: And that the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy be the Test of Mens subjection.

3. That the Minister be not bound to use the Cross and Surplice, and read the Liturgy himself, if another (by whomsoever) be procured to do it: So be it he preach not against them.

4. That (according to Pope *Leo III.* determination in such a Case) the Bishops do by a general Confirmation (in which each Man approveable to have his part, upon due trial) confirm the Ordination formerly made by lawful Pastors without Diocefans, without reordaining them.

5. That what the Courts will do about Kneeling at the Receiving of the Lord's Supper may be done by others, and not the Minister forced to refuse Men merely on that account.

6. It is very desirable that Oaths of Obedience to the Diocesan be forborn, as long as Men may be punished for Disobedience.

7. It is exceeding desirable that Reformation of Church-Government (by Suffragans, and the Rural Deanries, &c.) be made according to his Majesty's Will expressed in his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

To your third question, *Of the Extent and Terms of the Indulgence*, it being to be left to his Majesty's Wisdom, I shall not presume to give you my Answer.

§ 428: Instead of *Indulgence* and *Comprehension*, on the last day of June 1663. the Act against Private Meetings for Religious Exercises past the House of Commons, and shortly after was made a Law. The Sum of it was, That [every Person above sixteen years old, who is present at any Meeting under colour or pretence of any Exercise of Religion, in other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy or Practice of the Church of England, where there are five Persons more than that Household, shall for the first Offence by a Justice of Peace be Recorded, and sent to Jail three Months till he pay five pound; and for the second Offence six Months till he pay ten pound; and the third time, being convicted by a Jury, shall be banished to some of the (American) Plantations, excepting New-England or Virginia. The Calamity of the Act, besides the main Matter was, 1. That it was made so ambiguous, that no man that ever I met with, could tell what was a violation of it, and what not; not knowing what was [allowed by the Liturgy or Practice of the Church of England in Families], because the Liturgy medleth not with Families, and among the diversity of Family Practice, no man knoweth what to call the Practice of the Church. 2. Because so much Power was given to the Justices of Peace, to record a man an Offender without a Jury, and if he did it causelessly, we are without any remedy, seeing he was made a Judge: According to the plain words of the Act, if a man did but preach and pray, or read some licensed Book and sing Psalms, he might have more than four present, because these are allowed by the practice of the Church in the Church; and the Act seemeth to grant an Indulgence for *place* and *number*, so be it the quality of the Exercise be allowed by the Church; which must be meant [publicly] because it medleth with no private Exercise. But when it cometh to the trial, these Pleas with the Justices are vain: and if men do but *pray*, it is taken for granted, that it is an Exercise not allowed by the Church of England, and to Jail they go.

§ 429. And now came in the *Peoples Trial*, as well as the Ministers: While the Danger and Sufferings lay on the Ministers alone, the People were very courageous, and exhorted them to stand it out, and Preach till they went to Prison: But when it came to be their own Case, they were as venturous till they were once Surprized and Imprisoned; but then their Judgments were much altered, and they that censured Ministers before as Cowardly, because they preached not publicly whatever followed, did now think that it was better to preach often in secret to a few, than but *once or twice* in publick to many; and that Secrecy was no sin when it tended to the furtherance of the Work of the Gospel, and to the Churches Good: Especially the Rich were as cautelous as the Ministers. But yet their Meetings were so ordinary, and so well known, that it greatly tended to the Jailor's Commodity.

§ 430. It was a great Strait that People were in, especially that dwell near any busie Officer, or malicious Enemy (as who doth not?) Many durst not pray in their Families, if above four Persons came in to dine with them. In a Gentleman's House it is ordinary for more than four, of Visitors, Neighbours, Messengers, or one sort or other, to be most or many days at Dinner with them: and then many durst not go to Prayer, and some durst scarce crave a Blessing on their Meat, or give God thanks for it: Some thought they might venture if they withdrew into another Room, and left the Strangers by themselves: But others said, It is all one if they be but in the same House, though out of hearing, when it cometh to the Judgment of the Justices. In *London*, where the Houses are contiguous, some thought if they were in several Houses, and heard one another through the Wall or a Window, it would avoid the Law: But others said, It is all in vain whilst the Justice is Judge whether it was a *Meeting* or no. Great Lawyers said, If you come on a visit or business, though you be present at Prayer or Sermon, it is no breach of the Law, because you met not [*on pretence of a Religious Exercise*]: But those that tried them said, Such Words are but Wind when the Justices come to judge you.

§ 431. And here the Fanaticks called *Quakers* did greatly relieve the sober People for a time: for they were so resolute, and gloried in their Constancy and Sufferings, that they asssembled openly (at the *Bull and Mouth* near *Aldersgate*) and were dragged away daily to the Common Jail; and yet desisted not, but the rest came the next day nevertheless: So that the Jail at *Newgate* was filled with them. Abundance of them died in Prison, and yet they continued their Assemblies still! And the poor deluded Souls would sometimes meet only to sit still in Silence (when, as they said, the Spirit did not speak): And it was a great Question, Whether this Silence was a *Religious Exercise not allowed by the Liturgy*, &c. And once upon some such Reasons as these, when they were tried at the Sessions in order to a Banishment, the Jury acquitted them; but were grievously threatened for it. After that another Jury did acquit them, and some of them were fined and imprisoned for it. But thus the *Quakers* so employed Sir R. B. and the other Searchers and Prosecutors, that they had the less leisure to look after the Meetings of Soberer men; which was much to their present ease.

§ 432. And now the Divisions, or rather the Censures of the Non-conforming People against their Ministers and one another, began to increase: which was long foreseen, but could not be avoided, and I that had incurred so much the displeasure of the Prelates, and all their Party, by pleading for the Peace of the Non-conformists, did fall under more of their displeasure than any one man besides, as far as I could learn: And with me they joyned Dr. *Bates*, because we went to the Publick Assemblies, and also to the Common Prayer, even to the beginning of it: Not that they thought worse of us than of others; but that they thought that our Example would do more harm: For I must bear them witness, that in the midst of all their Censures of my Judgment and Actions, they never Censured my Affections and Intentions, nor abated their Charitable Estimation of me in the main. And of the leading Prelates I had so much favour in their hottest Indignation, that they thought what I did against their Interest was only in obedience to my Conscience. So that I see by experience, that he that is impartially and sincerely for Truth and Peace and Piety, against all Factions, shall have his *Honesty* acknowledged by the several Factions, whilst his Actions, as cross to their Interest, are detested: Whereas he that joyneth with one of the *Factions*, shall have both his Person and Actions condemned by the other, though his Party may applaud both.

§ 433. My Judgment was for the holding of Communion with Assemblies of both Parties ; and ordinarily I went to some Parish Church, where I heard a Learned Minister that had not obtruded himself upon the People, but was chosen by them, and preached well, (as Dr. *Wilkins*, Dr. *Tillotson*, Mr. *Nest*, &c.) and I joyned also in the Common Prayers of the Church : And as oft else as I had fit opportunity, I privately preached and prayed my self, either with Independents or Presbyterians that desired me ! And I professed to all upon all occasions, that though I justified not all things which they held or did in any of their Churches, yet as long as they made not any Sin of mine a Condition of my Communion with them, I would occasionally joyn with any true Church in publick or private ; so be it they preached not for Heresie, nor against a holy and peaceable Life, nor turned not their Strein to Sedition or uncharitable Reviling one another : Even as I would hold occasional Communion with a Church of *Lutherans*, or *Greeks*, or *Abassines*, if I passed through their Countreys. Though *ceteris paribus* I preferred *Publick Assemblies*, which have the Magistrates Countenance, before Private ; yet I more preferred those that have pure Worship and Discipline and powerful Preaching, before the scandalous, undisciplined, ignorant Churches, of ignorant and formal lifeless Ministers. And so far as I had my choice, my most usual Communion should be with those Assemblies that I thought the best ; yet would I have occasional Communion with others, as Members of the Catholick Church, to shew my Catholick Communion with all the Body of Christ. Yea, and my ordinary Communion should be with a Church that used the Common Prayer, rather than with none, or with a worse : And the Lord's Day I would spend in Church Communion (it being principally appointed to that end), and not in any meer Family Worship, or Meetings with a few Christians occasionally which met not as a Church. This was my Resolution : But the confidence of many on the other side was as great as mine could be : And their Arguments as many (though I thought not so good) : Many Books came out against hearing Common Prayer, and against hearing any of the present Parish Ministers : One said to be by Mr. *John Godwin*, and another by one Mr. *Brown* of *Worcestershire* (a fervent, injudicious, honest Fifth-Monarchy-man) and many more that made the Common Prayer to be no less than Idolatry. Because it was not prescribed by the Scripture, they said it is false Worship ; and false Worship they said was one *Species* of Idolatry ; by which arguing they would have made every fault in any of our Prayers or other Worship to be Idolatry : For Scripture prescribeth not any disorder or other fault in Prayer, but forbiddeth it : and so they may on the same account call it false Worship and Idolatry : But many honest People were led to depart too far from the Parish Assemblies, and from Charity and Unity it self, by such weak reasonings as these. Yea, many turned Quakers, because the Quakers kept their Meetings openly, and went to Prison for it cheerfully ; and because they would not joyn with the late imposed Ministry and Worship, which was so bad in their esteem, that their hearts rose against any Debate in which we would but question it.

When I hear men cry out against us as dangerous Schismatics, even when we deny not Communion with the conformable Parish Ministers, meerly because we cease not preaching when the Magistrates and Prelates command us so to do, notwithstanding the notorious necessity of the People ; it bringeth to my thoughts two remarkable Passages there met with.

The first of the *Eastern Churches* (*Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Casarea*, &c.) which stuck to their old Pastors in private Meetings, and refused the new obtruded Bishops suspected of *Arrianism*, notwithstanding the Emperour *Valens* his Prohibition, and his contrary Commands, and his personal violent Impedition. The like was done in *Constantius's* time.

The second is of many Bishops in *Africa* who by *Genfericus* were forbid to preach, and when they obeyed him not, their Tongues were cut out : And God by a Miracle justified their Disobedience to the King, and they spake as well as when they had their Tongues : Among many Historians who report this, I remember two credible ones, who profess that they saw and heard the men speak themselves, after the cutting out of their Tongues : One is *Victor Uricensis*, and as I remember the other is *Anæas Gazens*.

§ 434. I confess some of those that were for Separation from the Parish Churches spake so plausibly, that it was no wonder that most of the Religious sort followed them. They said that

1. We have but lately sworn in the Covenant against Superstition, and for a Reformation: and shall we all so soon return to Liturgies and Ceremonies, &c. at the Will of Man?

2. As Conformity, so Separation, is now another thing than it was when the old Non-conformists wrote against the *Brownists*, the Churches being far more polluted.

3. We are commanded to avoid them that *walk disorderly*, and not to *bid them good speed* that bring false Doctrine, and not to *eat with them*, &c. And Cyprian saith, That it belongeth to the People to avoid a bad Pastor, and that if they do it not, they must not think themselves innocent, though Synods cast them not out. And what sin, say they, can be more heinous, than to break their Vows with God so solemnly, and in such dreadful Expressions, made? and to Subscribe under their Hands, That neither Prince nor People in Three Kingdoms, ought to reform such a corrupted undisciplin'd Church, no not though they have Sworn to endeavour it? and not only to be Perjured themselves, but to justify Three Kingdoms in the Guilt of Perjury; to dishonour our Nation before all the World, and teach them to name it *Insula Perfidorum*, the *Perjured Island*: To declare openly for the absolute Slavery of the Kingdoms, whose Liberty their Ancestors preferred before their Lives; declaring that it is not lawful by Arms to save my Purse or Throat from Thieves, if they say they have the King's Commission for it! or shew it: To Assent and Consent unfeignedly to all the Corruptions imposed on them! To make all this a Ministerial Sin, by Publishing or Reading it before all the Congregation: To turn to all this unfaithfully, without ever Debating the Case with the ablest that differed from them; or else going on when they were Silenced in Conference, and had nothing to say! Are these men for us to hold Communion with?

4. God will be worshipped with the best, and curseth them that offer him *the blind and lame*, when they have better in their Flocks.

5. The Churches are not only undisciplined, but the Pastors by Subscription justify it, and compel by cruel Persecution all Men to Communicate with them thrice a year, both the Good against their Consciences, and the Bad against the Word of God, to their Condemnation: And shall we Communicate with such?

§ 435. To these sad and heavy Accusations we answered,

1. The Covenant bound us to our best to reform: but did not bind us to sin, that is, to forsake all Christian Churches among us, and all Publick Worship, when we cannot reform as we desire. As I am bound to amend all the Disorders and Faults of my own Prayers, but not to give over praying till I can amend them. Nay, the Covenant bindeth us to *come* to the Assemblies, in that it bindeth us against Schism, Prophaneness, and whatsoever is against sound Doctrine and Godliness.

2. I confess that Conformity is not the same thing as it was in the *Brownists* time: But yet the Difference is not so great as to make Separation lawful now, which was unlawful then. In one great Point the Case of the Church was worse then, than it is now: in that the multitude of the People being new turned from Popery by the bare Will of the Queen and Parliament, were far more ignorant than now they are; when the Gospel hath made the People much more understanding and reformed; insomuch that in some (few) great Towns and Parishes, a considerable part of the People, are zealous Professors of Religion that daily worship God in their Families.

3. There is a great deal of Difference between God's Commands to a Church to cast out and avoid particular Sinners by way of Disciplinary Reformation, and a particular Person's avoiding *whole Churches*, and that before the Neighbouring Churches have in any Synod declared them unfit for our Communion: The former may be found, but any Command for the latter you will hardly find in Scripture; but contrarily it was the practice of Schismatics and Hereticks: For how can you proceed in Christ's method of Admonition with such whole Churches? At least, till they are notoriously Heretical, or intolerably corrupt and obstinate therein

therein you cannot avoid them. The Churches of *Corinth*, *Galatia*, *Ephesus*, *Sardis*, *Laodicea*, *Thiatyra*, &c. had foul Corruptions, and are commanded to execute Discipline on the Members; but no Members commanded to forsake the Churches, but the contrary. As to *Cyprian's* words, it's true, that a People that care for their Souls must depart from an Heretical or utterly intolerable Minister, as they that love their Lives will do from a Physician that would kill them: But there is a great deal of difference between *Personal Faults*, and *Ministerial Faults*, (as between a *Drunkard* and an *Heretick*), and between a *tolerable ministerial Fault* (as all imperfect Men are guilty of in their several measures) and an *intolerable one*: and between the Desertion of a whole Congregation, and of the lesser part, when the rest will not forsake the Minister. I deny not but you are bound to forbear committing the care and guidance of your Souls to a Man whose *Ministerial Faults* are intolerable. And such are, 1. The utterly Ignorant and Insufficient; 2. The Preachers of Heresie, or Doctrine contrary to the necessary Points of Religion; 3. And those that set themselves to preach down Godliness, or preach for a wicked Life, (if any such there be): But you must remember how in their Factious Zeal, all Parties or Sects of late among us, were wont to preach against one another, and yet that was not taken for preaching against Godliness, though the Persons were never so godly that they preached against. And as you recount all that may aggravate their sin, so you must in justice remember all that may extenuate it: Remember therefore, 1. That for the Common Prayer and Ceremonies and Prelacy, multitudes of worthy holy Men conformed to them heretofore, from whom you would not have separated; such as Dr. *Preston*, Dr. *Sibbs*, Dr. *Taylor*, Dr. *Staughton*, Mr. *Gattaker*, and most (by far) of the late Synod at *Westminster*: And for the rest of the Conformity, remember the *Matter* and the *Temptation*: For the *Matter*, it is much about Political Things, where it is no wonder if Divines on either side are ignorant or erroneous: and if they be unacquainted with the Power of Kings and Parliaments, when Lawyers and Parliaments themselves are disagreed about them. And for the *Temptation*, remember that such horrid Miscarriages, as the the *Rebellious pulling down of King and Parliament*, killing the one, and casting out and imprisoning the Members of the other, and the attempting the taking down of all the Ministry, and the ruining of all Order by armed Sectaries, with the multitude of Sects that swarm'd among us, I say these Effects, with the King's miraculous Restoration, and the ruine of such an Army without one drop of Blood, are things that might easily draw Men to judge that the Covenant was but a League for the promoting of an unlawful War, and therefore is utterly null: And specially it concerneth you to remember, that it was the Independents that first taught them the nullity or non-obligation of the Covenant, calling it a *ceased League*, and an *Almanack out of date*, which they were forced to do that they might violate it: And yet you do not now call them *Perjured*, and aggravate their Sin, and say, They kill'd the King and conquered *Scotland*, when they had sworn the contrary in the Covenant: Nor do you separate from them on this account: Nay, it is mostly the Independents that are now for Separation from the Prelatists as *Perjured*, who went before them in the nullifying of this Vow.

4. We dissuade you not from worshipping of God with the best you have, so you will but remember, that Love and Concord and honourable Solemnity are considerable Ingredients to make up the best: and that it is not best to spend the Lord's Days in no Church-worship at all, but meerly with a few that are met occasionally, because you cannot worship him publickly as you would; and that *that* may be the *best* which you have liberty to perform, which is not the best which you could do if you had liberty.

5. And though the Churches be too much undisciplined, and all Communicate, so are the Reformed Churches of *Helvetia*, which are numbered with the best, where Discipline never was set up. In Conclusion, He that separateth from one Church, for a Cause common to almost all the Churches in the World, doth go too near a Separating from all the Churches in the World: But so it is here: For almost all the Churches in the World have worse Ministers and worse Members, and as bad a form or way of Worship as these in *England*: And it is a terrible thing to think of Separating from all or most of the Universal Church of Christ on Earth.

§ 436. But the Ejected Presbyterian Ministers that would not come to Common Prayer in Publick, went more moderately to work, and said,

1. We do not *separate* from every Congregation that we joyn not with in Person: Else every Man doth separate every day from all the Congregations in the World save one: If they are not *Separatists* for not joyning with us, then neither are we for not joyning with them, no more than for not joyning with the Anabaptists and Independents: We may confess them to have a true Ministry, and be true Churches; but their faultiness we must not countenance.

2. We were lawfully called by Christ to feed our particular Flocks: And if these Men cast us out of the Temples and Maintenance, and get into our Places, and the more ungodly half of the Parishes, for fear of Man, conform to them, it doth not follow that we are absolved from our Office and Duty for the rest, or must bring them to the disorderly way of Worship which they violently imposed on us.

§ 437. To these I answered,

1. That it's true, that *meer Absence* is no Separation: But when a Party call and invite you to joyn with them, and you publicly accuse their way, and never joyn with them at all, you seem to tell the World that you take it to be *unlawful*: And that hath some degree of Separation; to avoid them as a Company unmeet to be joyned with.

2. Though you Offices to your People cease not, yet you have your power to Edification and not to Destruction: And if a tolerable Minister be put into your Places, it's considerable whether it be not most to your Peoples Edification, Unity, Charity and Peace, to take them with you to the Publick Assemblies, and help them nevertheless at other times your selves as much as you can: And whether both helps be not more than one: Especially when you cannot preach to above four your selves, without Imprisonment and Banishment, and then you cannot preach at all. And whereas it's easie to let a passionate Stoutness transport us, and think that Tyrannical Church-Usurpers must not be encouraged by our Compliance; the meek Spirit of Christianity, when it sifteth these reasonings, will find in them too much of Self and Passion when Unity, Charity and the Churches Edification is on the other side.

§ 438. And whereas some Men are much taken with this Reason, That these times have more Light than the old Non-conformists ever had, and therefore that is not excusable in us which was so in them, I must confess I have great reason to believe the clean contrary, if by Light they mean Knowledge, that the old Non-conformists had much more insight into these Controversies than Professors have of late: For,

1. We know that when the Parliament had cast out Bishops, Liturgy and Ceremonies, the generality both of Ministers and People, took it for granted that they were all bad, and so had more Light than their Forefathers had, before they ever studied the Controversies: I have asked many of them that have boasted of this Light, whether ever they read what *Cartwright, Bradshaw, Ames, Parker, Baynes, Gersome, Bucer, Didoclarivius, Salmasius, Blondell, Beza, &c.* have said on one side; and what *Saravia, Bilson, Whitgift, Corvell, Downham, Burges, Hooker, Paybody, Hammond, &c.* have said on the other side; and they have confessed they never thoroughly studied any one of them.

2. And we see it by experience, that one of those Men have written more on these Subjects, than any of these can say or understand, who boast that they have greater Light. How weakly do they talk against Bishops, Liturgy, and Ceremonies in comparison of these ancient Non-conformists! However, that which was Truth then, is Truth now: And we have the same Scripture to be our Rule as they had: Therefore let them that say they have more Knowledge, bring it forth and try it by the Law and Testimony, *Isa. 8. 20.*

§ 439. Having lived three years and more in *London*, and finding it neither agree with my health or studies, (the one being brought very low, and the other interrupted) and all Publick Service being at an end, I betook my self to live in the Country (at *Acton*) that I might set my self to writing, and do what Service I could for Posterity, and live as much as possibly I could out of the World. Thither I came 1663. *July 14.* where I followed my Studies privately in quietness, and went every Lord's Day to the Publick Assembly, when there was any Preach.

Preaching or Catechizing, and spent the rest of the Day with my Family (and a few poor Neighbours that came in) ; spending now and then a day in *London*, and the next year 1664. I had the Company of divers godly faithful Friends that Tabled with me in Summer, with whom I solaced my self with much content. Having almost finished a large Treatise, called , *A Christian Directory, or Sum of Practical Divinity* , that I might know whether it would be Licensed for the Press, I tried them with a small Treatise of *The Characters of a Sound Christian*, as differed from the *Weak Christian* and the *Hypocrite* : I offered it Mr. Grig the Bishop of *London's* Chaplain, who had been a Non-conformist, and profest an extraordinary respect for me : But he durst not Licence it. Yet after, when the Plague began I sent three single Sheets to the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Chaplain (without any Name that they might have past unknown, but accidentally they knew them to be mine) and they were Licensed: The one was *Directions for the Sick* : The second was *Directions for the Conversion of the Ungodly* ; and the third was *Instructions for a Holy Life* : for the use of poor Families that cannot buy greater Books, or will not read them.

§ 440. *March 26.* being the Lord's Day 1665: as I was preaching in a Private House, where we received the Lord's Supper, a Bullet came in at the Window among us, and past by me, and narrowly mist the Head of a Sister-in-law of mine that was there, and hurt none of us ; and we could never discover whence it came.

§ 441. In *June* following an ancient Gentlewoman with her Sons and Daughter, came four Miles in her Coach to hear me Preach in my Family, as out of special Respect to me : It fell out that (contrary to our custom) we let her knock long at the Door, and did not open it ; and so a second time when she had gone away and came again ; and the third time she came when we had ended : she was so earnest to know when she might come again to hear me, that I appointed her a time : But before she came, I had secret intelligence from one that was nigh her, that she came with a heart exceeding full of Malice, resolving, if possible, to do me what Mischief she could by Accusation : and so that Danger was avoided.

§ 442. Before this, divers Foreign Divines had written to me , and expected such Correspondence as Literate Persons have with one another : But I knew so well what eyes were upon me, and how others had been used in some such accounts, that I durst not write one Letter to any beyond the Seas : By which some were offended, as little knowing our Condition here : Among others, *Amyraldus* sent one upon the occasion of a word of honest *Ludæ. Molineus*, a Dr. of Physick, who had said that he had heard that *Amyrald* had said somewhat as slighting the Non-conformists in *England*, and me in particular, which with what vehemency and great respect he disowneth, his Letter following will shew. Another was from a Minister in *Helvetia*, who would have had my Advice about setting up the Work of Ministerial Instruction of the Families and Persons of their Charge particularly, which I will also add : but I sent him an Answer by his Friend by word of mouth only. And so I refused the answering of all others.

Literæ D. Amyraldi,

Ad Reverendum Virum Dom. Dominum
Baxterum, Fidelem Evangelis Jesu Christi
Ministerium, Londinum.

Virtutum tuarum fama, Vir Reverende, ad aures meas ante aliquot annos pervenit, nec omnino me latuerat quam honorifice de me & privatam sentias & publice loquaris. Verum quia & audio scripsisti Anglice tantum modo, cognitio autem linguæ vestræ quam ante quadraginta Annos qualemcunque Londini adeptus eram, e memoria mea desuetudine obliterata est, parum commercii mihi est cum libris vestris, nec hætenus contigit ut quidquam quod à te prodiret oculis usurpaverim. Eo de causâ, quamvis nonnunquam ceperit me impetus aliquis ad te scribendi, ut honorem quo te prosequor testificarer, & ut significarem quod me publice laudasti, ingrato non accidisse; (Etsi enim tenuitatem meam agnosco, non dissimulabo tamen, non esse mihi fibram adeo corneam, quæ laudari amen, à te potissimum laudato Viro :) Attamen quotiuscunque id in Animum induxi vel occasio literas ad te mittendi suppeditata non est, vel me repressit aliquis metus nequid de me suspicaveris: At quod hucusque distuleram, Vir Reverende, expressit à me indignatio concepta ex lectione literarum Domini Simonii ad me, in quibus vidi nescio quem male feriatum hominem (etenim eum ne de nomine quidem novi) scripsisse ad Molinæum, Amyraldum de te, deque Scriptis tuos loqui valde contemptem; adeo ut si verum esset quod ille quisquis est dicit, justissimam causam haberes cur gravissime mihi succenseret, meque judicares indignum iis laudibus, iisque benevolentiae tuæ significationibus, quibus me prosequi ac decorare voluisti. Illico igitur calamum arripui, & nulla interposita mora, scripsi ad D. Simonium Gallice quæ velim à te legi atque intelligi posse, ut qualis sit animus erga te meus liquido cognosceres. Tibi vero, Vir Reverende, hanc Epistolam destino, in qua quantâ possum bonâ fide & luculentis verbis testor atque pronuntio, falsa illa omnia esse, & emendacii officina profecta, quæ vel audivisti vel legisti quasi dicta de te à me secus quam oportuit. Non enim te novi nisi de fama, quæ de tua pietate atque eruditione & eloquentia egregie loquitur; nec aliter erga te sum affectus quam ut decet erga virum multis laudibus ornatum, & præterea de me optime meritum, & cui eo nomine multum debeo. Noli ergo queso, Vir Reverende, quidquam istiusmodi credere; & ubicunque id vel occasio feret, vel necessitas postulabit, ostende hæc literas me à manu, & ex Animi mei Sententia conscriptas, ut post hocce testimonium quid de te judicem nemo dubitare queat. Vale, Vir Reverende, & communis ille noster Doctor atque Dominus, qui nos redemit sanguine suo, cum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ tum tui peculiarem curam suscipere dignetur. Quid de rebus vestris existimem, scire potes ex Epistola quâ Paraphrasmi meam in Psalmos serenissimo vestro Regi dicavi. Itaque nihil hic addam nisi quod qui ad te scribit, est tibi,

Vir Reverende,

Ad omne obsequium paratissimus

AMYRALDVS.

To the Reverend and most Learned Mr. Richard Baxter, a Zealous Minister of the Gospel of Christ, his most worthy and most honoured Brother in Christ, at Kidderminster.

Recommended to the care of Mr. Dorvile.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus, and the Peace of God, be increased among us.

Most worthy and most honoured Sir,

THE Occasion of two Cousins of mine going for *London*, invites me to take the liberty to write this Letter to you (most honoured Sir,) and hope you will excuse my boldness in so doing; being unknown to you, I should have forbore troubling you in your weighty Affairs, which besides the great zeal and care for your Parishioners, yea for the whole Church of God, are made known: But I could not pass by so good an Opportunity, to acquaint you, how much your Name and your Person, (although with your Body so far from us,) is esteemed by me, an unworthy Servant of Jesus Christ, and by many other faithful Brethren in the Lord in this our Town, and also in our Neighbour Protestant Confederate Cities of *Zuric* and *Schaffhausen*; insomuch that we often remember one another the great cause we have to pray the Lord jointly and constantly with your beloved Parishioners, yea with whole *England*, for your health and long life, that you may further continue to us all your edifying Doctrines and Admonitions. I dare not write to you, most godly Sir, in what fame you are among us, that you may not suspect me of flattery, which doubtless you despise as a great vanity: But I pray, Sir, to believe me confidently, that after Providence had led me some years ago into *England*, but time would not permit to stay long there, but as speedily as possible to learn the *English* Tongue, and am heartily sorry I did not visit you, most worthy Sir, at *Kidderminster* that time, for to take upon several Points your godly Advice: being in ten Months time, as long as I stayed in *London*, *Oxford*, and *Cambridge*, I did learn (God be thanked) so much *English* that I could understand reading and preaching. And by the Advice of the most zealous and worthy Men, Mr. Edmund Calamy, Mr. Cranford, Mr. Nalton (of whom I received great Courtesy and Friendship, though a Stranger) I bought a good number of *English* Divinity Books of your most solid and selected Divines; and among others your *Everlasting Rest*, Item *Gildas Salvianus*, or *Reformed Pastor*, Item *True Christianity*, Item *A Sermon of Judgment*, &c. being at that time recalled to my own Country, I had no time to peruse those heavenly Meditations; but since have made it my chief work, and cannot express the great Advantage I received by them: so that I commended the very same Books to others of our Brethren who have endeavoured without delay to get them, by means of some of our Merchants here; and also the remainder of your Works, that we could bring to our notice, viz. *The Unreasonableness of Infidelity*, your *Confession of Faith*, *The right Method for a settled Peace of Conscience*, *The safe Religion*, *Key for Catholicks*, *The Crucifying of the World*, Item of *Self-denial*, Item *A Treatise of Conversion*, *Call to the Unconverted*, your *Apology against Mr. Blake*, &c. Item your *Holy Commonwealth*, *The Catholick Unity*, your *Treatise of Death*: For which Works we thank God with one accord, for the great and heavenly Gifts he hath so largely bestowed upon you, for the common good of his Church; and wish that by this occasion we might also be partakers of what we want of your Works that are extant; Sermons or other Treatises: Particularly I must acquaint you with the high esteem we make of those two Chief Pieces, the *Everlasting Rest* and *Reformed Pastor*: in which latter you strike home to the very heart many Ministers: and we must needs confess that living among a rude and unlearned People, ignorant and self-conceited, that according to your Advice in the *Reformed Pastor*, it is most necessary to take in hand, with all speed and care, the private Instruction and Catechizing: But we can find no way to obtain it: And being your Admonitions and Persuasions to the Practice thereof, are very home

and close upon all Ministers, that they must make it their chief Business, and neglect nothing until they have persuaded and brought their Flock to it; I pray you, most worthy Sir, to resolve this Enquiry to me and others of my Neighbours and fellow Brethren, who in reading your *Reformed Pastor*, made the same Scruple of Conscience, viz. *Whether a Minister that heartily strives for the honour of God and the Edification of his Church, doth not discharge his Duty, when according to your wholesome and true Doctrine, he hath conferred and made known his mind and willingness to the performance of it, to his Fellow-Brethren that jointly with him are Shepherds of the same Flock, yea, persuaded them of the necessity and usefulness of it, yet can get no Assistance by Ministers nor Magistrates.*

We long also heartily to know, being you have persuaded the Ministers of the County of Worcester to that most necessary and useful Catechizing and Private Instruction, *Whether by the present great Change in England, both in Churches and Government, and chiefly, being that we hear that Episcopacy prevaieth, the Prelatical Dignity is not some way retrenched; and whether they bear still that irreconcilable hatred against good and godly Presbyterians, that they may not be suffered to exercise their Charge and Duty? Or if they are wholly deprived of the power and authority to serve their Parishes, as to our great Scandal we are informed.* I had many things more to write to you, but dare not trouble you, most worthy Sir, any further, fearing to keep you from your weighty Business. Only I crave very humbly your Answer, and as much Information of the true present Estate, as opportunity will give you leave, *Whether we have so much cause to fear the Introduction of Popery in England, as some, by the News amongst us are wholly persuaded?* In the mean while, we will continue to pray the Lord our God and most merciful Father, with all our Hearts and Souls, to preserve your Person for the General Good and Edification of his whole Catholick Church, that your great Light may shine more and more; and so I remain,

Reverend and most worthy Sir,

Saingan in Helvetia
Reformatâ, 16 April 1663.

Your humble and most

Affectionate Servant

John Sollicoffer,

unworthy Servant of Christ.

The vigilant Eye of Malice that some had upon me, made me understand that (though no Law of the Land is against Literate Persons Correspondencies beyond Seas, nor have any Divines been hindered from it, yet) it was like to have proved my ruine, if I had but been known to answer one of these Letters, though the Matter had been never so much beyond Exceptions. So that I neither answered this nor any other, save only by word of mouth to the Messenger; and that but in small part; for much of this (in the latter part), was Matter not to be touched. Our Silencing and Ejection he would quickly know by other means, and how much the Judgments of the *English* Bishops did differ from theirs about the Labours and Persons of such as we.

§ 443. About this time I thought meet to debate the Case with some Learned and Moderate Ejected Ministers of London, about Communicating sometimes in the Parish Churches in the Sacraments: (For they that came to Common Prayer and Sermon, came not yet to Sacraments). They desired me to bring in my Judgment and Reasons in writing: which being debated, they were all of my mind in the main, That it is lawful and a duty where greater Accidents preponderate not. But they all concurred unanimously in this, That if we did Communicate at all in the Parish Churches, the Sufferings of the Independents and those Presbyterians that could not Communicate there, would certainly be very much increased, which now

now were somewhat moderated by concurrence with them. I thought the Case very hard on both sides, That we that were so much censured by them for going somewhat further than they, must yet omit that which else must be our Duty, meerly to abate their Sufferings that censure us: But I resolved with them to forbear a while, rather than any Christian should suffer by occasion of an action of mine, seeing God will have *Mercy and not Sacrifice*, and no Duty is a Duty at all times.

§ 444. In July 1665. the Lord Ashley sent a Letter to Sir John Trevor, That a worthy Friend of his, in whose Case the King did greatly concern himself, had all his Fortunes cast upon my Resolution of the enclosed Case, which was, *Whether a Protestant Lady, of strict Education, might marry a Papist, in hope of his Conversion, he promising not to disturb her in her Religion.* It came at Six a Clock Afternoon, and knowing it was a Case that must be cautelously resolved at the Court, I took time till the next Morning, that I might give my Answer in Writing. The next day the Lord Ashley wrote again, with many words to incline me to the Affirmative; for the Lady told them she would not consent unless I satisfied her that it was lawful. (Who the Lord and Lady were I know not at all, but have an uncertain Conjecture): So I sent the following Resolution.

The Case was thus expressed.

Whether one that was bred a strict Protestant, and in the most severe ways of that Profession, lived many years without giving offence to any; well known in her own Country to be such; may without offence to God, or Man, marry a profest Roman Catholick, in hopes of taking him off the Errour of his ways, he engaging never to disturb her?

My Lord's Letter was as follows:

S I R,

THere is a very good Friend of mine, and one his Majesty is very much concerned for, that this enclosed Case has the power of his Fortunes. None but that worthy Divine Mr. Baxter can satisfy the Lady; this has been the way by which the Romanists have gained very much upon us: they are more powerful in persuasion than our Sex;—besides, the putting this Case shews some inclination to the Person, though not to the Religion. Sir, If Mr. Baxter be with you, pray let me have his Opinion to this Case in writing under it. Wherein you may oblige more than you think for,

Your very affectionate Friend

to serve you,

ASHLEY.

For his much honoured Friend Sir John Trevor, at Acton

To this Case I drew up the following Answer, and sent it to Sir John Trevor, to be by him conveyed to my Lord Ashley.

S I R,

THough I cannot be insensible how inconvenient to my self the Answer of this Case may possibly prove, by displeasing those who are concerned in it, and meddling about a Case of Persons utterly unknown to me, yet because I take it to be a thing which Fidelity to the Truth, and Charity to a Christian Soul requireth, I shall speak my Judgment whatever be the Consequents. But I must
 ' crave

' crave the pardon of that Noble Lord, who desired my Answer might be Subscribed to the Case, because Necessity requireth more words than that Paper will well contain.

' The Question about the Marriage, is not *An factum valeat* ? but *An fieri debeat* ? There is no affirming or denying without these necessary Distinctions. 1. Between a Case of Necessity and of no Necessity. 2. Between a Case where the Motives are from the Publick Commodity of Church or State, and where they are only Personal or Private. 3. Between one who is otherwise sober, ingenuous and pious, and a faithful Lover of the Lady, and one that either besides his Opinion is of an ungodly Life, or seeketh her only to serve himself upon her Estate. 4. Between a Lady well grounded and fixed in Truth and Godliness, and one that is weak and but of ordinary settledness. Hereupon I answer,

Esther's Case.

' *Prop.* 1. In general, It cannot be said to be simply and in all Cases unlawful to marry an Infidel or Heathen; much less a Papist.

' 2. In particular, It is lawful in these following Cases :

1 Cor. 7. 29.

' 1. In Case of true Necessity : when all just means have been used, and yet the Party hath a necessity of Marriage, and *can have no better*. If you ask, *Who is better* ? I answer, A suitableness in things of greatest moment to the Party's good determineth that : An impious hypocritical Protestant is worse than a sober godly Papist (for such I doubt not but some be) : But he that is sound both in Judgment and in Life is better than either.

Esth. 2. 17.

' 2. In case it be very likely to prove some great Commodity to Church or State. For so I doubt not but a Protestant Lady might marry a Papist Prince or other Person, on whom the Publick Good doth eminently depend ; so be it 1. That she be stable and of good Understanding her self : 2. And like to keep such Interest in him as may conduce to his own and the Publick Good : 3. And in case she may not be as well disposed of to the Good of the Publick other ways. When all these concur, the probability of Publick Utility is so great, that the Person (I think) may trust God to make up Personal Inconveniences, and preserve the Soul who aimeth at his Glory, and keepeth in his way. But small inconsiderable Probabilities are not enough to move one to hazard their Soul in so perillous a way.

' 3. Besides these two Cases (of real Necessity and Publick Utility) I remember no Case at the present, in which it is lawful for such a Protestant Lady to marry a Papist : At least in the ordinary Case of Persons in this Land, I take it to be undoubtedly sinful, what hopes soever may be imagined of his Conversion : My Reasons are these,

Gen. 2. 18, 20.

1 Cor. 14. 35.

Eph. 4. 29.

& 5. 11, 15.

19, 20, 25,

26, 27. to

the end.

Col. 3. 16.

Hebr. 3. 13.

1 Cor. 1. 10.

Rom. 15. 6.

' 1. A Husband is especially to be a Meet-helper in Matters of the greatest moment : And this help is to be *daily* given, in counselling in the things that concern Salvation, instructing in the Scriptures, exciting Grace, subduing Sin, and helping the Wife in the constant course of a Holy Life, and in her preparation for Death and the Life to come ! And a humble Soul that is conscious of its own weakness, will find the need of all this Help ! which how it can be expected from one who only promiseth not to disturb her in her Religion, I cannot understand ! I should as soon advise her to take a Physician in her Sickness, who only promiseth not to meddle with her Health, as a Husband who only promiseth not to meddle with her in Matters of Religion.

' 2. A Husband, who is no helper in Religion, must needs be a hinderer ! For the very Diversions of the Mind from holy Things, by constant talk of other Matters, will be a very great Impediment ! And as not to go forward is to go backward, so not to help is to hinder, in one of so near relation. How hard it is to keep up the Love of God, and a Delight in Holiness, and heavenly Desires, and a fruitful Life, even under the greatest Helps in the World, much more among Hinderances, and especially such as are in our Bosom, and continually with us, I need not tell a humble and self-knowing Christian. And of what Importance these things are, I shall not declare till I am speaking to an Infidel or Impious Person.

3. And

3. And as for the *Conversion* of another, Marriage is none of the means that God hath commanded for that end (that ever I could find): Preaching, or Conference with judicious Persons, are the means of such Conversion! And if it be a hopeful thing, it may be tried and accomplished first: There are enow of us who are ready to meet any Man of the Papal way, and to evince the Errours of their Sect (by the allowance of Authority): If Reason, or Scripture, or the Church, or Sense it self may be believed, we shall quickly lay that before them that hath evidence enough to convince them:

2 Cor. 6. 14, 15. Unequal yoking with others, as well as Unbelievers, by parity of reason, is proportionably evil: Righteousness with Unrighteousness, Light with Darkness hath no Communion.

But if none of this can do it before hand, how can a Wife hope to do it? she ought not to think a Husband so fond and weak, as in the Matters of his Salvation to be led by his Affections to a Woman, against his Reason, his Party and his Education. Or if she can do more than a Learned Man can do, let her do it first, and marry him after. I had rather give my Money or my House and Land in Charity, than to give my self in Charity, meerly in hope to do good to another. It is a Love of Friendship and Complacence, and not a love of meer Benevolence, which belongeth to this Relation. Moreover, Errour and Sin are deep rooted things, and it is God only that can change such hearts, and Women are weak, and Men are the Rulers; and therefore to marry, if it were a vicious ungodly Protestant, meerly in hope to change him, is a Course which I think not meet here to name or aggravate as it deserveth.

4. Yea, she may justly fear rather to be changed by him: For he hath the advantage in Authority, Parts and Interest. And we are naturally more prone to Evil than to Good. It's easier to infect twenty Men than to cure one. And if he speak not to her against her Religion, enow more will.

5. Or if she be so happy as to escape Perversion, there is little hope of her escaping a sad calamitous Life: Partly by guilt, and partly by her grief for a Husband's Soul, and partly by Family Disorders and sins, and also by daily temptations, disappointments, and want of those helps and comforts in the way to Heaven, which her Weakness needeth, and her Relation should afford. So that if her Soul scape, she must look that her great Affliction should be the means: And yet we cannot so confidently expect from God, that he sanctifie to us a self-chosen Affliction as another.

6. Supposing him to be one that loveth her Person truly, and not only her Estate (for else she must expect to stand by as a condemned thing) yet his Religion will not allow him otherwise to love her, than as a Child of the Devil, in a state of Damnation may be loved. For their Religion teacheth them, That none can be saved but the Subjects of the Pope.

If it be objected [It seemeth it is no sin, in that you can allow it in a Case of Necessity, or for the notable benefit of the Church or State]. I answer, It is no sin in those Cases: but out of them it is: It is no sin, but my duty, to lay down my Life for my King or Country: but it followeth not that I may therefore do it without sufficient Cause: So it is in this Case.

Having plainly given you my judgment in the proposed Case, I leave it to that Noble Lord who sent for it, to use it, or conceal it, or burn it, as he please. For it being not the Lady that sent to desire my Resolution, but he, my Answer is not hers, but his that sent for it. But I humbly crave, that if she be at all acquainted with my Answer, (or any one else) it may not be by report, but by shewing it her entire, as I have written it. And as I doubt not but his Honour will find it self engaged to preserve me from the displeasure of such as he acquainteth with it (it being but the answer of his desire, and not an Employment which I sought for) so it must be remembered 1. That I have purposely avoided the meddling with the particular Errours of the Romanists Religion. 2. That I speak not a word against any Christian Love to Papists, or amicable Correspondence with them as our Neighbours: much less am I passing any Sentence on their Souls, or Countenancing those who run from them into any contrary Extreme. But a Husband and a bosome Friend, are Relations which require such a special suitableness, as is not to be found in all whom we must love. 3. And what I say of the Papist, I say also of any debauched ungodly Protestant: For it is not Names and Parties that make Men good, or save their Souls. A Papist who is holy, heavenly, of an upright mortified Life, and not of a bloody or uncharitable Mind to those that differ from him, is in a far happier state as to himself; though I think that the Heart and Life of the one, and the Judgment of the other, do make them both unsuitable to such a Lady

' Lady as the Case describeth. And though God may possibly convert and make
' suitable, and do wonders hereafter, yet it being *things likely*, and not *things only*
' possible which reason must expect, I must say that the Consequents of such an un-
' suitable Match, are like to be bitterer to her, than one that is indifferent and regard-
' less of the Concernments of a Soul can understand. 4. Change but the Tables,
' and put the Case to a judicious Papist, and he will resolve it as I have done; and
' tell you that a Dispensation may be given but in such Cases. 5. If the Case had
' been, Whether such a Lady might give all her Estate to a Papist without her Per-
' son, I should not think she had half so much reason to be willing.

Acton, July 21.
1665.

Ri. Baxter.

About 10000 a Week died,
accounting the Quakers, Ana-
baptists, and others, who were
not numbered in the Weekly
Bills.

' § 445. And now after all the Breaches on the Churches, the Ejection of the Mi-
' nisters, and Impenitency under all, Wars and Plague and danger of Famine be-
' gan all at once on us. War with the *Hollanders*, which yet continueth: And the
' driest Winter, Spring and Summer that ever Man alive knew, or our Forefathers
' mention of late Ages: so that the Grounds were burnt like the High-ways, where
' the Cattle should have fed! The Meadow Grounds where I li-
' ved bare but four Loads of Hay, which before bare forty: The
' Plague hath seized on the famousst and most excellent City of
' Christendom; and at this time 8000 and near 300 die of all
Diseases in a Week: It hath scattered and consumed the Inha-
bitants: Multitudes being dead and fled: The Calamities and
Cries of the diseased and impoverished are not to be conceived by those that are
absent from them! Every Man is a terrour to his Neighbour and himself: for God
for our Sins is a Terrour to us all. O how is *London*, the place which God hath
honoured with his Gospel above all Places of the Earth, laid low in Horrors,
and wasted almost to Desolation, by the Wrath of God, whom *England* hath con-
temned; and a God-hating Generation are consumed in their Sins, and the Righ-
teous are also taken away as from greater Evil yet to come. Strange Comets (which
filled the Thoughts and Writings of Astronomers) did in the Winter and Spring a long
time appear before these Calamities. Yet under all these Desolations the *Wicked*
are *hardened*, and cast all on the Fanaticks: and the true dividing Fanaticks and
Sectaries are not yet humbled for former Miscarriages, but cast all on the *Prelates*
and *Imposers*: And the ignorant Vulgar are stupid, and know not what use to
make of any thing they feel: But thousands of the sober, prudent, faithful Servants
of the Lord, are mourning in secret, and waiting for his Salvation; in Humility
and Hope they are staying themselves on God, and expecting what he will do with
them. From *London* it is spread through many Counties, especially next *London*,
where few places, especially Corporations, are free: which makes me oft groan
and wish, That LONDON AND ALL THE CORPORATIONS OF ENGLAND WOULD REVIEW THE CORPORATION ACT AND THEIR
OWN ACTS, AND SPEEDILY REPENT. Leaving most of my Family at
Acton compassed about with the Plague, at the writing of this through the mercy of
my dear God and Father in Christ, I am hitherto in Safety and Comfort, in the
House of my dearly beloved and honoured Friend Mr. *Richard Hampden* of *Hampden*
in *Buckinghamshire*, the true heir of his famous Father's Sincerity, Piety and De-
votedness to God; whose Person and Family the Lord preserve, and honour them
that honour him, and be their Everlasting Rest and Portion.

Hampden, Septemb. 28.
1665.

THE LIFE

Of the Reverend

Mr. Richard Baxter.

The Third Part.

Novemb. 16. 1670. I began to add the Memorials following.

§ 1. **S**eing God hath been pleased to add these few Years more to my Pilgrimage, I will add some Account of His Providences towards me, and his People in this Land, in these additional Years. When I ended my last Narrative, the dreadful Plague was laying waste, especially the City of *London*; and thence spread into the neighbouring Parts, and into many distant Cities and Corporations of the Land. Yet did we hear of no publick Repentance professed by any one City or Corporation, for that Profession by which they were all at that time even Constituted, whilst that all that had any Office or Trust therein, declared, *That there was no Obligation from the Vow called the Solemn League and Covenant on any Person*; no not from their Vow against Popery, Schism, or Prophaneness, nor their Vow to Defend the King, nor their Promise of Repentance for their Sins. And who can but fear that such an universal Sin must be yet more sharply punished, when such a Scourge as this had no better effects?

§ 2. The Number that died in *London* (besides all the rest of the Land) was about an Hundred Thousand, reckoning the *Quakers*, and others, that were never put in the Bills of Mortality, with those that were in the Bills.

§ 3. The richer sort removing out of the City, the greatest Blow fell on the Poor. At the first so few of the Religious sort were taken away, that (according to the mode of too many such) they began to be puffed up, and boast of the great difference which God did make: But quickly after, they all fell alike. Yet not many pious Ministers were taken away; I remember but Three, who were all of my own Acquaintance. 1. Mr. *Grunman*, a *German*, a very humble, holy, able Minister; but being a Silenced Non-conformist, was so poor, that he was not able to remove his Family. 2. Mr. *Cross*, a worthy Minister, that had long ago lived with the famous Religious Lady *Scudamore*; and being Silenced, was entertained by *Richard Hambden*, Esq; in his House at *London*; and flying from the Plague into the Country, died with his Wife, and some Children, as soon as he came thither, in the House of that Plague.

A a a a

that Learned and Worthy Man, Mr. *Shaw*, another Silenc'd Minister, and his Brother in Law; who being shut up, gave God Thanks for his Deliverance, in a very Learned and Profitable Treatise, which he Published thereupon. And since being found (not only very Learned, but) moderate, and holding Communion in the Publick Assemblies, and a peaceable Man, hath got connivance to Teach a Publick School, a great favour in these Times. 3. Mr. *Roberts*, a Godly *Welsh* Minister, who also flying from the Plague, fell Sick, as far off, as between *Shrewsbury* and *Oswestry*, and died on a little Straw, while none durst entertain him.

§ 4. It is scarce possible for People that live in a time of Health and Security, to apprehend the dreadfulnes of that Pestilence! How fearful People were, thirty or forty, if not an hundred Miles from *London*, of any thing that they bought from any Mercer's, or Draper's Shop; or of any Goods that were brought to them; or of any Person that came to their Houses. How they would shut their Doors against their Friends; and if a Man passed over the Fields, how one would avoid another, as we did in the time of Wars; and how every Man was a Terrour to another! O how sinfully unthankful are we for our quiet Societies, Habitations and Health!

§ 5. Not far from the place where I sojourned, at Mrs. *Fleetwood's*, three Ministers of extraordinary worth were together in one House, Mr. *Clarkson*, Mr. *Sam. Cradock*, and Mr. *Terry*, Men of singular Judgment, Piety, and Moderation; and the Plague came into the House where they were, one Person dying of it, which caused many (that they knew not of) earnestly to pray for their Deliverance; and it pleased God that no other Person dyed.

It was the
Plague
that
brought
them out
of their
secret
narrow
Meetings
into pub-
lick.

§ 6. But one great Benefit the Plague brought to the City, that is, it occasioned the Silenc'd Ministers more openly and laboriously to Preach the Gospel, to the exceeding comfort and profit of the People; insomuch, that to this Day the freedom of Preaching, which this occasioned, cannot, by the daily Guards of Soldiers, nor by the Imprisonments of Multitudes, be restrained. The Ministers that were Silenced for Nonconformity, had ever since 1662. done their Work very privately, and to a few (not so much through their timorousness, as their loathness to offend the King, and in hope still that their forbearance might procure them some Liberty; and through some timorousness of the People that should hear them.) And when the Plague grew hot, most of the Conformable Ministers fled, and left their Flocks, in the time of their Extremity: whereupon divers Non-conformists pitying the dying and distressed People, that had none to call the impenitent to Repentance, nor to help Men to prepare for another World; nor to comfort them in their Terrors, when about Ten Thousand dyed in a Week, resolved that no obedience to the Laws of any mortal Men whosoever, could justify them for neglecting of Men's Souls and Bodies in such extremities; no more than they can justify Parents for fanning their Children to death: And that when Christ shall say, Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these, ye did it not to me, It will be a poor excuse to say, [Lord I was forbidden by the Law.] Therefore they resolved to stay with the People, and to go in to the forsaken Pulpits, though prohibited, and to preach to the poor People before they dyed; and also to visit the Sick, and get what relief they could for the Poor, especially those that were shut up. Those that set upon this work, were Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, late Minister in *Milk-street*; with some Strangers that came thither, since they were Silenced, as Mr. *Chester*, Mr. *Janeway*, Mr. *Turner*, Mr. *Grimes*, Mr. *Franklin*, and some others. Those heard them one Day oft, that were sick the next, and quickly dyed. The Face of Death did so awaken both the Preachers, and the Hearers, that Preachers exceeded themselves in lively, fervent Preaching, and the People crowded constantly to hear them; and all was done with so great Seriousness, as that, through the Blessing of God, abundance were converted from their Carelessness, Impenitency, and youthful Lusts and Vanities; and Religion took that hold on the Peoples Hearts, as could never afterward be loosed.

§ 7. And at the same time, whilst God was consuming the People by these Judgments, and the Nonconformists were labouring to save Men's Souls, the Parliament (which sat at *Oxford*, whither the King removed from the danger of the Plague) was busie in making an Act of Confinement, to make the Silenc'd Ministers Case incomparably harder than it was before, by putting upon them a certain Oath, which if they refused, they must not come (except the Road) within five Miles of any City, or of any Corporation, or any place that sendeth Burgesses to the Parliament; or of any place where-ever they had been Ministers, or had preached since the Act of Oblivion. So little did the Sense of God's terrible Judgments, or of the necessities of many hundred thousand ignorant Souls, or the Groans of the poor People

People, for the Teaching which they had lost, or the fear of the great and final Reckoning, affect the Hearts of the Prelatists, or stop them in their way. The chief Promoters of this among the Clergy, were said to be the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and Dr. *Seth-Ward*, the Bishop of *Salisbury*: And one of the greatest Adversaries of it in the Lord's House, was the very Honourable Earl of *Southampton*, Lord Treasurer of *England*; a Man that had ever adhered to the King, but understood the interest of his Country, and of Humanity. It is without Contradiction Reported, that he said, *No honest Man would take that Oath*. The Lord Chancellor *Hilde* also, and the rest of the Leaders of that mind and way, promoted it, and easily procured it to pass the Houses, notwithstanding all that was said against it.

§ 8. By this Act the Case of the Ministers was made so hard, that many thought themselves necessitated to break it, not only by the necessity of their office, but by a natural impossibility of keeping it, unless they should murder themselves and their Families.

1. As to a moral Necessity, as they durst not be so Sacrilegious as to desert the Sacred Office wholly, to which they were consecrated (which would be worse than *Ananias* and *Sapphira's* Alienating their devoted Money) so they could hardly exercise any part of their Office, if they did obey this Act. For,

1. The Cities and Corporations are the most considerable part of the Kingdom, and also had, for the most part, the greatest need of help; partly, because of the numerousness of the People: For in many Parishes in *London*, the fourth part (nay in some the tenth part) cannot be contained in the publick Temples, if they came, so as to hear what is said. Partly also, because most Corporations having smaller Maintenance than the Rural Parishes, are worse provided for by the Conformists: And every where the private Work of Over-sight, and Ministerial Help, is through their Numbers, greater than many Ministers can perform; and it is a work that I never yet knew one Prelatist well perform, to my remembrance; and few of them meddle with it at all, any farther than to read *Common Prayer* some time to a dying Man, if any one of a Multitude desire it.

2. Many of them had Pastoral Charges in Cities and Corporations, from the obligation of which they take not themselves to be well released, by the bare prohibition of Man, while their Peoples needs and desires continue, and where their places are supplied with Men so ignorant and vicious, as to be un-meet for such a charge of Souls: And it must be more than the Will of Man, that must warrant them to fly and forsake their Flocks, to which they had a lawful Call, and to leave their Souls to those notorious Perils, as in very many places they must do.

3. And in the rest of the Land, where can a Minister labour with advantage, but with those that know him, and are known of him, and have formerly profited by him, and will afford him Entertainment?

4. If it be lawful to desert the Souls of all Cities and Corporations, and all other Parishes where-ever we preach'd, it will follow that it is lawful to desert all the rest, and so sacrilegiously to desert our office.

5. Christ saith, *When they persecute you in one City, fly to another*. Therefore we are not obliged to desert them all, as soon as we are commanded.

6. The Preaching of Christ's Apostles, and of all his Ministers, for 300 Years, was against the will of the Princes, and Rulers of the Countries where they preached: And yet they planted Churches, and ordained Elders principally in all the Cities where they came, and would rather suffer Imprisonment and Death, than to desert them any further, than by flying from one to another.

§ 9. 2. But natural necessity also constrained many: For many had Wives, and many Children to maintain, and had not one Penny of yearly Revenue, nor any thing but the Gifts of charitable People to maintain them: And if they had a poor Cottage to live in, and no Money to pay their Rent, nor to buy Fire, Food, or Cloathing, they had much less enough to take another House, and pay for the removal of their Goods far off, and the Charges of a new Settlement; and there to dwell among Strangers, far from those whose Charity relieved them, was but to turn their Families to famish, which is more inhumane, than to see a Brother have need, and to shut up the Bowels of our compassion from him, which yet is contrary to the Love of God.

§ 10. And indeed, in many Countries, it was hard to find many places which were not within five Miles of some Corporation, or of some place where we had

Preached before (for some Ministers preached in a great number of Parishes at several times :) And if such a place were found, was it like that there would be Houses enough found untenanted, to receive so many Ministers? Or, if there were, perhaps the Landlords would be so much for Prelacy, as to refuse such Tenants, or so timorous as to be afraid, lest by receiving such, they should bring themselves under Suspicion of favouring Non-conformists, and so be ruined; or so covetous, as knowing their advantage, to ask more for their Houses, than poor Ministers that had hardly any thing left to subsist on, could be able to give. Besides that, almost all Country Houses are annexed to the Farms or Land belonging to them. And Ministers are ill Farmers, especially when they have no Money to Stock their Land.

§ 11. Yea, they allowed them not to be kept as common Beggars, on the Alms of the Parish; but when by the Law, every Beggar is to be brought to the place of his Birth, or last abode, and there to be kept on Alms; No Minister must come, within five Miles of the Parish where he ever exercised his Ministry; nor any that were born in Cities and Corporations, must come within five Miles of them for relief.

§ 12. In this strait, those Ministers that had any Maintenance of their own, did find out some Dwellings in obscure Villages, or in some few Marker-Towns, which were no Corporations: And those that had nothing, did leave their Wives and Children, and hid themselves abroad, and sometimes came secretly to them by night. But (God bringing Good out of Men's Evil) many resolved to preach the more freely in Cities and Corporations till they went to Prison: Partly, because they were then in the way of their Calling, in which they could suffer with the greater peace; and partly, because they might so do some good before they suffered; and partly, because the People much desired it, and also were readier to relieve one that laboured for them, than one that did nothing but hide himself; and partly, because when they lay in Prison for preaching the Gospel, both they, and their Wives and Children, were like to find more pity and relief, than if they should forsake their People, and their Work. Seeing therefore the Question came to this, Whether Beggary and Famine to themselves and Families, with the deserting of their Callings, and the People's Souls, was to be chosen, or the faithful performance of their Work, with a Prison after, and the People's Compassion? They thought the latter, the more eligible.

§ 13. And yet when they had so chosen, their Straits were great, for the Country was so impoverished, that those of the People who were willing to relieve the Ministers, were not able: And most that were able, were partly their Adversaries, and partly worldly-minded, and strait-handed, and unwilling. And, alas! it is not now and then a Shilling, or a Crown given (very rarely) which will pay House-Rent, and maintain a Family. Those Ministers that were unmarried, did easilier bear their Poverty; but it pierceth a Man's Heart to have Children crying, and Sicknes come upon them for want of wholsom Food, or by drinking Water, and to have nothing to relieve them. And Women are usually less patient of Suffering than Men; and their Impatience would be more to a Husband than his own wants. I heard but lately, of a good Man, that was fain to Spin as Women do, to get something towards his Family's relief (which could be but little;) and being Melancholy and Diseased, it was but part of the Day that he was able to do that. Another (Mr. Chadwick in Somerset) for a long time had little but brown Rye Bread and Water for himself, his Wife, and many Children, and when his Wife was ready to lye in, was to be turned out of Door, for not paying his House-Rent. But yet God did mercifully provide some Supplies, that few of them either perished, or were exposed to sordid unseemly Beggary: But some few were tempted against their former Judgments to Conform.

§ 14. The Oath imposed on them was this.

I A B, Do Swear, That it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King: And that I do abhor that Traytorous Position, of taking Arms by his Authority, against his Person, or against those that are Commissionated by Him, in pursuance of such Commission: And that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of Government, either in Church or State.

The Reasons of Men's refusal to take this Oath, were such as these following.

1. Because they that were no Lawyers must Swear, not only that they think it is unlawful, but that it is so indeed.

2. Because they think that this setteth a Commission above an Act of Parliament. And that if one by a Law be made General or Admiral, during Life, another by a Commission may cast him out: And though the Law say, He shall be guilty of Treason, if he give up his Trust to any upon pretence of a Commission: Yet by this Oath he is a Traytor, if he resist any one that hath a Commission.

3. Because they fear they are to Swear to a contradiction, *viz.* to set the King's bare Commission above a Law, which is the Act of King and Parliament; and yet not to endeavour the Alteration of Government, which they fear least they endeavour by taking this Oath.

4. Because they think that by this means the Subject shall never come to any certain Knowledge of the Rule of his Duty, and consequently, of his Duty it self. For it is not possible for us to know, 1. What is to be called a Commission, and what not; and whether an illegal Commission be no Commission (as the Lawyers, some of them, tell us) and what Commission is illegal, and what not; and whether it must have the broad Seal, or only the little Seal, or none. 2. Nor can we know when a Commission is counterfeit. The King's Commanders in the Wars, never shewed their Commissions to them that they fought against, at least ordinarily. There was a * Collonel of the King's, since his coming in, that brought a Commission, Sealed with the broad Seal, to seize on all the Goods of a Gentleman in *Bishopsgate-street*, in London; by which he carried them away: But the Commission being proved counterfeit, he was hanged for it. But a Man that thus Seizeth on any Gentleman's Money, or Goods, may be gone before they can try his Commission, if they may not resist him. But the Parliament, and Courts of Justice, are the Legal, publick Notifiers of the King's mind; and by them the Subjects can have a regular certain notice of it. So that if the Parliament were concluded to have no part in the Legislative Power, but the King's meer will to be our Law; yet if the Parliament and Courts of Justice, be erected as the publick Declarers of his will to the People, they seem more regardable and credible, than the words of a private unknown Man, that saith he hath a Commission.

* Coll.
Turner.

5. And they think that this is to betray to the King, and give the Chancellour, or Lord-Keeper, power at his pleasure, to depose him from his Crown, and dispossess him of his Kingdoms. For if the King (by Law or Commission) shall settle any Trusty Subject in the Government, of Navy, or Militia, or Forts, and command them to resist all that would dispossess them; yet if the Lord Chancellour have a design to depose the King, and shall Seal a Commission to any of his own Creatures or Confidants, to take possession of the said Forts, Garisons, Militia and Navy, none, upon pain of Death, must resist them, but be taken for Traytors, if they will not be Traytors: yea, though it were but whilst they send to the King to know his Will. And when Traytors have once got possession of all the Strengths, the detecting of their fraud will be too late, and to Sue them at Law will be in vain. And he that remembreth, That our Lord Chancellour is now banished, who lately was the chief Minister of State, will think that this is no needles fear.

6. And they think that it is quite against the Law of God in Nature, which obligeth us to quench a Fire, or save the Life of one that is assaulted (much more of our selves) against one that would kill him; and that else we shall be guilty of Murder. And according to the proper Sense of this Oath, If two Foot-boys get from the Lord Chancellour a Commission to kill all the Lords and Commons in Parliament, or to set the City and all the Country on Fire, no Man may by Force of Arms resist them; Lords and Commons may not save their Lives by force, nor the City their Houses: And by this way no Man shall dwell or travel in safety; while any Enemy or Thief may take away his Life, or Purse, or Goods, by a pretended Commission; and if we defend our selves, but while we send to try them, we are Traytors: and few have the means of such a Tryal.

7. They think by this means, no Sheriff may by the *Posse Comitatus* execute the Decrees of any Court of Justice, if any can but get a Commission for the contrary.

8. They

8. They think that Taxes and Subsidies may be raised thus without Parliaments; and that all Men's Estates and Lives are at the meer will of the King, or the Lord Chancellor: For if any be Commissioned to take them away, we have no remedy: For to say that we have our Actions against them in the Courts of Justice, is but to say, that when all is taken away, we may cast away more if we had it. For what good will the Sentence of any Court do us, if it pass on our side, as long as a Commission against the Execution of that Sentence must not be resisted, unless a piece of Paper be as good as an Estate?

9. And they think that by this Oath, we Swear to disobey the King, if at any time he command us to endeavour any alteration of the Church-Government, as once by this Commission to some of us, he did, about the Liturgy.

10. And they think that it is a serving the Ambition of the Prelates, and an altering of the Government, to Swear never to endeavour any alteration of Church-Government; yea, and to put the Church-Government before the State-Government, and so to make the Prelacy as unalterable as Monarchy, and to twist it by an Oath into the unalterable Constitution of the Government of the Land, and so to disable the King and Parliament from ever endeavouring any alteration of it. For if the Subjects may not at any time, nor by any means endeavour, the King will have none to execute his Will if he endeavour it. And if Divines, who should be the most tender avoiders of Perjury, and all Sin, shall lead the way in taking such an Oath, who can expect that any others after them should scruple it? And it was endeavoured to have been put upon the Parliament.

11. And they think that there is a great deal in the *English* Diocesan Frame of Church-Government, which is very sinful, and which God will have all Men in their places and callings to endeavour to reform (as that the Bishop of the lowest degree, instead of ruling one Church with the Presbyters, ruleth many hundred Churches, by Lay-Chancellors, who use the Keys of Excommunication and Absolution, &c.) And they take it for an Act of Rebellion against God, if they should Swear never to do the Duty which he commandeth; and so great a Duty as Church-Reformation in so great a Matter: If it were but never to pray, or never to amend a fault in themselves, they durst not Swear it.

12. This Oath seemeth to be the same in Sense, with the *Et cætera* Oath, in the Canons of 1640. *That we will never consent to an alteration of the Government, by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans, &c.* And one Parliament voted down that, and laid a heavy charge upon it; which no Parliament since hath taken off.

13. As the National Vow and Covenant seemeth a great Snare to hinder the Union of the Church among us, in that it layeth our Union on an exclusion of Prelacy; and so excludeth all those learned worthy Men from our Union, who cannot consent to that Exclusion; so the laying of the Kingdoms and Churches Union upon the *English* Prelacy, and Church-Government, so as to exclude all that cannot consent to it, doth seem as sure an Engine of Division. We think that if our Union be centered but in Christ the King of all, and in the King, as his Officer, and our Sovereign under him, it may be easie and sure: But if we must all unite in the *English* Frame of Prelacy, we must never Unite.

§ 15. Those that take the Oath, do (as those that Subscribe) resolve that they will understand it in a lawful Sense (be it true or false) and so to take it in that Sense: To which end they say that *nullum iniquum est in Lege præsumendum*, and that all publick Impositions must be taken in the best Sense that the Words will bear. And by force and stretching, what words may not be well interpreted? But the Nonconformists go on other grounds, and think that about Oaths Men must deal plainly and sincerely, and neither stretch their Consciences, nor the Words; nor interpret universal Terms particular, but according to the true meaning of the Law-givers, as far as they can understand it; and where they cannot, according to the proper and usual signification of the Words. And the Parliament themselves tell us, That this is the true Rule of interpreting their Words. Beyond which therefore we dare not stretch them.

§ 16. And therefore, 14. They dare not take the Oath, because if it be not to be taken in the proper or ordinary Sense of the Words, then they are sure that they cannot understand it (for it doth not please the Parliament to expound it.) And Oaths must be taken in Truth, Judgment, and Righteousness, and not ignorantly, when we know that we understand them not.

§ 17. The Lawyers (even the honestest) are commonly for a more stretching Exposition. And those that speak out, say, That an illegal Commission is none at all. But we our selves go further than this would leads us; for we judge, That even an illegally commissioned Person, is not to be resisted by Arms, except in such Cases as the Law of Nature, or the King himself, by his Laws, or by a contrary Commission, alloweth us to resist him. But if Commissions should be contradictory to each other, or to the Law, we know not what to Swear in such a case.

§ 18. But, because much of the Case may be seen in these following Questions, which upon the coming out of that Act, I put to an able, worthy, and sincere Friend, with his Answers to them. I will here Insert them, (*viz.* Serjeant Fountain.)

Queries upon the Oxford Oath.

We presuppose it commonly resolved by Casuists in Theology, from the Law of Nature, and Scripture,

1. That Perjury is a Sin, and so great a Sin, as tendeth to the ruin of the Peace of Kingdoms, the Life of Kings, and the Safety of Mens Souls, and to make Men unfit for Humane Society, Trust, or Converse, till it be repented of.

2. That he that Swareth contrary to his Judgment, is Perjured, though the thing prove true.

3. That we must take an Oath in the Imposer's Sense, as near as we can know it, if he be our Lawful Governour.

4. That an Oath is to be taken sensu strictiore, and in the Sense of the Rulers Imposing it, if that be known; if not, by the Words interpreted according to the common use of Men of that Profession, about that subject: And Universals are not to be interpreted as Particulars, nor must we limit them, and distinguish, without very good proof.

5. That where the Sense is doubtful, we are first to ask which is the probable Sense, before we ask, which is the best and charitablest Sense; and must not take them in the best Sense, when another is more probable to be the true Sense. Because it is the Truth, and not the Goodness, which the Understanding first considereth. Otherwise, any Oath almost imaginable might be taken; there being few Words so bad, which are not so ambiguous, as to bear a good Sense, by a forced Interpretation. And Subjects must not cheat their Rulers by seeming to do what they do not.

6. But when both Senses are equally doubtful, we ought in Charity to take the best.

7. If after all Means faithfully used to know our Rulers Sense, our own Understandings much more incline to think one to be their meaning, than the other, we must not go against our Understandings.

8. That we are to suppose our Rulers fallible, and that it's possible their decrees may be contrary to the Law of God; but not to suspect them without plain cause.

These things supposed, we humbly crave the Resolution of these Questions, about the present Oath, and the Law.

Qu. 1. Whether [upon any pretence whatsoever] refer not to [any Commissioned by him] as well as [to the King] himself?

2. Whether [not lawful] extendeth only to the Law of the Land; or also to the Law of God in Nature?

3. Whether [I Swear that it is not lawful] do not express my peremptory certain Determination, and be not more than [I Swear that in my Opinion it is not lawful?]

4. What is the [Treasonous Position] here meant; (for here is only a Subject without a Prædicate, which is no Position at all, and is capable of various Prædicates?)

5. If the King, by Act of Parliament, commit the Trust of his Navy, Garrison, or Militia, to one *durante vita*, and should Commissionate another, by force, to eject him, whether both have not the King's Authority? or which?

6. If the Sheriff raise the *Posse Comitatus* to suppress a Riot, or to execute the Decrees of the Courts of Justice, and fight with any Commissioned to resist him, and shall keep up that Power, while the Commissioned Persons keep up theirs, which of them is to be judged by the Subjects to have the King's Authority?

7. If a Parliament, or a Court of Justice, declare, That the King by his Laws commandeth us to assist the Sheriffs and Justices, notwithstanding any Commission to the contrary under the great or little Seal; and one shew us a Commission to the contrary; which must we take for the King's Authority?

8. Whether this extendeth to the Case of King *John*, who delivered the Kingdom to the Pope? Or, to those Instances of *Bilson*, *Barclay*, *Grotius*, &c. of changing the Government, putting by the true Heir, to whom we are Sworn in the Oath of Allegiance, &c. if Subjects pretend Commission for such Acts?

9. Whether Parliament, Judges in Court, or private Men, may, by the King's Authority in his Laws, defend their Lives against any that, by a pretended Commission invadeth them, or their Purfes, Houses, or Companions?

10. Whether we must take every *Affirmer* to have a Commission, if he shew it not? Or every shewn Commission to be *current*, and not surreptitious, though contrary to Law?

11. Whether he violateth not this Oath, who should endeavour to alter so much of the Legislative Power as is in the Parliament, or the Executive, in the Established Courts of Justice? Or, is it meant only of Monarchy as such?

12. Doth he not break this Oath, who should endeavour to change the *Person Governing*, as well as he that would change the Form of Government?

13. If so, doth it not also tye us to the Persons of Church-Governours; seeing they are equally here twisted, and Church-Government preposed?

14. Is it the King's Coercive Government of the Church, by the Sword, which is here meant, according to the Oath of Supremacy? Or Spiritual Government by the Keys? Or both?

15. Is it not the *English* Form of Church-Government by Diocesans that is here meant; and not some other sort of Episcopacy which is not here? And doth he not break this Oath, who instead of a Bishop over 500, or 1000 Churches (without any inferiour Bishop) should endeavour to set up a Bishop in every great Church, or Market-Town, or as many as the Work requireth?

16. Seeing Excommunication and Absolution are the notable parts of Spiritual Government, and it is not only the *Actions*, but the *Actors*, or Governours, that we swear not to alter; and Lay-Chancellors are the common Actors or Governours; whether an endeavour to alter Lay-Chancellors Government, (as some did that procured his Majesty's Declaration, concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs) be not contrary to this Oath, and excluded by [*any alteration*?]

17. Whether petitioning, or other peaceable means, before allowed by Law, be not [*any endeavour*], and a violation of this Oath?

18. Whether [*not at any time, &c.*] tye us not to disobey the King, if he should command us, by Consultation or Conference, to endeavour it? Or, if the Law be changed, doth not this Oath still bind us?

Lastly, Whether this following Sense, in which we could take it, be the true sense of the Oath?

I A B do Swear, That (a) it is not Lawful upon any pretence whatsoever (b) to take up Arms against the King: (c) And that I do abhor that Traytorous Position, of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissionated by him, (d) in pursuance of such Commission. And that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of Government, either in Church or State. (e)

(a) In my Opinion.

(b) For the Subjects of his Majesty's Dominions.

(c) Either his Authority, or his Person, the Law forbidding both.

(d) Whether it be his Parliament, Courts of Justice, Legal Officers, or any other Persons authorized by his publick Laws, or his Commission: supposing that no contrariety of Laws and Commissions (by over-sight, or otherwise) do Arm the Subjects against each other.

(e) I will not endeavour any alteration of State-Government at all, either as to the Person of the King, or the Species of Government, either as to the Legislative, or Executive Power, as in the King himself, or his Parliament, or Established Courts of Justice. And therefore I declare, That I take all the rest of this Oath, only in a Sense consistent with this Clause, implying no alteration in the Government. And I will endeavour no alteration of the Coercive Government of the Church, as it is in the King, according to the Oath of Supremacy: Nor any alienation of the Spiritual Power

Power of the Keys from the Lawful Bishops and Pastors of the Church: Nor will I endeavour to restore the Ancient Discipline (by removing the Spiritual Government by the Keys, out of the Hands of Lay-Chancellors, into the Hands of so many able Pastors, as the number of Churches, and necessity of the work requireth) nor any other Reformation of the Church, by any Rebellious, Schismatical, or other unlawful means whatsoever; (nor do I believe that any Vow or Covenant obligeth me thereto;) declaring, notwithstanding, that it's none of my meaning to bind my self from any Lawful Means of such Reformation; nor to disobey the King, if at any time He command me, to endeavour the Alteration of any thing justly alterable.

The General Answer was as followeth.

UPON Serious Consideration of the Act of Parliament, Entitled, *An Act for Restraining of Nonconformists from Inhabiting in Corporations*; And of the Oath therein mentioned, I am of Opinion, That there is nothing contained in that Oath, according to the true Sense thereof, But that it is not Lawful to take up Arms against the King, or any Authorised by his Commission; or for a private Person to endeavour the Alteration of the Monarchical Government in the State, or the Government by Bishops in the Church: And that any Person (notwithstanding the taking of such Oath) if he apprehend that the Lay-Judges in Bishop's Courts (as to Sentence of Excommunication for Matters meerly Ecclesiastical, or for any other Cause) ought to be Reformed; or that Bishopricks are of too large extent, may safely Petition or use any lawful Endeavour for Reformation of the same: For that such Petition, or other Lawful Endeavour, doth not tend to the Alteration of the Government, but to the amendment of what shall be found amiss in the Government, and Reformed by Lawful Authority, and thereby the Government better Established. And, I conceive, every Exposition of the said Oath, upon Supposition, or Presumption of an Obligation thereby, to any thing which is contrary to the Law of God, or the Kingdom, is an illegal, and a forced Exposition, contrary to the intent and meaning of the said Oath and Act of Parliament; for it is a Rule, *nullum iniquum est in Lege presumendum*. And an Exposition tending to enjoin any thing contrary to the Law of God, would make the Act of Parliament void, which ought not to be admitted, when it bears a fair and plain Sense, which is no more, Than that Subjects ought not to take up Arms against their Lawful King, or such as are lawfully Commissionated by him; and for private Persons to be unquiet in the place wherein they live, to the disturbance of the Government in Church or State.

John Fountain, Feb. 6. 1665.

The Particular Answer was as followeth.

NOT at present to dispute the things presupposed (although I may not grant all in the *Fourth*, and some other of the Positions, to be warranted by the Law of Nature or Scripture) I add as necessary to the Resolving of the Questions upon the Act of Parliament, That in the Exposition of Acts of Parliament, if there may be a fair and reasonable Construction made of the Words, not contrary to the Law of God or Reason, that Construction ought to be made thereof, and that any Exposition, which tends to make it *senseless*, or *contrary to the Law of God and Reason*, or to suppose any wicked thing enjoined thereby, is a forced Construction, and contrary to Law, being destructive to the *very Act of Parliament*. I hereupon lay aside any Answer to the Fourth and Eighth Questions, which may, peradventure, be thought meer Cavils against the Act, though I knowing the Temper of the Propounder, have a more charitable Opinion of him. But I do apprehend, that tho' there may want a Word to make a Logical Position, concerning the *Trayterous Position* mentioned in the Oath, yet there is a plain Sense in the Oath, *viz.* That it is unlawful to take up Arms against the King; and that if any would make a distinction, and affirm, That though the unlawfulness were admitted to take up Arms against him, yet by his *Authority*, they might take up Arms against his *Person*, or against those that are *Commissioned* by him, in pursuance of such Commission, such an Affirmation and Position as this, is Trayterous, and to be abhorred; and there is

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such

such a plain Sense in it, as every one that hath common Reason understands it so, and therefore *Quod necessario subintelligitur non deest*. And I do not believe, that any who propound the Questions to be resolved, do themselves imagine, that the Parliament had any thought of what is mentioned in the Eighth Question, for *nullum iniquum in Lege præsumendum*.

Upon consideration of the Act, I apprehend the Makers thereof had an apprehension, that there were three sorts of People which might have a dangerous influence upon the King's Subjects, if not rightly principled, *viz.* Ministers or Preachers, School-Masters, and such as did Table and Board Children, and therefore did provide to restrain them from doing hurt to the Kingdom, in keeping the Ministers out of the populous Places of the Kingdom, or where they were best known, and most likely to prevail, and that no Children might be poisoned with Principles destructive to Government.

The Principles which they feared were these.

1. That in some Cases it might be lawful to take up Arms against the Supreme Magistrate, at least by a distinction unwarrantable, in taking up Arms against his Authority, against his Person, or such as he did Commissionate.

2. That private Persons might endeavour to alter the Government in the Church or State where they lived.

For the discovery of such as were of these dangerous Principles, I conceive the Oath is framed, which is Established by this Act, and any who holdeth these Principles may not safely take it; but if he hold not these Principles he may.

And as to the Questions.

1. That the Words [*upon any pretence whatsoever*] in the Oath refer only to the King himself.

2. That [*Lawful*] comprehends any Law obligatory.

3. That it is only according to the Opinion and Judgment of him that takes it.

5. He that hath the *Lawful Commission* is the only Person that hath Authority by the King's Commission.

6. I conceive the Sheriff.

7. That Commission which is according to Law.

9. I conceive they may.

10. I conceive a Commission must be shewn, if required; and that a surreptitious and void Commission, contrary to Law, is no Commission at all.

11. I understand not the Latitude of this Question; but I conceive the Sense of the Oath is not to endeavour the Alteration of Monarchical Government in the State.

12. Though I conceive it utterly unlawful to endeavour to change the Person of the Governour, yet, that being sufficiently provided against by the former Laws, I do not conceive that it was intended by the Makers of the Law in this part of the Oath, to intend more than the Alteration of the Government.

13. Answered before; And yet if the Person of the Supreme were included in the State-Government, I do not conceive that it would extend to the Governours under him in the Church, for they may be justly removed in Case of Crime, &c.

14. I conceive both.

15. I conceive its the *English Form* of Church-Government; and yet that is no breach of the Oath to endeavour, in a lawful way, to make more Bishops, and lesser Bishopricks.

16. I do not think the Oath bindeth not to endeavour to alter the Actors or Governours in the Church, so it be done by lawful means; and that it is lawful, notwithstanding the Oath, to endeavour to alter Lay-Chancellors in a lawful way.

17. I conceive it is not.

18. I conceive it doth not.

There are so many things put in the last Question, of the Sense of the Oath, as will require more discussion, than the present Opportunity admits.

Sir *John Maynard* also told me, That an illegal Commission is no Commission, (though privately, being the King's Serjeant.)

§ 19. But that all these Answers should rather resolve me not to take this Oath, than any way satisfie me to take it, may thus appear.

1. He confesseth, that the Principle feared was, That in some Cases it is lawful to take up Arms against the Supreme Magistrate, or by his Authority against those Commissioned by him. And yet implicitly granteth it in the Cases intimated in the Eighth Question.

2. He confesseth that another feared Principle was, That private Persons may endeavour to alter the Government of the Church: And he confesseth, That by lawful means we may endeavour it; in a great part of it.

And as to the Particulars: 1. He thinketh that the Words [on any pretence whatsoever] refer to the King only: whereas in my Conscience, I think that the Authors of the Oath meant it also [as to any Commissioned by him;] otherwise there is nothing in all this Oath against taking Arms against any Commissioned by the King, so they do not pretend his own Authority for it. And upon my knowledge, a great part of those that Fought for the Parliament went on other grounds; some thinking Parliaments and People above the King, as being *singulis Major, & universis Minor*; (as *Hooker* speaks, *Eccles. Pol. Lib. 8.*) some thinking that the Law of Nature did warrant them; and some, that the Scripture did require them to do what they did. And can I believe that it was none of the Imposers Intention by the Oath, to provide against any of these Opinions? If really it were not, then a Man that taketh this Oath may, notwithstanding it, believe, That though it be not lawful to take Arms against the King, nor against his Armies, by pretence of his Authority, yet upon four other grounds it is lawful to take up Arms against his Army. 1. Because as *Willius*, and other Politicians say, the *Majestas realis* is in the People. 2. Because some Lawyers say, That the People of England have, as *Hooker* and *Bilson* call them, *fore-prized Liberties*, which they may defend, and the Parliament hath part of the Legislative Power, by the Constitution of the Kingdom. 3. Because the Law of Nature and Charity requireth the Defence of our Selves, Posterity and Country. 4. And because Scripture requireth the same.

They that will say, That the Oath hath left all these Pleas or Evasions for Fighting against the King's Armies, do make it utterly useles to the ends for which it was intended, and make the Authors to have been strangely blinded.

2. Note, That he takes the Word [Lawful] to extend to all Laws, of Nature, Scripture, or whatever: And,

3. That he takes these Words [It is not Lawful] to mean no more than [I judge, or think it is not Lawful.] As if all our Parliament Men, with the Learned Bishops, had not had Wit enough to have said so, if they had meant so; but said one thing, and meant another.

4. I confess, I stick not much on the *Fourth Quære*; but its plain, that the Subject named is capable of various Predicates, yea, of contrary; and [of taking Arms] may be applied to an *oportet*, a *licet*, a *factum est*, yea, or a *non licet*; though the *licet* I doubt not is their Sense.

5. Note, That the Answer to the *Fifth*, is a meer putting off the Answer: For the Question is, Whether the Act of Parliament, or the private Commission be more Authoritative? And he answereth; That which is Lawful; which implieth, that he was not willing to speak out.

6. Note, that he plainly concludeth, that a Sheriff hath the King's Authority, to resist by the *Posse Comitatus* the King's Commissioned Officers, that would hinder him from Executing the Decrees of a Court of Justice: And doth not this either cross the intent of the Imposers, or give up the whole Cause? Doth it not grant, that either it is lawful by the King's Authority given to the Sheriff by the Law, &c. for him by Arms to resist the King's Commissioners? Or else, that they be resisted, as not Commissioned, because their Commission is unlawful? And what did the Parliament's Army desire more? If a Sheriff, by the Sentence of an inferiour Court, may raise Arms against the King's Army, as not Commissioned, you will teach the Parliament to say, That their Judgment is greater than an inferiour Court's.

7. And it is possible, That Commissions may be contrary (of the same date) who then can know which is the Traytor?

8. The *Seventh* is a putting off the Answer, like the *Fifth*.

9. Note especially that of the *Eighth Quere*, which implyeth divers Instances of Cases, in which *Grotius*, *Barclay*, *Bilson*, &c. say, That it is Lawful to take Arms against the King, he seemeth wholly to grant it, and maketh it but like a Cavil, to suppose that *those Cases* ever came into the Parliament's Thoughts. And I am much in that of the good Man's Mind. But if they will Swear me to an Universal, while they forget particular Exceptions, that will not make the Oath Lawful to me. For, 1. It is not certain to me, That they would have excepted those things if they had remembred them. 2. Much less can I tell which, and how many things they would have excepted. 3. And how could the wit of Man devise Words more exclusive of all Exceptions, than to say [*It is not Lawful on any pretence whatsoever?*] Are those in the *Eighth Quere* [*no pretences whatsoever?*] I dare not thus stretch my Conscience about an Oath, when I know that the Authors were Learned, Crafty, willing to extend it far enough, and Men that understood *English*, and spake in a matter of their own Concernment and Employment. Therefore by [*any pretence whatsoever*] I cannot think that they meant to exclude so many Pretences, as the *Eighth Case* speaks of.

10. Note also, That he alloweth Parliaments, Judges, or private Men, even by the King's Authority in his Laws, to defend their Lives, their Houses, Estates, Purfes, and Companions, against such as are Commissioned to Surprize them. Which is because he taketh such to be really no Commissions. And so the Parliament, and their Army, would say in a Word, That the King's Commissions to his Armies were no Commissions. But this (which the Lawyers wholly rest on) I think in my Conscience was so contrary to the Imposers Sense, that if it had been then mentioned, they would have expressly put in some Words against it. And if an illegal Commission be no Commission, then there are not two sorts of Commissions, one *legal*, and the other *illegal* (unless speaking Equivocally.) And this comes up to what *Richard Hooker*, and the long Parliament said, *viz. That the King can do no wrong; because if it be wrong, it is not to be taken for the King's Act.*

11. Note also, That a Commission must be shewn, if required, and an illegal one is null. And which of the Parliament's Souldiers ever saw the Commissions of those whom they Fought against? Not one of many Thousands. And was this, think you, the meaning of the Imposers of the Oath, that it should be left to Men's Liberty to take an illegal Commission for none? If this were declared, who of all the Parliament's Army would not take this part of the Oath?

12. To the *Eleventh* he answereth, That the Oath is against altering Monarchy, (which none doubts of:) But whether the Power of Parliaments, or Courts of Justice be included, the good Man thought it not best to understand.

13. He thinks that by [*Government*] is meant only the *Species* (Monarchy) and not the Person of the King (as being sufficiently secured elsewhere) whereas there is no such limitation in the Words; but that he is to be esteemed a *Changer* of the Government, who would depose the King, and set up an Usurper.

14. But if it do secure the *King's Person* (as I think it doth, and should do) he thinks it extendeth not to the Persons of the Church-Governours, because by Law they may be altered. But 1. Here is no difference made in the Oath, unless it be that the Government of the Church, is put before that of the State. 2. Therefore the Question is, Whether this Oath be not contrary to those former Laws, and do not settle the Bishops and Chancellors as fast as the King? As to the plain Sense of the Words, I find no difference: And as to the meaning of the Law-makers, it is hard otherwise to know it, seeing they are of so many minds, and various degrees of Capacity among themselves.

15. And it is here confessed, That the Clergy-Government is included; yea, and that the Oath meaneth the *English Species*; and yet he thinketh that it prohibiteth not lawful Endeavours, to make more Bishops, and to take down Lay-Chancellors: whereas, 1. Chancellors are the Governours, for the greatest part. 2. And as a Congregational Church doth specifically differ from a Diocese of 1000, or 600 Churches; the former *de fine*, being for Personal Communion in God's Worship, and not the latter; so therefore the Bishop of a *Congregation* must needs differ specifically, from the Bishop of such a Diocese. Therefore so to change, were to change the *Species* of the Government, as I am confident the Bishops themselves would say, if the Question were put to them.

16. By [*Endeavouring*] here he understandeth only [*unlawful endeavouring*] and not Petitioning, or other lawful means: whereas the Word in the Oath, is absolute and unlimited; And I cannot be so bold as to Swear [*not to endeavour*] and secretly mean [*except it be by petitioning, or other lawful means*] for no sober Man will think, that we may do it by *unlawful* means, if he know them to be so: And the old *Et cetera* Oath, in 1640. (the Antecessor of this) had [*not consenting*] which could not be so limited.

And further, it seems plain, that this cannot be their Sense, because it is equally applyed to both Governments in the Oath (save that the *Church-Government* is put first:) And who dare say, that this is the meaning, as to the Government of the State [*I will not endeavour the disposing of the king, or the change of Monarchy, unless it be by lawful means.*] Whereas the Oath seemeth to me, that it is never to be done at all; and no means is lawful for such an Aid: And therefore we must so understand it, as to the Diocesanes too; if we will not Swear absolutely, or *universally*, and mean *limitedly*, and *particularly*, yea, and *limit*, and *not limit* the same Word, as respecting the several Governments, without any colour from the Terms.

17. Lastly, When the Oath Swareth us [*not at any time to endeavour*] which is as plainly an Exclusive of Exceptions as to Time, as can briefly be uttered, he thinketh that by [*any time*] is meant, [*any time, except when the King shall command me the contrary, or the Law shall change, &c.*]

Now when so much violence must be used with the Words of such an Oath, and when the Imposers will not (after many Years knowledge of our Doubts and Difficulties) make them any plainer; and so when they are at the best to us so unintelligible, and no Lawyer, nor Parliament, that we can speak with, can resolve us; but all the Answer we can get from the Parliament Men, is [*You must understand it in the proper, usual Sense of the Words:*] And from the Lawyers, [*An unlawful Commission is none, and lawful Endeavours are not forbidden*] who can take such an Oath in Judgment and Uprightness of Heart, that is satisfied in the Points fore-mentioned?

§ 20. The Act which Imposeth this Oath, openly accuseth the Nonconformable Ministers (or some of them) of Seditious Doctrine; and such hainous Crimes: wherefore when it first came out, I thought that at such an Accusation no Innocent Persons should be silent; especially when Papists, Strangers, and Posterity may think, That a Recorded Statute is a sufficient History to prove us guilty; and the Concernments of the Gospel, and our Callings, and Men's Souls, are herein touched: Therefore I drew up a Profession of our Judgment, about the Case of Loyalty and Obedience to Kings and Governours; and the Reasons why we refused the Oath. But reading it to Dr. *Seaman*, and some others wiser than my self, they advised me to cast it by, and to bear all in silent Patience; because it was not possible to do it so fully and sincerely, but that the malice of our Adversaries would make an ill use of it, and turn it all against our selves: And the wise Statesmen laughed at me, for thinking that Reason would be regarded by such Men as we had to do with, and would not exasperate them the more.

§ 21. After this, the Ministers finding the pressure of this Act so great, and the loss like to be so great to Cities and Corporations, some of them studied how to take the Oath lawfully: And Dr. *Will. Bates*, being much in seeming Favour with the Lord-Keeper *Bridgeman*, consulted with him, who promised to be at the next Session, and there on the Bench to declare openly, That by [*Endeavour*] to change the Church-Government was meant [*only lawful Endeavour:*] which satisfying him, he thereby satisfied others, who to avoid the Imputation of Seditious Doctrine, were willing to go as far as they durst: And so Twenty Ministers came in at the Sessions, and took the Oath, viz. Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Sam. Clarke*, Mr. *Sheffield*, Mr. *Hall*, or Mr. *Church*, Mr. *Matth. Pool*, Mr. *Loed*, Mr. *Stancliffe*, Mr. *Roles*, Mr. *Lewis*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Arthur*, Mr. *Bastwick*, Mr. *Brooks*, Mr. *Overton*, Mr. *Batcheler*, Mr. *Cary*, Mr. *Butler*, Mr. *Wildore*, Mr. *Hooker*. And not long after, Dr. *Jacomb* took it, and Mr. *Mayo*, and Mr. *Newton* of *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*, being then in *London*: Mr. *John Home* in *Devonshire*; and in *Somersetshire*, Mr. *William Thomas*, Mr. *Cooper* of *Southmark* (then there:) And in *Northamptonshire*, Dr. *Conant* (late *Regius Professor* of Divinity, and Vice-Chancellor in *Oxford*) and about Twelve more with him: I heard of no more Nonconformists that took it.

§ 22. Dr. Bates wrote me presently the following Letter, which because it sheweth the Truth of their Case and Inducements, I think meet here to add; the rather, because when they took the Oath, the Lord-Keeper left out the Word [only.] And Judge Keeling openly told them, That he was glad that so many of them renounced the Covenant, with more such like; which made Mr. Clarke openly tell him, That they took this Oath only in such a Sense as they conceived to be not inconsistent with the Covenant: And because the People in London reviled the Ministers as Turn-Coats when they had done; which Insultings and Revilings much grieved some of them.

Dr. Bates's Letter of their Case about the Oath.

Dear Sir,

I Judge it due to our Friendship, and necessary for my Fame, to give you an account of what past amongst us in Reference to the Oath. In several Meetings of the Ministers; the special Enquiry was about the meaning of the Word Endeavour, Whether to be understood in the universal Extent, so as to exclude all Regular, or only tumultuous and seditious Actions. The Reasons which persuaded us to understand it in a qualified Sense, were 1. The Preface to the Act, which declares, the occasion and the end of the Oath, was to prevent the distilling the Poison of Schism and Rebellion; now it is a known Rule, ratio juris est jus; from whence it appears, That only Schismatical and Rebellious Endeavours are excluded, to avoid which, there was an antecedent Obligation. 2. It is necessary to interpret this Oath in congruity with former Laws; in particular, with that which concerns tumultuous Petitions, wherein this Parliament declares it to be the privilege of the Subject to complain, remonstrate Petition to King or Parliament, or to advise with any Member of Parliament, for the altering of any thing amiss in the Government of Church or State, Established by Law. If Endeavour be taken in its Latitude, it is a perfect contradiction to this Law. 3. The Testimonies of several Members of both Houses, who assured us that in the Debate, this was the declared Sense of the Parliament. Sir Heneage Finch told me the intention of it was only to have security from us, without any respect to our Judgments concerning the Government, that we would not disturb the Peace, and that it was imposed at this Season, in regard of our Wars with France and Holland. He added, it was a tessera of our Loyalty, and those who refused it, would be looked on as Persons reserving themselves for an Opportunity. My Lord Chamberlain said, the Bishops of Canterbury and Winchester declared, it only excluded Seditious Endeavours; and upon his urging that it might be expressed, the Arch Bishop replied, It should be added; but the King being to come at Two of the Clock, it could not with that Explication be sent down to the House of Commons, and returned up again within that time. The Bishop of Exeter told Dr. Tillotson, That the first Draught of this Oath was in Terms a Renunciation of the Covenant; but it was answered, they have suffered for that already, and that the Ministers would not recede, it was therefore reasonable to require security in such Words, as might not touch the Covenant. 4. The concurrent Opinion of the Judges, who are the Authorized Interpreters of Law, who declared that only tumultuous and seditious Endeavours are meant. Judge Bridgman, Twisden, Brown, Archer, Windham, Atkins, who were at London, had agreed in this Sense. Some of the Ministers were not satisfied, because the Opinion of a Judge in his Chamber was no Judicial Act; but if it were declared upon the Bench, it would much resolve their Doubts. I addressed my Self to my Lord Bridgman, and urged him, that since it was a Matter of Conscience, and the Oaths were to be taken in the greatest simplicity, he would sincerely give me his Opinion about it. He professed to me, that the Sense of the Oath was, only to exclude seditious and tumultuous Endeavours, and said, he would go to the Sessions, and declare it in the Court. He wrote down the Words he intended to speak, and upon my declaring, that if he did not express that [only seditious Endeavours] were meant, I could not take the Oath: he put in the Paper (before me) that word, and told me, that Judge Keeling was of his Mind, and would be there, and be kind to us. The Ministers esteemed this the most publick Satisfaction for Conscience and Fame, and several of them agreed to go to the Sessions, and take the Oath, that hereby, if possible, they

they might vindicate Religion from the Imputation of Faction and Rebellion, and make it evident that Consciences only hindereth their Conformity. Some of the most unsatisfied were resolved to take it. We came in the afternoon on Friday to the Court, where seven Ministers had taken it in the Morning: At our appearance, the Lord Bridgman address'd himself to us in these Words: Gentlemen, I perceive you are come to take the Oath, I am glad of it: The intent of it is to distinguish between the King's good Subjects, and those who are mentioned in the Act, and to prevent Seditious and Tumultuous Endeavours to alter the Government: Mr. Clark said, in this Sense we take it. The Lord Keeling spoke with some quickness, Will you take the Oath as the Parliament hath appointed it. I reply'd, A y Lord, We are come hither to attest our Loyalty, and to declare, we will not seditiously endeavour to alter the Government. He was silent, and we took the Oath, being 13 in number. After this the Lord Keeling told us, He was glad that so many had taken the Oath; and with great vehemency said, We had renounced the Covenant (in two Principal Points) that damnable Oath, which sticks between the Teeth of so many. And he hoped, That as there was one King, and one Faith, so there would be one Government: And if we did not Conform, it would be judg'd we did this to save a stake. These Words being uttered, after by his Silence he had approved what my Lord B. had spoke of the Sense of the Act, and our express Declaration, that in that Sense we took it; you may imagine how surprizing they were to us: It was not possible for us to recollect our selves from the Confusion which this caus'd, so as to make any reply. We retired with sadness, and what the consequences will be, you may easily fore-see. Some will reflect upon us with severity, judging of the nature of the Action by this check of Providence. Others who were resolved to take the Oath, recoil from it; their Jealousies being increased. I shall trouble you no longer, but assure you, That notwithstanding this accident doth not invalidate the Reasons for the lawfulness of it, in our apprehensions; yet the fore-sight of this would have caus'd us to suspend our proceedings. The good Lord sanctifie this Providence to us, and teach us to commit our dearest Concernments unto him, in the performance of our Duty, to whose Protection I commend you, and remain

London, Feb. 22.

Yours intirely,

William Bates.

After my Lord Keeling's Speech, Sir John Babor enquired of Lord Bridgman, whilst he was on the Bench, Whether the Ministers had renounced the Covenant? He answer'd, the Covenant was not concern'd in it. Mr. Calamy, Watson, Gouge, and many others, had taken the Oath this Week, but for this unhappy Accident. My Lord Bridgman, came to the Sessions, and declared the Sense of the Oath, with my Lord Chancellor's allowance.

But all the Reasons contain'd in this Letter, seem'd not to me to enervate the force of the fore-going Objections, or solve the Difficulties.

§ 24. A little before this, L. B. and Sir——S. committed such horrid wickedness in their Drinking (acting the part of Preachers, in their Shirts, in a Balcony, with Words and Actions not to be named,) that one (or both) of them was openly censured for it in Westminster-Hall, by one of the Courts of Justice. (You will say, Sure it was a shameful Crime indeed.) And shortly after a Lightning did seize on the Church where the Monuments of the——were, and tore it, melted the Leads, and brake the Monuments into so small pieces, that the people that came to see the place, put the Scraps, with the Letters on, into their Pockets, to shew as a Wonder, and more wonderful than the consumption of the rest by fire.

§ 25. In this time the Haunting of Mr. Mompeyson's House in Wiltshire, with strange Noises and Motions, for very many Months together, was the Common Talk; Of which Mr. Jos. Glanvil having wrote the Story, I say no more.

§ 26. The Number of Ministers all this while, either imprison'd, fined, or otherwise afflicted for preaching Christ's Gospel, when they were forbidden, was so great that I forbear to mention them particularly.

§ 27. The War began with the Dutch whom the French assisted.

§ 28. The Plague which began at Alton, July 29. 1665. being ceased on March 1. following, I returned home; and found the Church-yard like a plow'd field with Graves, and many of my Neighbours dead; but my House (near the Church-yard) uninfected

uninfected, and that part of my Family, which I left there, all safe, thro' the great mercy of God, my merciful Protector.

§ 29. About this time the *French* surprized *St. Christophers*, and some other of our Plantations in the *West Indies*, and the *Dutch* took our Plantation of *Siranam*. And the Wars proceeding nearer home, in the end of *June* 1666. in the which many were kill'd on both sides, and the *D.* of *York* so near the danger, as that he ventur'd himself in fight no more. Among others, the *E.* of *Marlborough* being slain, there was found about him a Letter written to *Sir Hugh Pollard*, Comptroller of the King's Household; in which (being awaken'd by Sea-dangers) he disclaim'd *Sadducism*, and pleaded for the Soul's Immortality; which was Printed, because being intimate Friends, they were both before supposed to be *Infidels* and *Sadducees*, that believed no Life after this.

§ 30. On *July* 25. was the 2d great Sea-fight, in which the *English* had the better: And in *August* we seem'd to prevail yet more; insomuch that *Monk* was said to proceed so far as to enter their Harbour, and burn 120 Ships in the River, and to burn a Thousand Houses on the Land, and give the Seamen the Plunder; for which, in the end of *August* the King appointed a Day of Thanksgiving to be kept in *London*, which was done; though many muttered, that it was not wisely done, to provoke the *Dutch*, by burning their houses, when it was easy for them to do the like by us, on our Sea-Coasts; and so to teach them the way of undoing us, while neither party gained by such doings. And that it was no good sign of future prosperity, when those that believed not, that there is a God, or at least that his providence disposeth of such things, would give God solemn Thanks for an unprofitable burning of the Houses of innocent Protestants. And our Confidence was then grown so high, that we talkt of nothing but bringing down the *Dutch* to our mercy, and bringing them to Contempt and Ruine: But our Height was quickly taken down, by the loss of many *Hamborough* ships first, and then by a loss of many of our men, in an Attempt upon their Merchant ships in the *Sound* at *Denmark*; but especially by the firing of the City of *London*.

§ 31. On *Septemb.* 2. after midnight, *London* was set on fire; and on *Sept.* 3. the *Exchange* was burnt; and in Three Days almost all the City within the Walls, and much without them. The season had been exceeding dry before, and the Wind in the *East*, where the Fire began. The people having none to conduct them aright, could do nothing to resist it, but stand and see their Houses burn without Remedy; the Engines being presently out of Order, and useles. The streets were crowded with People and Carts, to carry away what Goods they could get out: And they that were most active, and befriended (by their Wealth) got Carts, and saved much; and the rest lost almost all. The Loss in Houses and Goods is scarcely to be valued: And among the rest, the Loss of Books was an exceeding great Detriment to the Interest of Piety and Learning: Almost all the Booksellers in *St. Paul's Church-Yard* brought their Books into Vaults under *St. Paul's Church*, where it was thought almost impossible that Fire should come. But the Church it self being on fire, the exceeding weight of the Stones falling down, did break into the Vault, and let in the Fire, and they could not come near to save the books. The Library also of *Sion-Colledge* was burnt, and most of the Libraries of Ministers, Conformable and Nonconformable, in the City; with the Libraries of many Nonconformists of the Countrey, which had been lately brought up to the City. I saw the half burnt Leaves of Books near my Dwelling at *Elton* six miles from *London*; but others found them near *Windfor*, almost twenty miles distant. At last, some Seamen taught them to blow up some of the next Houses with Gunpowder, which stopt the Fire. And in some places it stopt as wonderfully as it had proceeded, without any known Cause. It stopt at *Holborn-Bridge*, and near *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleet-street*, and at *Sepulchre's Church* (when the Church was burnt,) and at *Christ's Church* (when the Church was burnt,) and near *Aldersgate* and *Cripplegate*, and other places at the *Wall*, and in *Austin Friars* (the *Dutch Church* stopt it, and escaped,) and in *Bishopsgate-street* and *Leadenhall-street*, and *Fenchurch-street*, in the midst of the Streets, and short of the *Tower*, and all beyond the River (*Southwark*) escaped. Thus was the best, and one of the fairest Cities in the world turn'd into Ashes and Ruines in Three Days space, with many score Churches, and the Wealth and Necessaries of the Inhabitants. The Number of Houses are recorded by others.

§ 32. It was a sight that might have given any Man a lively sense of the Vanity of this World, and all the Wealth and Glory of it, and of the future conflagration of all the World. To see the Flames mount up towards Heaven, and proceed so furiously without restraint: To see the streets filled with people astonished, that had scarce sense left them to lament their own calamity. To see the fields filled with heaps of Goods, and sumptuous Buildings, curious Rooms, costly Furniture and Household-Staff: Yea, Warchouses and furnished Shops and Libraries, &c. all on a flame, and none durst come near to receive any thing. To see the King and Nobles ride about the streets, beholding all these Desolations, and none could afford the least Relief. To see the Air, as far as could be beheld, so filled with the smoak, that the Sun shined through it, with a colour like Blood; yea even when it was setting in the *West*, it so appeared to them that dwelt on the *West* side of the City. But the dolefullest sight of all was afterwards, to see what a ruinous confused place the City was, by Chimneys and Steeples only standing in the midst of Cellars and heaps of Rubbish; so that it was hard to know where the streets had been, and dangerous, of a long time to pass through the Ruines, because of Vaults, and fire in them. No man that seeth not such a thing, can have a right apprehension of the dreadfulnes of it.

§ 33. The Extent of the Fire (consuming the City within the Walls) calleth to my remembrance, that a Fortnight before, one Mr. *Caril*, a Gentleman of a great Estate in *Sussex*, and said to be one of the most understanding and sober sort of Papists, first sent, and then come to have visited me, as earnestly desiring my Acquaintance; and then sent me a Paper to answer, being Exceptions against the Preface to my book, called, *The safe Religion*; written by one that professed great Respect to me, and a desire to debate those Controversies with me; (and it proved to be *Cressy*, the Champion that at that time was most forward and successful in Disputes.) And in that Paper, speaking of the Pope's Licensing Whore-houses at *Rome*; he saith, that it is worse in *London*, where are whole streets that have not so much as the Rebuke of any Penalty, but when they die, the Churchmen bury them as the rest, with confidence, that *God in mercy hath taken to himself the Souls of those dear Brethren and Sisters departed*. I answered his Paper, and to that passage said, That I was not acquainted in the Suburbs (towards the Court): but I never heard of any such thing; and if he knew it, he would do well to tell the Magistrates (who know it not) what streets those be: But for the City, within the Walls, my Acquaintance more enabled me to say, that I did not believe that there was in all the World such a City for Piety, Sobriety and Temperance. And about a Fortnight after, that part was burned, and the rest, that he accused, did escape.

§ 34. And this is the Third terrible Judgment which *London* suffered, since the King's Return. First, many score of their Faithful Teachers were silenced, and cast out, and afterwards banished, or confined Five Miles from the City: And next, in 1665. the Plague and other sickness consumed about an Hundred Thousand: And when they began to be settled in their Habitations again, the Flames devoured their Houses and their substance. And it is not hard for the Reader here to imagine how many Thousands this must needs cast into utter Want and Beggary: And how many Thousands of the formerly Rich were disabled from relieving them. And how doleful the Case then must needs be, when good people, that were wont to relieve others, were cast into such distress, and few able to help them. And at the same time so many Hundred Families of silenced Ministers to be relieved, that looked to *London* most for Help. And after the Fire the Charitable were disabled; and also were in no small straits when they had a little to give, between the Ministers and the distressed Citizens, whom to give it to: such are easilier heard of than felt. And it was not the least part of the Calamity, that when people saw the Number of the indigent to be so great, that when they had done their best, it seemed as if they had done nothing; and also that on this pretence, other lying Beggars pretended themselves to be *Londoners*, it discouraged many from doing what they could and ought.

§ 35. Among others, the Famousst Person in the City, who purposely addicted himself to works of Mercy, was my very dear Friend, Mr. *Henry Ashurst*, a Draper (a man of the Primitive sort of Christians for Humility, Love, Blamelessness, Meekness, doing good to all as he was able, especially needy silenced Ministers (to whom, in *Lancashire* alone, he allowed 100 l. per Ann. and in *London* was most famous for their succour), and doing hurt to none. His care now was to solicit the Rich abroad, for the relief of the poor honest *Londoners*: And Mr. *Thomas Gouge* (the silenced Minister of *Sepulchres* Parish, Son to Dr. *Will. Gouge*, and such another man,

who made Works of Charity a great part of the business of his Life,) was made the Treasurer: And once a Fortnight they called a great Number of the needy together, to receive their Alms. I went once with Mr. *Ashurst* to his Meeting, to give them an Exhortation and Counsel, as he gave them Alms, and saw more cause, than I was sensible of before, to be thankful to God, that I never much needed relief from others.

§ 36. It was not the least observable thing in the time of the Fire, and after, considering the late Wars, and the multitudes of disbanded Soldiers, and the great grief and discontent of the *Londoners*, for the Silencing and Banishing of their Pastors, that yet there were heard in the time of their Calamity, no passionate Words of discontent or dishonour against their Governours, even when their Enemies had so oft accused them of seditious Inclinations, and when Extremity might possibly have made them desperate.

§ 37. But yet alas! the Effect of all these dreadful Judgments was not such as might have been hoped for, but still one Party cast all the Cause upon another, and the two Extreames did look more at each other's Faults than at their own. There was no confessing the Sin of Persecution, or silencing Christ's Ministers by the one side, but they justified their ways, and hated those that differed from them, as much as ever: There was no lamenting the Corporation PERJURY by the Citizens that had taken the Declaration and Oath, and had succeeded them that were put out, because they feared an Oath. There was no lamenting former Scandals, Rebellions, or Divisions, by the other Extreme; but the *Dividers* cryed out, its long of the Persecutors, and the persecuters cryed out, its long of the *Schismatics*, and it is God's just Judgment on the City, that hath been so much against the King and the Bishops; and God would not pardon them tho the King did: So that while each side called the other to repentance, they did both fly from repentance more and more: And if there were not between them a sober party, that lamented sin most but were guilty of least. We should see no Prognosticks of any thing but utter desolation.

§ 38. The great talk at this time was, Who were the burners of the City? And there came in so many Testimonies to prove that it was the plotted weapon of the *Papists*, as caused the Parliament themselves to appoint a Committee to enquire after it, and receive information: Whereupon a *Frenchman* (proved a *Papist* at last, tho the prodigal Son of a *French* Protestant) confessed openly and constantly to the last, that he began the fire, hired to it by another *French Papist* (a debauch'd fellow) that was gone: The Man was sent through all the ruines, and shewed them truly the house which he fired (where it began), which then the Neighbours themselves could not easily have done. For which he was tryed at the Sessions, and upon his constant Confession was condemned and hanged. Sir *Robert Brooks* being Chairman of the Committee, abundance of Testimonies were received; that in many parts of the City men were seen to cast fire balls into the houses; and some strangers taken with fiery materials in their pockets; and some that were taken firing houses were brought to the Guard of Soldiers, and to the Duke of *York*, and never heard of afterward: With more such matter out of the Countrey where *Divers Papists* foretold the fire; And the Testimonies were shortly after Printed, which is the reason why I give them to you no more particularly. And many stories go about with very credible and undenied Reports, that be not in the Printed papers: As that of Sir *Francis Peter* (a Jesuited *Papist*) who had Lodgings in *Holborn*, next to a house that had stood empty since the plague: Where a sinoak breaking out, caused the Lord *Cravan* and the Lord *Astley* to seek to quench the fire; but they were fain to break open Sir *Francis Peter's* Doors, because he would not let them in: And afterward he defended his stayers with his sword, and wounded one Man before they could apprehend him: And they found between the two houses upon the Gutters, a fire kindled with bed-mats and such like things, which they put out: But the matter was silenced and no more said of it. In *Shropshire* a *Papist* came to Sir *Thomas Wolrich*, and took his Oath that one of the *Pendril's* brethren that had hid the King after *Worcester* flight, had told him before, that *London* would be shortly burnt. Many other such testimonies were given in; but it came to nothing; and Sir *Robert Brooks* the Chairman of the Committee, went shortly after into *France*, and as he was ferryed over a River was drowned (with his Kinsman) and the business meddled with no more. So that the discontented Citizens feared not to accuse the Courtiers, as the fanners of the *Papists* in the plot; the rather because that some cryed out rejoicingly. Now the Rebellious City is ruined, the King is absolute, and was never King indeed till now. But of the rest I refer you to the Printed papers.

§ 39. But some good rose out of all these Evils: The Churches being burnt, and the Parish Ministers gone (for want of places and maintenance) the *Nonconformists* were now more resolved than ever, to preach till they were imprisoned: Dr. *Manton* had his rooms full in *Covent-Garden*; Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, Mr. *Thomas Doolittle*, Dr. *Samuel Annesley*, Mr. *Wadsworth*, Mr. *Tanoway* at *Rotherfrith*, Mr. *Chester*, Mr. *Franklin*, Mr. *Turner*, Mr. *Grimes*, Mr. *Nathaniel Vincent*, Dr. *Jacomb*, (in the *Countess of Exeter's-house*) and Mr. *Thomas Watson*, &c. Did keep their Meetings very openly, and prepared large Rooms, and some of them plain Chappels, with Pulpits, Seats, and Galleries for the reception of as many as could come. For now the peoples necessity was unquestionable: For they had none other to hear, saving a few Churches that could hold no considerable part of the people: So that to forbid them now to hear the *Nonconformists*, was all one as to forbid them all publick worshipping of God, and to Command them to forsake Religion and to live like *Atheists*: And thus to forbid them to seek for Heaven when they had lost almost all that they had on Earth, and to take from them their spiritual Comforts, after all their outward Comforts were gone, they thought a Cruelty so barbarous, as to be unbeseeming any Man, that would not own himself to be a Devil. But all this little moved the Ruling Prelates, saving that shame restrained them from imprisoning the Preachers so hotly and forwardly as before. The Independents also set up their Meetings more openly than before; especially Mr. *Griffiths*, Mr. *Brooks*, Mr. *Caryl*, Mr. *Barker*, &c. And Dr. *Owen* (who had before kept far off) and Mr. *Philip Nye*, and Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, who were their Leaders, came to the City. So that many of the Citizens went to those Meetings called private, more, than went to the publick Parish Churches.

§ 40. Yet at the same time it happily also fell out that the Parish Churches, that were left standing, had the best and ablest of the Conformists in them; especially Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Tilloison*, Mr. *White*, Dr. *Outram* Dr. *Patrick*, Mr. *Gifford*, Dr. *Whitchcot*, Dr. *Horton*, Mr. *Nest*, &c. So that the moderate sort of the Citizens, heard either sort, in publick and private indifferently; Whilst those on the one extreme reproached all Mens preaching save their own as being seditious Conventicles; And those on the other extreme, would hear none that did Conform; Or if any heard them, they would never joyn with them in the Common prayers nor the Sacraments.

§ 41. Mr. *Philip Nye* before this (seeing the Independents like to fall under the greater sufferings, if they refused to hear in publick) had written a Manuscript to prove it lawful to hear Conformable Parish Ministers (but not meddling with Common Prayer or Sacraments). (For before the Wars in 1639 or 1640 he and Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, had fall'n off from hearing or joyning in Common Prayer and Sacraments with the Parishes, and my Lord *Say* and Mr. *Pim* and some others had got them to a dispute with Mr. *John Ball*, the Nonconformist who as fame saith, utterly baffled them). But when Mr. *Nye's* Manuscript came out, one Mr. *Stoneham* of their own party confuted it, maintaining that to hear the Conformable Ministers was a sin. And before that a Pamphlet came out in Mr. *John Goodwin's* name before his death, to prove Prelatical Preachers to be no Teachers or Ministers of Christ, and the Common Prayer to be Idolatry: And a sharper than that to the same purpose came out from a young hot fifth Monarchy Preacher of *Worcestershire* called Mr. *Brown*. Which Mr. *John Tombes* the Anabaptist answered, proving Parish Communion lawful. To which *Brown* largely replied, and Mr. *Tombes* made some short defence.

§ 42. About this time they renewed the talk of liberty of Conscience (for their ordinary ends, to keep people in hopes): Whereupon many wrote for it (especially Mr. *John Hunsfrees* and Sir *Charles Wolsey*), and many wrote against it, as Dr. *Perincomb*, and others mostly without Names; for the Conformists were now grown so hardened as not only to do all themselves that was required of them, but also to think themselves sufficient for the whole Ministerial work through the Land, and not only to consent to their silencing of their brethren, but also to oppose their restitution, and write most vehemently against it, and against any toleration of them: So little do men know when they once enter into an Evil way, where they shall stop. Not that it was so with all, but with too many, especially with most of the young men, that were of pregnant wits, and ambitious minds, and had set themselves to seek preferments.

§ 43. On which accounts a great part of those that were called *Latitudinarians* began to change their temper, and to contract some malignity against those that were much more Religious than themselves. At first they were only *Cambridge Armini-*

ans, and some of them not so much; and were much for new and free Philosophy, and especially for *Cartes*; and not at all for any thing Ceremonious: But being not so strict in their Theology or way of piety as some others, they thought that Conformity was too small a matter to keep them out of the Ministry. But afterwards many of them grew into such a distaste of the Weakness of many serious Christians, who would have some harsh phrases in Prayer, Preaching and discourse, that thence they seemed to be out of Love with their very Doctrines, and their manner of worshipping God: Of which more anon.

§ 44. In June 1667. the Dutch came up the River of *Thames*, and Sir *Edward Sprag*, a Papist, that was Governour of our Fort at *Sheerness* had not fortified it, and deserted it; And so they came up to *Chatham*, and burnt some of our greatest Ships, and took away some, while we partly lookt on, and partly resisted to no great purpose. And had they but come up to *London*, they might have done much more. This cast us into a great consternation.

§ 45. At this time the King came in person among the Citizens, to perswade them not to desert him, and made a Speech to them at *Tower-Hill* (not here to be recited): And he had now great Experience of the Loyalty of the Citizens, who after such sufferings, and under such pressures in matters of Conscience, and of worldly Interest, even in such extremity, were neither proved to do or say any thing that was contrary to their fidelity to the King.

§ 46. The firing of *London* (which was most commonly suppos'd to be done by the Papists, and the Wars with the *French*, did raise greater Jealousies of the Papists than had appeared before; so that weekly News came to *London* from many Counties, that the Papists were gathering Horse and Arms, and that some of them had got Troops, under pretence of the Militia or Volunteers to be ready for our defence. The Parliament hereupon declared themselves more against them than was expected; which greatly troubled the Papists. The Royalists in many Countries were almost ready to disarm them; especially the E. of *Derby* in *Lancashire*, was wholly true to the Protestant Interest. Whereupon the Papists thought it policy to live more privately, and to cease their ostentation, and to obscure their Arms and Strength, and to do their work, in a more secret way. And some of them Printed an Address to the Royalists, to plead kindness and affinity of dispositions with them, telling them that they hoped that they, that had fought, and suffered in one cause for the King, against the Puritans, should have continued in the same Union and Kindness, and that they would not have been so much against them: This was answered solidly by Dr. *Loid*. And doubtless the Papists had never so great a dejection and disappointment since the King came in. For they seemed to think that the Parliament and Royalists had been so distracted with malice and revenge, against the Puritans, as that they would have been content that *London* was burnt, and would have done any thing that they would have them, even against themselves, their Countrey, their Religion and Posterity, so it had but favoured of that revenge. But it proved otherwise.

§ 47. Whilest that all these Calamities, especially our loss and disgrace by the Dutch, must be laid on some or other, the Parliament at last laid all upon the Lord Chancellor *Hide*; And the King was content it should be so. Whereupon many Speeches were made against him, and an Impeachment or Charge brought in against him, and vehemently urged; and among other things, that he counselled the King to Rule by an Army (which many thought, as bad as he was, he was the chief means of hindering.) And, to be short, when they had first sought his Life, at last it was concluded that his banishment should satisfy for all: And so he was banished by an Act, during his Life. The sale of *Dunkirk* to the *French*, and a great comely House which he had new built, increased the displeasure that was against him: But there were greater Causes which I must not Name.

§ 48. And it was a notable providence of God, that this Man that had been the grand Instrument of State, and done almost all, and had dealt so cruelly with the Nonconformists should thus by his own friends be cast out and banished, while those that he had persecuted were the most moderate in his Cause, and many for him. And it was a great ease that befell good people throughout the Land by his dejection. For his way was to decoy men into Conspiracies, or to pretend plots, and when upon the rumour of a plot the innocent people of many Countries were laid in prison, so that no man knew when he was safe. Whereas since then, tho' Laws have been made more and more severe, yet a Man knoweth a little better what to expect, when it is by a Law, that he is to be tried. And it is nota-

notable, that he, that did so much to make the *Oxford* Law for banishing Ministers from Corporations that took not that Oath, doth in his Letter from *France* since his banishment say, that he never was in favour since the Parliament Sat at *Oxford*.

§ 49. Before this the Duke of *Buckingham*, being the head of his Adversaries, had been overtopped by him, and was fain to hide himself, till the *Dutch* put us in fear, and then he appeared and rendered himself, and went prisoner to the *Tower*; but with so great Acclamations of the People in the Streets as was a great Discouragement to the *Chancellor*: And the D. of *Buckingham* was quickly set at liberty. Whereupon as the *Chancellor* had made himself the head of the Prelatical party, who were all for setting up themselves by force, and suffering none that were against them; so *Buckingham* would now be the head of all those parties, that were for liberty of Conscience: For the Man was of no Religion, but notoriously and professedly lustful; And yet of greater wit and parts, and sounder Principles as to the interest of Humanity, and the Common good, than most Lords in the Court. Wherefore he Countenanced Fanaticks and Sectaries among others, without any great suspicion, because he was known to be so far from them himself. Though he married the Daughter and only Child of the Lord *Fairfax*, late General of the Parliament's Army, and is his heir hereby, yet far enough from his mind; but yet a defender of the Priviledges of Humanity.

§ 50. Before this also the Earl of *Bristol* had attempted to pull down the *Chancellor*, and to bring in a Charge against him into the Parliament: But the King soon quelled him; And being a *Papist*, he hath lain latent or quiet ever since, as unfit to appear in publick busineses; And *Buckingham* performed the Work.

§ 51. In *October* following the Parliament gave thanks to the King for removing the Lord *Chancellor*: But they were vehement in seeking an account of the Moneys which have been granted for the publick service, and also to have an account of the business at *Chatham*, by whose fault it was that the *Dutch* were unresisted and surprized our shipping: And Committees were appointed for these purposes, and a great deal of talk and stir was made about them for a long time; but they could never attain their ends; but they that were faulty had friends enow to procure their security; And tho the Parliament grudged at it, and sometimes talkt high, yet this made no alteration in our Affairs.

§ 52. One notable disadvantage which we had by the *Dutch* attempt was, that it drew down our new raised *In-land* Soldiers into *Kent* towards *Shernefs*, where the unhealthful Air cast such abundance of them into sickness, and kill'd so many, as greatly weakened many; Divers of the most forward Gentlemen of the Countrey there lost their Lives; And thus we have taught an Enemy how to undoe us, if he can but force us to keep our *Inland-Soldiers* who are not used to that Air, about the mouth of the *Thames*; their bodies are no more able to endure it, than if it were the mortallest of our Foreign plantations.

§ 53. But the great stir of these Times was about Money: The Parliament said, that never had the like summs been laid on the subjects of this Land; and that the old way of payments by five or six subsidies at a time, was such a trifle in Comparison of this, as that it would be scarce observable: After many vast summs granted by way of Land-Taxes, Royal Aid, Poll-money, &c. there was settled, for continuance, the Chimney-money, and several Excises, and the Customs, and the Wine-Tax for a limited Time, &c. But all was so much too little, that more was still needed and demanded. The Countrey-people cried out, *We are undone*. The Tenants at Will did so many of them give up their Farms, that the Gentlemen cried out, *If we have any more Land-Taxes, we are undone*. What the People said of the Parliament, and what of the Court, and what of the Bishops, and what of the Women, I shall not write: But Losers and sufferers will take leave to talk. But the Parliament grew more urgent to have an account of the moneys, as not believing that it was possible fairly to expend so much. The Persons that were made a Committee for examining Accounts, were very eminent for Ability, and Impartiality, and sincerity; (Mr. *William Pierpoint*, the Lord *Bruerton*, Col. *Thompson*, and abundance more) They laid the great blame on Sir *Geo. Carteret*, Treasurer for the Navy: He was accused deeply in the House of Commons: He excused himself by laying much on the King's Privy-seals: The Parliament said, that those Moneys were not to have been laid out on private Uses. After long time, the King and Council called the Lord *Bruerton*, Col. *Thompson*, and some others, and sharply rebuked them, as injurious Persons, and such as sought

the rest: We askt him, Whether it was his Lordship's pleasure that we should offer him our Opinion of the means, or only receive what he offered to us. He told us, That he had somewhat to offer to us; but we might also offer our own to him. I told him, That I did think we could offer such Terms, no way injurious to the welfare of any, which might take in both Presbyterians and Independents, and all sound Christians, into the Publick Established Ministry. He answered, That that was a thing that he would not have; but only a Toleration for the rest. Which being none of our business to debate, we desired him to consult such persons about it, as were concerned in it. And so it was agreed, that we should meddle with the Comprehension only. And a few Days after he sent us his Proposals.

§ 64. When we saw the Proposals, we perceived that the business of the Lord Keeper, and his way, would make it unfit for us to debate such Cases with himself: And therefore we wrote to him, requesting, that he would nominate Two Learned peaceable Divines to treat with us, till we agreed on the fittest Terms; and that Dr. Bates might be added to us. He nominated Dr. Wilkins (who we then found was the Author of the Proposals, and of the whole business, and his Chaplain, Mr. Burton. And when we met, we tendered them some Proposals of our own, and some Alterations which we desired in their Proposals (for they presently rejected ours, and would hear no more of them; so that we were fain to treat upon theirs alone.)

§ 65. The Copy of what we offered them is as followeth.

I. That the Credenda and Agenda in Religion, being distinguished, no Profession of Assent be required, but only to the Holy, Canonical Scriptures in general, and to the Creeds and 36 Articles in particular. And no Oath, Promise or Consent be required, save only the renewing of the Covenant which in Baptism we made to God, and a promise of Fidelity in our Ministry, and the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to the King. And for all lesser matters, let it suffice, that the Laws may restrain us from preaching against any Established Doctrine, or against Episcopacy. Liturgy or Ceremonies, and from all Male-Administrations, or Church-Tyranny, or Injustice about the Sacraments; and that we be punishable according to the quality of the Offence.

II. The Fire having now caused a Necessity of many more publick Assemblies for God's Worship, besides those in the yet standing Parish-Churches, we humbly conceive that it would much conduce to the re-edifying of the Churches and City, and the contenting of many, and the drawing off the people from more private Meetings; if a competent Number of the Ruin'd Churches be allowed to such sober Protestants, as will repair them, with the same liberty and Security for possession, as the French and Dutch in London have their Churches; the people chusing their Pastors, and maintaining them: Or if his Majesty's Bounty allow them any Stipend, that none have that stipend whom his Majesty approveth not. And that the Pastors be not suffered to introduce there any Heresie or Idolatry; but shall preach the Doctrine of the sacred Scriptures, not opposing the Doctrines or Orders of the Church, and shall worship God according to the Liturgy, or the Assembly's Directory, or the Reformed Liturgy offered by the Commissioners 1660. as they desire.

III. That all such be capable of Benefices, who subscribe and swear as is aforesaid, and being of Competent Abilities, shall be lawfully Ordained; or if already ordained, are confirmed by the late Act, or shall be confirmed by any Commissioned by his Majesty; they being obliged some time to read the Liturgy, and sometimes to administer the Sacrament according to it (abating the Ceremonies). And to be often present when it is read; which shall be ordinarily or constantly done; and the Sacrament administered as oft as is required by Law, by himself, or some other allowed Minister. And that those who will only subscribe and swear as is aforesaid, being ordained also as aforesaid, but cannot so far conform to the Liturgy may be allowed to preach and Catechize publicly, as Lecturers, or Assistants to some others; and to have such further Liberty about the Sacraments, as by just Regulations shall be made safe to Religion and the publick peace.

There is another way which would satisfy almost all; by allowing each party such a Minister whose Ordination and Ministration they do make no scruple at; which would prevent a private Churches, and perhaps all Face of Schism among us; which is, if in every Parish where any party dissenteth from the Established way, the Dissenters be left at liberty, either to communicate with any Neighbour-Parish, or to chuse an Assistant for the Incumbent which Assistant shall be maintained by themselves; unless the Incumbent will voluntarily contri-

bute); And shall officiate one half of the Day, as the Incumbent doth the other, having leave to do it according to the foresaid Directory, or the Additional Liturgy offered 1660. (or at least to have the use of the Church at such Hours as the Incumbent doth not there officiate): The people receiving the Communion from each, according to their several Judgments. And though so great a Rupture as ours is, cannot be cured without some inconveniences, which may be here objected, yet such Laws may be made for the Regulation of this Liberty, as may restrain all Faction, Contention, and Mutual Contempt, or Injuries, and even the Naming themselves Members of distinct Churches, as might be shewed.

§ 66. The Copy of the Lord Keeper's, or Dr. Wilkins's Proposals.

In order to Comprehension, it is Humbly Offered,

1. That such persons, as in the late times of disorder have been ordained by Presbyters, shall be admitted to the Exercise of the Ministerial Function, by the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishop, with this, or the like Form of Words: [Take thou Authority to Preach the Word of God, and to Minister the Sacraments in any Congregation of the Church of England where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto] An Expedient much of this Nature was practised and allowed of, in the Case of the Catharists and Melesians, Vid. 8th Canon Concil. Nic. & Synodical Epistle of the same to the Churches of Egypt, Gelasius, Cyzicenus, Hist. Con. Nic. 2d part.

2. That all persons to be admitted to any Ecclesiastical Function, or Dignity, or the Employment of a School-master (after the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy) shall (instead of all former Subscriptions) be required to subscribe this, or the like Form of Words [I A. B. do hereby profess and declare, That I do approve the Doctrines, Worship and Government Established in the Church of England; as containing all things necessary to Salvation; and that I will not endeavour, by my self, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Doctrine contrary to that which is so Established: And I do hereby promise, That I will continue in the Communion of the Church of England, and will not do any thing to disturb the Peace thereof.

3. That the Gesture of Kneeling at the Sacrament, and the use of the Cross in Baptism, and bowing at the Name of Jesus, may be left indifferent, or may be taken away, as shall be thought most expedient.

4. That in Case it be thought fit to review and alter the Liturgy and Canons, for the satisfaction of Dissenters, that then every person to be admitted to preach, shall, upon his Institution, or Admission to preach, upon some Lord's Day (within a time to be limited) publicly and solemnly read the said Liturgy, and openly declare his Assent to the Lawfulness of the use of it, and shall promise, That it shall be constantly used at the time and place accustomed.

In order to Indulgence of such Protestants as cannot be comprehended under the publick Establishment, it is Humbly offered,

1. That such Protestants may have liberty for the Exercise of their Religion in publick, and at their own Charges to build or procure places for their publick Worship, either within or near Towns, as shall be thought most Expedient.

2. That the Names of all such persons who are to have this Liberty be Registred, together with the Congregations to which they belong, and the Names of their Teachers.

3. That every one admitted to this liberty, be disabled to bear any publick Office, (but shall fine for Officers of Burden.

4. And that upon shewing a Certificate of their being listed among those who are indulged, they shall be freed from such legal penalties, as are to be inflicted on those who do not frequent their Parish-Churches.

5. And such persons so indulged shall not for their meeting in Conventicles, be punished by Confiscation of Estates.

6. Provided that they be obliged to pay publick Duties to the Parish where they inhabit under penalty.

7. This Indulgence to Continue for three years.

That the Liturgy may be altered by omitting, — &c.

BY using the reading Psalms in the New Translation. By appointing some other Lessons out of the Canonical Scripture instead of those taken out of the Apocrypha. By not enjoying God-fathers and God-mothers, when either of the parents are ready to answer for the Child. By omitting that clause in the Prayer at Baptism [By spiritual Regeneration.] By changing that Question, wilt thou be baptised, into, Wilt thou have this Child baptised.] By omitting those words in the Thanksgiving after publick and private baptism [To regenerate this Infant by thy holy Spirit, and to receive him for thy Child by adoption. And the first Rubrick after baptism, It is certain by God's word, &c. By changing those words in the Exhortation after baptism [Regenerate and Grafted into the body] into [Received into the Church of Christ.] By not requiring reiteration of any part of the service about baptism in publick, when it is evident that the Child hath been lawfully baptized in private. By omitting that Clause in the Collect after Imposition of hands in confirmation [After the Example of thy holy Apostles, and to certify them by this sign, of thy favour, and gracious goodness towards them.] And by changing that other passage in the prayer before Confirmation [who hast vouchsafed to regenerate, &c.] into [who hast vouchsafed to receive these thy servants into thy Church by baptism]. By omitting that clause in the Office of Matrimony [with my body I thee worship]. And that in the Collect [who hast consecrated, &c.] By allowing Ministers some liberty in the visitation of the sick, to use such other prayers as they shall judge expedient. By changing that clause in the prayer at burial [For as much as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take to himself, &c.] into [Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this World the Soul, &c.] And that clause [In a sure and certain hope, &c.] into [in a full assurance of the resurrection by our Lord Jesus Christ, who is able to change our vile, &c.] By omitting that Clause, We give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful World.] And that other [As our hopes is that our brother doth]. By changing that Clause in the Common service, [our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, &c.] into [our sinful Souls and Bodies may be cleansed by his precious body and blood]. By not enjoying the reading of the Communion. That the Liturgy may be abbreviated as to the length of it: Especially as to morning-service; By omitting all the Responsal prayers from [O Lord open thou our, &c.] to the Litany, and the Litany and all the prayers from [Son of God we beseech thee, &c.] to [we humbly beseech thee O Father, &c.] By not enjoying the use of the Lord's Prayer above once, viz. Immediately after the absolution, except after the Minister's Prayer before Sermon. By using the Gloria Patri only once, viz. after the Reading Psalms. By omitting the venerate exultemus, unless it be thought fit to put any or all of the first seven among the sentences at the beginning. By omitting the Communion service, such times as are not Communion Days; excepting the 10 Commandments, which may be read after the Creed: And joining the prayer, Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep these Lawes, only once at the End. By omitting the Collects, Epistles and Gospels, except only on particular holidays. By inserting the prayers for the Parliament into the Litany immediately after the prayer for the Royal-Family, in this or the like form [That it may please thee to direct and prosper all the Consultations of the High Court of Parliament, to the Advantage of thy Glory, the good of the Church, the safety, honour and welfare of our Sovereign and his Kingdoms.] By omitting the two hymns in the Consecration of Bishops, and the Ordination of Priests. That after the first Question in the Catechism, [What is your Name?] This may follow [When was this Name given you?] And after that [What was promised for you in Baptism?] Answer [Three things were promised for me, &c.] In the Question before the Commandments it may be altered [You said it was promised for you, &c.] To the 14. Qu. [How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained?] The Answer may be [Two only: Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.]

§ 67. Upon Consultation we altered their paper in some things, and added some more (for we were held to those proposals) only leaving the point for Toleration to be debated with our Brethren of the Congregational way: And I privately acquainted Dr. Owen with the substance of the business, and consulted him, that they might not say, we neglected them. And we offered them the following form which was not what we desired, but more than Dr. Wilkins (after Bp. of Chester) would grant us (still professing himself willing of more, but that more would not pass with the Par-

Parliament, and so would frustrate all our Attempts.)

§ 68. The paper offered by us.

1. Those who have been ordained only by meer Presbyters, or the Presidents of their Synods shall be instituted, and authorized to exercise their Ministry (and admitted to Benefices) therein in such manner and by such persons as by his Majesty shall be thereto appointed, by this form and words alone [Take, &c.] Provided that those who desire it, have leave to give in their professions that they renounce not their Ordination, nor take it for a nullity; and that they take this, as the Magistrates License and Confirmation, and that they be not constrained to use any word themselves which are not consistent with this profession.

2. All persons to be admitted by Ordination, Institution, License, or otherwise, into any Ecclesiastical function and dignity, or to any preferment in either University, or to the Employment of a Schoolmaster, shall first take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and instead of all other Oaths, Subscriptions and Declarations (except the Ancient University Oath) shall be required only to subscribe to this form of Words:

J. A. B. Do hereby profess and Declare my unfeigned assent to the truth of all the holy Canonical Scriptures, and to the Articles of the Creed [and to the Doctrine of the Church of England contained in the 36 Articles] or [to the Doctrinal part of the 39 Articles of the Church of England] or [excepting only the 3 Articles of Ceremonies and Prelacy.] And I do hold that the Doctrine, Worship and Government there established doth contain all things absolutely necessary to salvation: And I will not knowingly by my self or any other, endeavour to bring in any Doctrine contrary to this aforesaid so established. And it is my true Resolution to hold Communion with the Churches of England, and faithfully to preserve the peace and happiness thereof.

And all those who are qualified with abilities according to the Law, and take the Oaths and Declarations aforesaid, shall be allowed to preach Lectures and Occasional Sermons and to Catechize and to be presented and admitted to any Benefice, or to any Ecclesiastical, or Academic promotions, or to the teaching of Schools.

3. Every person admitted to any Benefice with cure of Souls, shall be obliged himself, on some Lord's day, within a time prefixed to read the Liturgy appointed for that day (when it is satisfactorily altered), and the greatest part of it in the mean time, and to be often present at the reading of it and sometimes to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the said Liturgies; And it shall by himself or some other allowed Minister be constantly used in his Church, and the Sacraments frequently administered as is required by the Law.

4. The 4th was against the Ceremonies without alteration, in their own words save about bowing at the Name Jesus, as after.

5. No Bishop, Chancellor, or other Ecclesiastical Officers shall have power to silence any allowed Minister, or suspend him ab officio vel beneficio, arbitrarily, or for any cause without a known Law: And in case of any such arbitrary or injurious silencing and suspension there shall be allowed an appeal to some of his Majesty's Courts of Justice, so as it may be prosecuted in a competent time, and at a tolerable expence, being both Bishops and Presbyters and all Ecclesiastical persons are under the Government of the King, and punishable by him, for gross and injurious mis-administrations.

6. Though we judge it the Duty of Ministers to Catechize, instruct, exhort, direct and comfort the people personally as well as publicly upon just occasion, yet lest a pretended necessity of Examinations before the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; or an unwarrantable strictness should introduce Church-Tyranny, and wrong the faithful by keeping them from the Communion, let all those be admitted to the Communion who since their Infant baptism have at years of discretion manifested to the Bishop, or the Ministers of the Parish Church where they live, a tolerable understanding of the Essential points of Faith and Godliness, that is, of the Baptismal Covenant, and of the nature and use of the Lord's Supper, and have personally owned before them or the Church, the Covenant which by others they made in Baptism, professing their Resolution to keep the same, in a Faithful, Godly, Righteous, Charitable and Temporal Life, and are not since this profession revolted to Atheism, Infidelity, or Heresy, (that is the denying of some Essential Article of faith) and live not impenitently in any gross and scandalous sin; And therefore in the Register of each Parish let all their Names be written, who have either before their Confirmation or at any other time thus understandingly owned their Baptismal Covenant, and a Certificate thereof from the Minister of the place shall serve without any further examination, for their admission to Communion in that or any other Parish Church where they shall after live, till by the aforesaid revolts they have merited their suspension.

7. Because in many families there are none who can read or pray, or call to remembrance what they have heard to edify themselves and spend the Lords day in holy Exercises, and many of these live so far from the Church, that they go more seldom thn in the rest, and therefore have great need of the assistance of their Neighbours, it is not to be taken for a Conventicle or unlawful meeting when Neighbours shall peaceably joyn together in reading the Scripture or any good books, or repeating publick Sermons, and praying, and singing Psalms to God, whilst they do it under the inspection of the Minister, and not in opposition to the publick Assemblies. Nor yet that meeting where the Minister shall privately Catechize his Neighbours, or pray with them, when they are in sickness, danger, or distress, the persons of severall Families shall be present.

8. Whereas the Canon and Rubrick forbid the admission of notorious scandalous sinners to the Lords table, be it enacted that those who are proved to deride or scorn at Christianity, or the holy Scriptures, or the Life of Reward and Punishment, or the serious practice of a Godly Life, and strict obedience to Gods Commands, shall be numbered with the Scandalous sinners mentioned in the Canon and Rubrick, and not admitted, before repentance, to the holy Communion.

§ 69. The following paper will give you the reasons of all our alterations of their form of Words: But I must add this, that we thought not the form of Subscription sufficient to keep out a *Papist* from the established Ministry (much less from a Toleration, which we medled not with). And here and in other alterations I bore the blame, and they told me that no Man would put in such doubts but I. And I will here tell Posterity this Truth as a Mystery (yet only to the blind) which must not now be spoken, that I believe that I have been guilty of hindering our own Liberties in all Treaties that ever I was employ'd in: For I remember not one in which there was not some crevice, or contrivance, or terms offered, for such a Toleration, as would have let in the moderate *Papists* with us: And if we would but have opened the Door to let the *Papists* in, that their Toleration might have been charged upon us; as being for our sakes, and by our request or procurement, we might in all likelihood have had our part. But though, for my own part, I am not for Cruelty against *Papists*, any more than others, even when they are most cruel to us, but could allow them a certain degree of liberty, on Terms that shall secure the common Peace, and the People's Souls; yet I shall never be one of them that by any renewed pressures or severities, shall be forced to petition for the *Papists* liberty; if they must have it, let them Petition for it themselves: No craft of Jesuits or Prelates, shall thunder me, cudgel me, or cheat me into the Opinion, that it is now necessary for our own Ministry, Liberty, or Lives, that we, I say, we *Nonconformists*, be the famed Introducers of the *Papists* Toleration; that so neither *Papists*, nor *Prelatists* may bear the odium of it, but may lay it all on us. God do what he will with us, his way is best, but I think that *this is not his way*.

§ 70. Upon these Alterations, I was put to give in my Reasons of them; which were as followeth.

The Reasons of our Alterations of your Proposals.

1. I Put in [Presidents] &c. to avoid Dispute, whether such were meer Presbyters, or (as some think) Bishops. 2. I leave out [times of disorder,] because it will else exclude all that were Ordained by Presbyters since the King came in. 3. I put in [Instituted and Authorized] to intimate that it is not an Ordination to the Ministry in general, but a designation to a particular Charge, and a legal License, &c. 4. [By such as by his Majesty, &c.] because it is not for us to offer our selves to a Diocesans Imposition of Hands in that manner; but if you put it in other Words, we cannot help it. 5. There are three things which the Nonconformists here scruple. 1. Renouncing their Ordination; 2. Reordination (which is like Rebaptization.) 3. Owning the Diocesan Species of Prelacy; (for the Presbyterians are against all Prelacy, and the Episcopal Nonconformists are against the English Frame, as contrary to that in the time of Cyprian, &c.) Therefore because these Words so much seem to express a Re-ordination by Diocesans, 1. by the sign of Imposition of Hands. 2. By the authorising Words, 3. and put in of purpose to satisfie them that think the

the Presbyterians no Ministers. 4. In a time when this hath been so publicly declared; they cannot submit to all this without either a Declaration to the contrary in the Law, or a Liberty by the Law given them to profess their own Sense, in the three particulars questioned, that they renounce not their Ordination, nor take this as Re-ordination; nor own the Diocesan Prelacy, as distinct from the old Episcopacy (though they will submit to it.) 6. As by [Instituted] we intend admittance to a Pastoral Charge, or Authority to administer Sacraments, we desire that may be plainly inserted; seeing he that only preacheth (as Probationers may do) hath no need of this, nor do any scruple to hear him. Or if they do, while he hath no charge, they may turn their back on him; while a Man is a Lecturer only to meer Volunteers, there is no use for this.

II. 1. We mention the University, because many were turned out of their Fellowships there for non-subscribing, &c. 2. We would have the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy made necessary. 3. The professed belief of the Scriptures and Creed, we take to be needful to Admittance: That which was the only ancient Catholick Profession should not be left out of ours. 4. The professed Assent to the Doctrine of the Church of England, (and not only to approve it in tantum) seemeth needful to satisfy the Suspicious, and to shut out Papists and Hereticks from the comprehension. 5. Yet the word [approve] as related to the Worship and Government (though restrictively) will on many Accounts be scrupled; and that is needless. 6. So [absolutely] as joyned to [necessary] is needful to avoid Ambiguity and just Scruple. 7. The word [promise] requireth fuller certainty than [resolve] doth; and it bindeth us, not to alter our Judgments, which is not in our power in such a case. 8. The Word [continue] is a needless and entangling Word, and will deprive us of the use of the Indulgence, if we should ever change our minds. But if (as some say) it be only the Communion of Faith and Love, such as we owe to Neighbour-Churches, and not Subjection, nor local presence in Worship, let that be but expressed, and every sober Person will promise it. 9. To promise to [preserve the Peace and Happiness of the Church] is a fuller Word than [to do nothing to disturb the peace;] and yet more clear, and plainly relateth to the whole Church.

III. We put [bowing at the Name of Jesus, rather than, &c.] to avoid the imputation of Impiety, lest we be thought to be against bowing at that Name simply, when it is but as comparatively and exclusively to others.

IV. 1. [In case if it be thought fit, &c.] We must suppose it thought fit. 2. This whole Undertaking is proper only to them that take a Cure, and not for an occasional or set Lecturer. 3. It will answer our Sense if you put it thus; [Shall read the Liturgy, when satisfactorily altered, and some considerable part 'till then, if it be delayed.] 4. The profession of the Lawfulness, is but a needless temptation, as to him that is bound actually to use it. 5. And the promise that it shall be constantly used may be hindered by sickness, or so many Casualties, that its much safer to bind them only by a Law. 6. And then [the Event] only must be expressed [that it be used] by whose procurement soever, so it be done. I may think it unlawful to procure another to do that, which I cannot do myself, and yet some other may procure it.

In the Second Article I forgot to tell you, That we annex the grant of the desired liberty, after the Subscription, lest else our hopes be frustrate, when we have done all.

The Reasons of the added Articles are apparent in themselves.

The Sum of all our Reasons is, It is confessed that our Phrase will serve the Ends of our Superiours; and we are certain that they will satisfy a far greater number than the other will do, and to their greater ease and quiet of Conscience, that they may not feel themselves still pinched and uneasy, and kept under desires of further changes: And we are sure that we are much better able our selves, to plead down Men's Objections, if it be thus worded, than as the other way. And we would fain have this no patch or palliate Cure, but such as may cause the now drooping Dissenters, to rejoyce under the Government, and to perceive it to be their Interest to defend it against all Attempters of a Change.

§ 71. But because the grand stop in our Treaty was about Re-ordination, and Dr. Wilkins still insisted on this, That those Consciences must be accommodated who took them for no Ministers who were ordained without Bishops, and some Words were

were put into their Proposals, which seemed to signify a Reordination; though he denied such a signification, we were put to give in the following Paper.

The Reasons why we cannot consent to Reordination.

I. **W**E dare not causelessly consent to the use of such Words as imply an untruth, viz. That such as were Ordained by Lawful Pastors, and the Presidents of their Synods, are not lawful Ministers of Christ, in an Ecclesiastical Sense.

II. We dare not consent to the taking of God's Name in vain, by using holy Expressions, and a Divine Ordinance, either as a Scenical Form, or to confirm an Error.

III. We dare not causelessly go against the Judgment of the Universal Church of all Ages, who have condemned Reordination, as they did Rebaptization. The Canons, called the Apostles, deposing both the Ordainers, and the Ordained.

IV. We dare not so far wrong the Protestant Churches, as to do that which importeth, That their Ministry is null, and consequently all their Churches null (politically taken.)

V. We dare not so far wrong all the People of England, and all other Protestant Churches, who have lived under the Ministry of meer Presbyters, or such Bishops as were Ordained only by Presbyters, as to tempt them to think, that all the Sacraments were nullities which they received; and so that they are all unchristened or unbaptized: even Denmark, and those parts of Germany, which have some kind of Bishops, had their first Ordination of them by Pomeranus, and others, that were no Bishops. And most Protestants hold, That Baptism is null, which is not performed by a Minister of Christ. Because no one else is Authorized to deliver God's part of the Covenant, or to receive the Covenant, or invest him in the Christian State and Privileges.

VI. We dare not so far strengthen the cause of the Anabaptists, as to declare thus far, That all the People of England, and all Protestant Churches, as were Baptized by such as had not Ordination by Diocesans, are to be Re-baptized.

VII. We dare not so far harden the Papists, and honour their cause, nor tempt the People to Popery, as to seem to consent, that their Churches, Ministry and Baptism is true, and the Protestant Ministry, Churches and Baptism is false: Nor dare we teach them, if (which God forbid) they should get the power of governing us, to call us all again to be re-ordained and re-baptized: Our Liturgy bidding us to take private Baptism as valid, [if the Child was Baptized by any Lawful Minister] intimating that else it is invalid: and so that seemeth the Judgment of the Church of England.

VIII. We dare not tempt any other Sects, or Usurpers to expect, that as oft as they can get the upper hand, we must be Re-ordained and Re-baptized at their pleasure.

IX. We dare not make a Schism in our Congregations, by tempting the Pastors to reject most of the People from the Communion, as unbaptized Persons.

X. We dare not dishonour the King and Parliament so far as to encourage them, to confirm these Errors by an Act of Parliament; Enacting (really) Re-ordination.

And I R. B. must profess, That having eight Years ago, written a Treatise purposely to prove the validity of the late Ordination, by the Synods of Presbyteries in England (though I never practised any my self) and having openly called for some Confutation of it, I never could procure any to this day: And therefore am the more excusable if I err. (Though I was my self Ordained by a Bishop.)

Note, That by Ordination, we mean the Solemn Separation of a Person from the number of the Laity, to the Sacred Ministry in general; and not the designation, appointment, or determination of him to this or that particular Flock or Church; nor yet a meer Ecclesiastical Confirmation of his former Ordination, in a doubted Case: Nor yet the Magistrate's License to exercise the Sacred Ministry in his Dominions; All which we believe on just Occasion, may be frequently given and received: And we thereby profess to consent to no more.

§ 72. Besides the foresaid Alterations of their Proposals, we offered them this following Emendation of the Liturgy, containing in some Points less, and in some Points more, than their own Proposals (for in this Dr. Wilkins was not streight.)

The most necessary Alterations of the Liturgy

THAT the old Preface be restored instead of the new one.

The Order for all Priests, Deacons, and Curates, to read the Liturgy once or twice every Day, to be put out.

The Rubrick for the old Ornaments, which were in use in the second Year of *Edw. VI.* put out.

The Lord's Prayer to be used intirely with the Doxologies.

Add to the Rubrick before the Communion thus: Nor shall any be admitted to the Communion, who is grossly ignorant of the Essentials of Christianity; or of that Sacrament; or who is an Atheist, Infidel, or Heretick; (that is, denyeth any Essential part of Religion) nor any that derideth Christianity, or the Holy Scriptures; or the strict obeying of God's Commands.

Read the Fourth Commandment as it is in the Text, *viz.* God blessed the Sabbath Day.

Add to the Communion Rubrick; [None shall be forced to Communicate; because it is a high Privilege, which the Unwilling are unworthy of; and so are those who are conscious that they live impenitently in any secret or open heinous sin: And because many conscionable Persons, through Melancholy, or too hard thoughts of themselves, have so great fears of unworthy receiving, that it were like to drive them to despair, or distraction, if they are forced to it before they are satisfied. Therefore let Popery and Prophaneness be expressed, by some fitter means than this.

In the Prayer before the Consecration Prayer, put out [That our sinful Bodies may be made clean by his Body, and our Souls washed by his precious Blood,] and put it thus: That our sinful Souls and Bodies may be cleansed by his Sacrificed Body and Blood.

Let there be liberty to use Christ's own Form of Delivery, recited by *St. Paul, 1 Cor. 11.* changing only the Person, [Take, Eat, this is Christ's Body, which, &c.]

Let Christian Parents be permitted to offer their own Children to God in Baptism, and enter them into the Holy Covenant, by using those Words that are now imposed on the Godfathers.

That where any Minister dare not in Conscience Baptize the Child of proved Atheists, Infidels, gross Hereticks, Fornicators, or other such notorious Sinners; as the Canon forbiddeth us to receive to the Communion (both Parents being such, and the Child in their power and possession,) that Minister shall not be forced to do it; but the Parents shall procure some other to do it.

Alterations very desirable also.

THE Lord's Prayer, and Gloria Patri, seldom used.

Begin with the Prayer for the second Sunday in Advent, for Divine Assistance; or some other.

Let none be forced to hear the Decalogue kneeling; because the Ignorant, who take them for Prayers, are scandalized and hardened by it.

Let none be forced to use Godfathers at their Childrens Baptism, who can (either Parent) be there to perform their Duty. Or, at least, let the Godfathers be but as the ancient Sponsors; whose Office was, 1. To attest the Parents Fidelity; 2. And to promise to bring up the Child in Christian nurture, if the Parents dye, or prove deserters.

Because Ministers subscribe to the 25th. Article of the Church's Doctrine, which saith [Those Five, commonly called Sacraments, that is Confirmation, &c. are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles. ----- For they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.] Therefore in the Collect for Confirmation, put out [Upon whom after the Example of the Holy Apostles, we have now laid our Hands, to certify them by this sign, of thy favour and gracious goodness toward them.

Holidays left indifferent, save only that all be restrained from open labour, and contempt of them. Especially [Holy Innocents Day, St. Michael's Day, and All-Saints] because there is no certainty that they were Holy Innocents. And its harsh to keep a Holiday for one Angel. And all true Christians being Saints, we keep Holidays for our selves.

The Book of Ordination restored as it was.

For [*wilt thou be Baptized*] put [*wilt thou have this Child Baptized.*]

The Cross and the Surplice left at liberty, and kneeling at the Act of Receiving, and bowing at the Name [*Jesus*] rather than [*hrist, God, &c.*]

After Baptism put [*Seeing this Child is Sacramentally Regenerated.*] And in the Prayer following put it, [*That it hath pleased Thee Sacramentally to Regenerate and Adopt this Infant, and to incorporate him into thy Holy Church.*]

Instead of the new Rubrick [*it is certain by God's Word, &c.*] put [*True Christian Parents have no cause to doubt of the Salvation of their Children, dedicated to God in Baptism, and dying before they commit any actual sin.*]

In the Exhortation put it thus, [*Doubt not therefore, but earnestly believe, That if this Infant be sincerely dedicated to God, by those who have that power and trust, God will likewise favourably receive him, &c.*]

Let not Baptism be privately administred, but by a lawful Minister, and before sufficient Witnesses: and when it is evident that any was so Baptized, let no part of the Administration be reiterated.

Add to the Rubrick of Confirmation (or the Preface) [*And the tolerable Understanding of the same Points, which are necessary to Confirmation, with this owning of their baptismal Covenant, shall be also required of those that are not confirmed before their admission to the holy Communion.*]

Let it be lawful for the Minister to put other Questions besides those in the Catechism, to help the Learners to understand; and also to tell them the meaning of the Words as he goeth along.

Alterations in the Catechism (or another allowed.)

Q. **W**hat is your Name?

A. N.

Q. When was this Name given you?

A. In my Baptism.

Q. What was done for you in your Baptism?

A. I was devoted to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and entred into his Holy Covenant, and engaged to take him for my only God, my reconciled Father, my Saviour, and my Sanctifier: And to believe the Articles of the Christian Faith, and keep God's Commandments sincerely all the Days of my Life; Renouncing the Devil, and all his works, the Poms and Vanities of this wicked World, and all the sinful Lusts of the Flesh.

Q. What Mercy did you receive from God in this Covenant of Baptism?

A. God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as my reconciled Father, my Saviour and my Sanctifier, did forgive my Original Sin, and receive me as a Member of Christ, and of his Church, and as his Adopted Child, and Heir of Heaven.

Q. Do you think that you are now bound to keep this Covenant, and to believe and live according to it?

A. Yes, Verily, &c.

Q. Rehearse, &c.

A. I Believe, &c.

Q. What, &c.

A. First, &c.

Q. What be the Commandments of God, which you have Covenanted to observe?

A. The Ten Commandments written by God in Stone, besides Christ's Precepts in the Gospel.

Q. Which be the Ten Commandments?

After the Answer to [*What is thy Duty towards God?*] add, [*And to keep holy the Day which he separateth for his Worship.*] In the next, let [*to bear no malice, &c.*] be put before [*to be true and just.*]

In the Answ. to the Quest. after the Lord's Prayer, after [*all People*] put [*that we may Honour and Love him, as our God; That his Kingdom of Grace may be set up in our Souls, and throughout the World, and his Kingdom of Glory may come, and that God's Law, and not Men's sinful Lusts and Wills may be obeyed, and Earth may be liker unto Heaven. And I Pray, &c.*]

Q. How

Q. How many Sacraments of the Covenant of Grace, hath Christ Ordained in his Church?

A. Two only, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Q. What meanest thou, &c.

A. I mean that Solemn Covenanting with God, wherein there is an outward visible sign, of our giving up our selves to Him, and of his giving his Grace in Christ to us: being ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive that Grace, and a pledge to assure us of it.

To Q. What is the inward Spiritual Grace?

A. The pardon of our Sins by the Blood of Christ, whose Members we are made; and a death unto sin, &c.

Q. Why are Infants Baptized?

A. Because they are the Children of the Faithful; to whom God's Promises are made, and are by them devoted unto God, to be entered into Covenant with Him, by his own appointment; which when they come to Age, themselves are bound to perform.

After the next Answer add, [And for our Communion with Him, and with his Church.]

To Q. What are the Benefits, &c.

A. [The renewed Pardon of our Sins, and our Communion with Christ, and his Church, by Faith and Love, and the strengthening, &c.]

In the Visitation of the Sick, let the Minister have leave to vary his Prayer, as Occasions shall require. And let the Absolution be conditional, [If thou truly believe in God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and truly repentest of thy sins, I pronounce thee absolved, through the Sacrifice and Merits of Jesus Christ.]

If any who is to be kept from the Communion, for Atheism, Infidelity, Heresie or Impenitency in gross sin, shall in sickness desire Absolution, or the Communion: And if any Minister intrusted with the power of the Keys, do perceive no probable sign of true Repentance, and therefore dare not in conscience absolve him, or give him the Sacrament, lest he profane God's Ordinance, and burden the wicked in presumption and impenitency, let not that Minister be forced to that Office against his conscience; but let the sick chuse some other, as he please.

And at the Burial of any who were lawfully kept from the Communion, for the same causes, and not absolved, let the Minister be at liberty to change the words thus [Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this world the soul of this deceased person, we commit his body, &c. believing a Resurrection of the just and unjust, some to joy, and some to punishment]: And to leave out in the Prayer [We give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world]: And instead of it put [And the souls of the wicked to woe and misery. We beseech thee to convert us all from sin, by true and speedy repentance: And teach us to spend this little time in an holy and heavenly conversation, that we may be always prepared for Death and Judgment: And——] And in the next Collect to leave out [as our hope is this our brother doth.]

But in the Rubrick before Burial, instead of [any that die unbaptized] put [any that die unbaptized at years of discretion]; That the Infants of Christian Parents who die unbaptized, be not numbered with the Excommunicate and Self-murderers, and denied Christian Burial.

Let the Psalms in the Parish-Churches be read in the Last Translation.

Let the Liturgy either be abbreviated, by leaving out the short Versicles and Responses; Or else let the Minister have leave to omit them: and in times of cold or haste, to omit some of the Collects, as he seeth cause.

In Churches where many cannot read, let the Minister read all the Psalms himself: because the confused Voice of the multitude is seldom intelligible.

Let the shorter confession, and the general Prayer, offered by the Commissioners 1660. be inserted as aliases, with the Confession and Litany, and liberty granted some time to use them.

All things in the Canon contrary to any thing in this Act to be void and null. And all things repeated in any former Law, that is contrary to this Act.

§ 73. We inserted these Rubricks and Orders, because they gave us more hope that the Alterations of the Liturgy would be granted, than the rest: And therefore we thought best to get that way as much as we could. And yet we insisted most

on the other part, because therein it was desired, that till the Liturgy was satisfactorily reformed, we should not be constrained to read it, but only sometimes the *greater part* of it: Which words I offered my self, lest else the whole should have been frustrate; and because the very words of the Scripture (the Psalms, Sentences, Hymns, Chapters, Epistles, Gospels, &c.) are the far *greater part* of the Liturgy; so that by this we should not have been forced to use any more, or any thing scrupled.

§ 74. Before we concluded any thing, it was desired, that seeing the Earl of *Manchester* Lord Chamberlain, had been our closest Friend, we should not conclude without his notice: And so at a Meeting at his House, these Two more Articles, or Proposals, were agreed to be added: *Viz.*

- “ I. Whereas the Sentence of Excommunication may be passed upon very light Occasions, it is humbly desired, that no Minister shall be compelled to pronounce such sentence against his conscience, but that some other be thereunto appointed by the Bishop, or the Court.
 “ II. That no person shall be punished for not repairing to his own Parish-church, who goeth to any other Parish-church or Chappel within the Diocess.

(For by the Bishop's Doctrine it is the Diocefan Church that is the lowest Political Church, and the Parishes are but *parts* of a Church: For there is no Bishop below the Diocefan. Therefore we go not from our own Church, if we go not out of the Diocess.)

§ 75. When these Proposals were offered to Dr. *Wilkins*, and the Reasons of them: 1. He would not consent to the clause in the first Propos. [Provided that those who desire it, have leave to give in their Profession, that they renounce not their Ordination, &c.] Where was our greatest stop and disagreement.

2. He would not have had subscription to the Scriptures put in, because the same is in the Articles to which we subscribe; I answer'd, that we subscribed to the Articles because they were materially contained in the Scripture, and not to the Scriptures, because they were not in the Articles, I thought it needful for Order sake, and for the right description of our Religion, that we subscribe to the Scriptures first: And to this at last he consented.

3. He refused the last part of the fifth for Appeals to Civil Courts, saying there was a way of Appeals already, and the other would not be endured.

4. The two next (the 6th and 7th) he was not forward to, but at last agreed to them, leaving out the Clause in the 6th for Registering Names.

5. The two last added Articles also were excepted against. But in the end it was agreed (as they said, by the the Lord keeper's Consent) that Sir *Matthew Hale* Lord chief Baron of the Exchequer should draw up what we agreed on into the form of an Act to be offered to the Parliament. And therefore Dr. *Wilkins* and I were to bring our Papers to him, and to advise farther with him, for the wording of it, because of his eminent Wisdom and Sincerity.

§ 76. Accordingly we went to him, and on Consultation with him, our proposals were accepted, with the alterations following.

1. Instead of the Liberty to declare the validity of our ordination, which would not be endured, it was agreed that the terms of Collation should be these [Take thou Legal Authority to preach the Word of God, and administer the Holy Sacraments in any Congregation of England, where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto,] That so the word *Legal* might shew that it was only a general License from the King that we received, by what Minister soever he pleased to deliver it: And if it were by a Bishop, we declared that we should take it from him but as from the King's Minister. For the Paper which I gave in against Re-ordination, convinced Judge *Hales*, and Dr. *Wilkins*, that the renunciation of former Ordination in England was by no means to be exacted or done.

2. Our Form of Subscription remained unaltered.

3. The Clause of Appeals we left out.

4. The Fourth, Fifth, and Seventh passed, leaving out the Clause of Registering Names.

5. The first of the added Articles they thought reasonable; but put it out only, lest by overdoing we should clog the rest, and frustrate all, with those that we were to deal with.

6. The other added Article they laid by, for the same reason, and also, lest it should be a shelter to Recusant Papists. And thus it was agreed, That the Papers should be all delivered to the Lord Chief Baron, to draw them up into an Act. And because I lived near him, he was pleased to shew me the Copy of his Draught, which was done according to all our Sense; but secretly, lest the noise of a prepared Act should be displeasing to the Parliament. But it was never more called for, and so I believe he burnt it.

§ 77. Because they objected, That by the last Article we should befriend the Papists, and especially by a Clause that we offered to be inserted in the Rubrick of the Liturgy, [*That the Sacrament is to be given to none that are unwilling of it,*] and I stood very much upon that with them, that we must not corrupt Christ's Sacrament, and all our Churches, and Discipline, and injure many hundred thousand Souls, only to have the better advantage against Papists; and that there were fairer and better means to be used against them. Upon their Enquiry what means might be substituted, I told them, that besides some others, a subscription for all the Tolerated Congregations or Ministers, distinct from that of the Established Ministry, as followeth, might discover them.

§ 78. The Subscription of the Established Ministry.

" I do hereby profess and declare my unfeigned belief of the Holy Canonical Scriptures,
 " as the infallible, intire, and perfect Rule of Divine Faith, and Holy Living, sup-
 " posing the Laws of Nature; and also my belief of all the Articles of the Creed,
 " and of the 36 Articles of the Doctrine and Sacraments of the Church of England.

Or else the Subscription before agreed on (though this be much better;) supposing the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy also be taken.

The Subscription of all that have Toleration.

" I A. B. do hereby profess and declare, without equivocation and deceit, That I be-
 " lieve Jesus Christ to be the only Governing Head of the Universal Church; and the
 " Holy Canonical Scriptures to be the infallible, intire, and perfect Rule of Divine
 " Faith, and Holy Living, supposing the Laws of Nature; and that I believe all
 " the Articles of the Ancient Creeds, called the Apostle's and the Nicene; And
 " that I will not knowingly oppose any Article of the said Holy Canonical Scriptures,
 " or Creeds; nor of the Creed called Athanasius's: Nor will I publicly, seditiously,
 " or unpeaceably deprave, or cry down the Doctrines, Government, and Worship
 " Established by the Laws.]

This doth exclude the Essentials of Popery, and yet is such as all sober, peaceable Persons that need a Toleration, may submit to.

§ 79. It hath oft times grieved me in former times, to hear how unskillfully some Parliament-Men went about to exclude the Papists, when they were contriving how to take off the Test and Force of the Law, compelling all to the Sacrament. Some must have a Subscription that must name *Purgatory* and *Images*, and *praying to Saints*, and *Justification by Works*, and other Points, which they could neither rightly enumerate nor state, to fit them for such a use as this; but would have made all their work ridiculous, not knowing the Essentials of Popery, which are only to make up such a general Test for their Exclusion.

§ 80. But I suppose the Reader will more feelingly think, when he findeth upon what terms we strive (and all in vain) for a little liberty to preach Christ's Gospel, even upon the hardest Terms that will but consist with a good Conscience, and the safety of our own Souls; he will think, I say, what a case such Ministers and such Churches now are in? And how strange (or rather sad than strange) is it, That

Christian Bishops, that call themselves the Pastors and Fathers of the Church, should put us on such Terms as these, when *Acts 28. ult. Paul* preached in his own House, to as many as came to him, none forbidding him, even under Heathens, &c. And if the Reader be so happy, as to live in Days of the Churches Peace, and Liberty, and Reformation, he will be apt to censure us for yielding to such hard Terms as here we do: Who if he had been in the time and place with us, and seen that we could have the Gospel upon no other Terms, he would pity rather than censure the Churches and us.

§ 81. Nay, how joyfully would (I believe 1400 of) the Nonconformable Ministers of England (at least) have yielded to these Terms, if they could have got them. But, alas! all this labour was in vain: For the active Prelates and Prelatists so far prevailed, that as soon as ever the Parliament met, without any delay, they took notice, That there was a rumour abroad of some Motions or Act to be offered, for Comprehension or Indulgence; and voted, That no Man should bring in such an Act into the House; and so they prevented all talk or motion of such a thing; and the Lord Keeper that had called us, and set us on work, himself turned that way, and talk'd after, as if he understood us not.

§ 82. In April, 1668. Dr. Creighton, Dean of Wells, the most famous, loquacious, ready-tongu'd Preacher of the Court, who was used to preach *Calvin to Hell*, and the *Calvinists* to the Gallows; and by his scornful revilings and jests, to set the Court on a Laughter, was suddenly, in the Pulpit, (without any sickness) surprized with Astonishment, worse than Dr. South, the Oxford-Orator, had been before him; and when he had repeated a Sentence over and over, and was so confounded, that he could go no further at all; he was fain, to all Men's wonder, to come down. And his case was more wonderful than almost any other Man's, being not only a fluent, extemporate Speaker, but one that was never known to want words, especially to express his Satyrical or bloody Thoughts.

§ 83. In July Mr. Taverner, late Minister of Uxbridge, was sentenc'd to Newgate-Goal, for Teaching a few Children at Brainford; but paying his Fine prevented it: And Mr. Button of Brainford, (a most humble, worthy, godly Man, that never was in Orders, or a Preacher, but had been Canon of Christ's Church in Oxford, and Orator to the University) was sent to Goal, for Teaching two Knight's Sons in his House, having not taken the Oxford-Oath, by one Ross a Justice (a Scot, that was Library-Keeper at Westminster) and some other Justices: And many of his Neighbours of Brainford were sent to the same Prison, for worshipping God, in private, together; where they all lay many Months (six as I remember.) And I name these, because they were my Neighbours; but many Countries had the like usage. Yea, Bishop Crofts, that had pretended great Moderation, sent Mr. Woodward, a worthy silenced Minister of Hereford-shire, to Goal for six Months. Some were imprisoned upon the Oxford-Act, and some on the Act against Conventicles.

§ 84. In September, Col. Phillips (a Courtier of the Bed-chamber, and my next Neighbour, who spake me fair) complained to the King of me for Preaching to great numbers: but the King put it by, and nothing was done, at that time.

§ 85. About this time Dr. Manton (being nearest the Court, and of great Name among the Presbyterians, and being heard by many of great Quality) was told by Sir John Rabor, That the King was much inclined to favour the Non-conformists, and that an Address now would be accepted, and that the Address must be a thankful Acknowledgment of the Clemency of his Majesty's Government, and the Liberty which we thereby enjoy, &c. Accordingly they drew up an Address of Thanksgiving, and I was invited to joyn in the presenting of it (but not in the Penning; for I had marr'd their Matter oft enough :) But I was both sick and unwilling, having been oft enough employ'd in vain: But I told them only of my sickness. And so Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, Dr. Jacombe, and Mr. Ennis, presented it: what acceptance it had with the King, and what he said to them, this Letter of Dr. Manton's will tell you. But the Copy of the Acknowledgment I cannot give you, for I never saw it, nor sought to see it, that I remember, for I perceived what it aimed at.

Dr. Manton's Letter to me at Acton.

S I R,

I Was under restraint till now, and could not send you an account of our reception with the King. It was very gracious; He was pleased once and again to signify, how acceptable our Address was, and how much he was persuaded of our Peaceableness; saying, that he had known us to be so ever since his return; promised us, that he would do his utmost to get us comprehended within the Publick Establishment, and would remove all Bars, for he could wish that there had been no Bounds nor Bars at all, but that all had been Sea, that we might have had liberty enough; but something must be done for publick Peace: However, we could not be ignorant, that this was a work of difficulty and time, to get it fully effected for our Assurance: And therefore we must wait till Businesses could be ripened. In the mean time he wish'd us to use our Liberty temperately, and not with such open Offence and Scandal to the Government: He said our Meetings were too numerous, and so (besides that they were against Law) gave occasion to many clamorous People to come with complaints to him, as if our design was wholly to undermine the Church; and to say, Sir, These are they that you protect against the Laws. He instanced in the folly of Farringdon's Preaching in the Play-House: We told him we all disliked the Action, and that he had been sorely rebuked for affronting the Government under which we live, with so much peace, (but I forgot to discharge him:) He instanced in one more, (but with a Preface, that he had a great respect for the Person, and his Worth and Learning) who draweth in all the Countrey round about to him; this Person is Mr. Baxter of Acton; he instanced in him, because of a late Complaint from a Justice of Peace, who had a mind to be nibbling at him, but feared it would be with the offence of his Majesty; we imagine Rofs to be the person. I replied, That you went to the publick, did it in the interval, between Morning and Evening Service, beginning at Twelve. That the first Intendment was for the benefit of your own Family; that this great Company was not invited by you, but intruded upon you; that it was hard to exclude those, who in Charity might be supposed to come with a thirst after the means of Edification. I alledged the general necessity, and that Nonconformists were not all of a piece, and if people of unsober principles in Religion were permitted to preach, a necessity lay upon us, to take the like liberty, that those who have invincible scruples against the publick way, may not be left as a prey to those who might leave bad impressions upon them, which would neither be so safe for Religion, nor the publick peace. To which His Majesty reply'd, That the risse raffie of the people were not of such Consideration, they being apt to run after every new Teacher; but people of Quality might be intreated to forbear to meet, or at least not in such multitudes, lest the publick Scandal taken thereby, might obstruct his Intentions and Designs for our good: He seemed to be well enough pleased, when I suggested that our Sobriety of Doctrine, and meddling only with weighty things, and remembrance of Him in our prayers, with respect, preserved an esteem of his Person and Government in the Hearts of his people, and that possibly people of another humour might season them with worse Infusions: Then Arlington pluck'd him by the Coat, as desiring him to note it. Finally, I told him, That you would have waited upon him with us, if you had not been under the Confinement of a Disease: This is the Sum, express words I have not bound my self unto, only kept as near as I can remember: Since this our Address hath been considered by the Cabinet Council, and approved; the Business was debated, whether it should be made publick, most were for that Opinion, but the final result was, that we should be left at liberty to speak of it with such Restrictions as our Wisdom should suggest. We met him privately in my Lord Arlington's Lodgings. I am now in very great haste, I must abruptly take leave of you, with the profession that I am,

Sir, Your Faithful Brother and Servant.

Some other things, when they come to mind, I will acquaint you with.

Covent Garden, this Friday Morning.

§ 86. But the Minister that offered this acknowledgment did neither publish it, nor give out any Copies of it, I suppose lest they should be thought to be the Persons that were opening the Door to a Toleration which should take in the Papists: For ever since the King himself published a Declaration of his purpose to give such a Liberty as they also should have their part in, and by the Observation of all that passed before and since, by-standers made this *Epitome* of their Expectations.

1. The Papists must have the Liberty of exercising their Religion.
2. The State must not be reproached by it, as intending Popery.
3. The Bishops must have no hand in it, lest they be taken to intend the same, which some of the People are already too apt to believe, especially since they refused Concord with the Ministers, and are for their silencing, and so great severities against them.
4. The Papists must not be seen in it themselves, till they can be sure to carry it, lest it stir up the Parliament and People against them.
5. Therefore it must be done by the Nonconformists.
6. The Presbyterians are four and will not.
7. The Independent Leaders are for the doing it, but they dare not say so, for fear of becoming odious with the Presbyterians, Parliament and People: (And they intend no good to the Papists by it when they have done, but to strengthen themselves) Therefore they dare not appear in it till the Presbyterians join with them.

8. When the smart of the Presbyterians is greater, it may be their Stomachs will come down: Who knoweth whether Extremity may not force them, rather to desire a part in a common Liberty, than to see others have it while they lie in Goals.

9. At least when they wait and beg for their own Liberty, that which is given to all others, will seem to be given chiefly in compassion to them that were the sufferers; and their Necessities will make it said, that they were the Causes.

10. And when it is granted, it is easie to distinguish, &c. And the Presbyterians are the backwarder on these two accounts, 1. When they are known to be the most adverse to Popery, and to have made their Covenant, and opposed the Bishops, &c. on that account, and suspect the Bishops to design again such a Confederacy as *Heylin* defendeth and confesseth, and to have promoted their silencing to this end; after all this to force these Sufferers to take on them the task and odium of procuring the Papist's Liberty, while they that would have it, cry out against it, seemeth to them so intolerable an Injury, that they cannot willingly submit to. 2. Because if they had a part in a common Toleration they believe it is very easie to turn them out of it quickly, and leave the Papists in, by some Oath which shall be digestible by a Papist, and not by them (such as, the *Oxford* Oath, or some others)

11. But either they are mistaken in some of these Conclusions, or else the Papists desire to have two Strings to their Bow. For *Heylin* (in *Laud's* Life) and *Thorndike* (in three late Books) do plainly tell the World, that one Business to be done is, to open the Door of the Church of *England* so wide, by reconciling means, that the Papists might be the easilier brought in to us, and may find nothing to hinder the moderate sort from coming to our Assemblies (by the Pope's consent) and so all notes of Distinction may so far cease. But one part of the Papists themselves are as high to the Bishops, as the Bishops to us; nothing but all will serve their turns: Whether they will have Wit enough to take less at the first, I hope yet the Wisdom of the Superiours will keep us from knowing by experience.

But after all this, we were as before, and the talk of Liberty did but occasion the writing many bitter Pamphlets against Toleration: And among others, they have gathered out of mine, and other Mens Books all that we had then said against Liberty for Popery, and for Quakers railing against the Ministers in the open Congregations, and this they applied now, as against a Toleration of our selves; because the bare name of Toleration did seem in the People's Ears to serve their turn, by signifying the same thing. And because we had said, that Men should not be tolerated to preach against Jesus Christ and the Scriptures, they would thence justify themselves for not tolerating us to preach for Jesus Christ, unless we would be deliberate Liars, and use all their Inventions. And those

those same Men, who when Commissioned with us, to make *such Alterations in the Liturgy as were necessary to satisfy tender Consciences*] did maintain that no alteration was necessary to satisfy them, and did moreover contrary to all our importunity, make so many new burdens of their own to be anew imposed on us, had now little to say, but that they must be obeyed, because they are imposed. Before the imposing Laws were made, they could by no means be kept from making them, that when they were made, they might plead *Law* against those that denied to use their Impolitions. Before the Law was made, they pleaded the Ceremonies and Formalities will be all duties when there is a Law made for them, *Ergo*, a Law shall be made not only for them, but for swearing, unswearing, subscribing, declaring all things imposed to be so true, and so good, that we assent and consent to all: And when the Laws are made, then, O what Rebels are these that will not obey the Law! Then they cry out, If every Man shall be Judge what is Lawful, and shall prefer his own Wit above the Law, what is become of Order and Government: How inconsistent are these Rebellious Principles with a Commonwealth, or any Rule or Peace.] As if they knew not, that the same words may be said for obedience to the Laws about Religion under *Lutherans, Calvinists, Arrians, Papists, Turks, &c.* And if *Hobb's Leviathan* be not set up a Magistrate, that must be Master of our Religion, what signifieth all this? Yet had this talk been more ingenuous by Men that had found all these Laws, and could not procure them to be amended: But for those Men that first resolutely procure them for these ends, to plead them afterwards in this manner, as the reason of all their Actions and violence, is like the Spider in the Fable, to make Webs with great Industry to catch the Flies, and hang them in their way, and then to accuse them of a mortal Crime for coming into their Webs: Or to make Nets to catch the Fish, and take them in it, and then accuse them for coming into their Nets. I speak not this of the Law-makers, but of the Prelatical Commissioners before-mentioned, and their after Practices.

§ 88. About this time, or before, came out a Book called *A friendly debate between a Conformist, and Nonconformist*, written (as was doubted) by Dr. *Simon Patrick*, which made much talk; and a second part after that; and a third part, with an Appendix after that. He had before written a Book called the *Pilgrim*, which with many laudable things, had sharply pleaded that *Obedience must enter the definition of Justifying Faith*; and had censured tartly those that taught otherwise: And by this he incurred as sharp a censure by many of the Nonconformists: Some thought that this exasperated him; others thought that without exasperation he followed his own *Genius* and Judgment. He was one of those then called a *Latitudinarian*, a sober, learned, able Man, that had written many things well, and was well enough esteemed. But this Book was so dis-ingenuous and virulent as caused most Religious People to abhor it for the strain and tendency, and probable Effects. It cannot be denied, but that many godly, zealous Ministers are guilty of weakness of Judgment and expression, and that many mistakes are found among them (for who is it that hath no Errors?) And it cannot be denied but that the greater number of the common People who are seriously Religious and Conscionable, are yet much weaker in Judgment and Language than the Ministers: (For if sudden Conversion and Repentance as soon as it hath changed a Man's mind, and will, and life, in the matters which his Salvation lieth on, did also possess him with all the exactness of Notions and Language which Academicks attain to in many years study, to what purpose were Academies, and those Studies? And then it would be as miraculous a work as the first gift of Tongues.) This Learned Man having met with the weak passages of some Ministers (especially Mr. *Bridge*, and some of the then Independent Party, who in an excessive opposition to the *Arminians* spake something unwarily, if not unsoundly under the pretence of extolling free Grace) he scrapes these together for matter of Reproach: And having heard the crude and unmeet Expressions of many well-meaning Women and unlearned private Men, especially that are inclined most to Self-conceitedness, and unwarrantable singularities and separation, he bundlerh up these, and bringeth them all forth in a way of Dialogue between a Conformist and a Nonconformist, in which he maketh the Nonconformist speak as foolishly as he had a mind to represent him, and only such silly things as he knew he could easily shame. And while he pretendeth but to humble the Nonconformists for over-valuing themselves, and censuring others as ungodly and erroneous, and to shew them what errors and weaknesses are among themselves,

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he speaketh to the Nonconformists in general (though acknowledging some sober Persons to be among them) that which is nothing to the cause of Non-conformity; and laboureth to prove that the Religion of the Non-conformists is *foolish*, ridiculous, &c. As if he should have sought to prove the Religion of *Christians*, or *Protestants* foolish, because there are ignorant persons among them. And instancing in things that concern not Non-conformity, but Prayer, and Preaching, and Discourse of Religion, the Book did exceedingly fit the humours not only of the haters of the Non-conformists, but also of all the prophane despisers and deriders of serious Godliness: So that it was greedily read by all that desired matter of Contempt and Scorn against both Non-conformity and Piety, and was greatly fitted to exasperate them to further Persecutions, and to harden them in impenitency, who had already made such doleful havock in the Church. It was as fit an Engine to destroy Christian Love on both sides, and to engage Men in those ways which still more destroy it, as any thing of long time hath been published. It is true, that in many things they were real weaknesses which he detected, and that he knew more himself than most of those whom he exposed to scorn: And it is true, that many of them by their censoriousness of the Conformists, did too much instigate such Men: But it is as true, that while Christ's Flock consisteth of weak ones in their Earthly State of Imperfection, and while his Church is an Hospital, and he the Physician of Souls, it ill becometh a Preacher of the Gospel to teach the Enemies of Christ and Holiness, to cast all the reproach of the Diseases upon the nature of Health, or on the Physician, or to expose Christ's Family to scorn for that weakness which he pitieth them for, and is about to cure; if he had first told us where we might find a better sort of Men than these faulty Christians, or could prove them better who meddle with God, and Heaven, and Holiness, but formally and complimentally on the by, he had done something. And it is certain that nothing scarce hardened the faulty persons more in their Way and weaknesses, than his way of reprehending them. For my part I speak not out of partiality; for he was pleased to single me out for his Commendations, and to exempt me from the Accusations. But it made my Heart to grieve to perceive how the Devil only was the gainer, whilst Truth and Godliness was not only pretended by both parties, but really intended.

§ 89. Yea it would have grieved the heart of any sober Christian to observe how dangerously each party of the Extremes did tempt the other to impenitency and further Sin! Even when the Land was all on a Flame, and we were all in apparent danger of our ruin by our Sins and Enmities, the unhappy prelates began the Game, and cruelly cast out 1800 Ministers: and the people thereupon esteeming them Wolves, and malignant prosecutors, fled from them as the Sheep will do from Wolves, not considering, that notwithstanding their Personal Sin, they still (outwardly) professed the same Protestant Religion; and when any Prelatist told the Sectaries of their former Sin (Rebellions or Divisions) they heard it as the words of an Enemy, and were more hardened in it against Repentance than before, yea, were ready to take that for a Vertue which such Men reproached them for, when as before they had begun from Experience to repent: And on the other side, when the Prelatists saw what Crimes the Army-party of the Sectaries had before committed, which they aggravated from their own Interest, they noted also all the weaknesses of Judgment and Expression in Prayer, which they met with, not only in the weaker sort of Ministers, but of the very Women, and unlearned People also, and turned all this not only to the reproach of all the Sectaries, but (as their Passion, Interest, and Faction led them) of all the Non-conformists also, of whom the far greatest part were much more innocent than themselves.

§ 90. And so subtil is *Satan* in using his Instruments that by their wicked folly crying out maliciously for *repentance*, he hindered almost all open Confession and Profession of repentance, on both sides. For these self Exalters did make their own Interest and Opinions to pass with them for the sure Expositor of the Law of God and Man: And they that never truly understood the old Difference between the King and Parliament, did state the Crime according to their own shallow passionate conceits, and then in every book cried out, *Repent, Repent, Repent of all your Rebellions from first to last; you Presbyterians began the War, and brought the King's head to the block, tho the Independents cut it off*: And as they put in Lies among some truths,

so the people thought they put in their Duties among their sins, when they called them to repent; And if a man had professed repentance for the one without the other, and had not mentioned *all* that they expected, and made his Confessions according to their prescripts, they would have cryed out, Traytors, Traytors, and have pressed every word to be the Proclamation of another War; So that all their calling for repentance was but an *Ambuscade* and Snare, and most effectually prohibited all open repentance, because it would have been Treason if it had not come up to their most unjust measures; And *all men* thought silence safer with such men, than Confession of sin: (And the sectaries were the more persuaded that their sin was no sin): And this occasioned the greater obduration of their Enemies, who cryed out, None of them all repenteth, and therefore they are ready to do the same again; And so they justified themselves in all the Silencings, Confinings, Imprisonments, &c. Which they inflicted on them, and all the odious representations of them.

§ 91. But that great Lie that the *Presbyterians* in the English Parliament began the War, is such as doth as much tempt men that know it, to question all the History that ever was written in the World, as any thing that ever I heard spoken: Reader, I will tell it thee to thy admiration. When the War was first raised, there was but one *Presbyterian* known in all the Parliament; There was not one *Presbyterian* known among all the *Lord Lieutenants* whom the Parliament Committed the *Militia* to: There was not one *Presbyterian* known among all the General Officers of the Earl of *Essex* Army; nor one among all the *English* Colonels, Majors or Captains, that ever I could hear of (There were two or three swearing *cots*, of whom *Urrey* turned to the King: What their opinion was I know not, nor is it considerable). The truth is, *Presbytery* was not then known in *England*, except among a few studious Scholars, nor well by them. But it was the moderate Conformists and Episcopal Protestants, who had been long in Parliaments crying out of Innovations, Arminianism, Popery, but specially of *Monopolies*, illegal taxes, and the danger of Arbitrary Government, who now raised the War against the rest whom they took to be guilty of all these things: And a few Independents were among them, but no considerable Number. And yet these Conformists never cry out [*Repent ye Episcopal Conformists, for it was you that began the War.*] Much less [*Repent ye Arminian, Grotian, innovating prelates, who were reducing us so near Rome as Heylin in the Life of Laud describeth; for it was you that kindled the Fire, and that set your own party thus against you, and made them wish for an Episcopacy doubly reformed 1 with better Bishops 2 with less secular power, and smaller Diocesses.*]

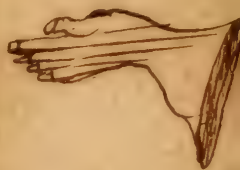
§ 92. Some moderate worthy men did excellently well answer this Book of Dr. *Patrick's*; so as would have stated matters rightly; but the danger of the Times made them suppress them, and so they were never printed; But Mr. *Bowles* late Minister at *Thistlenorth* printed an Answer, which sufficiently opened the faultiness of what he wrote against; but wanting the Masculine strength, and cautionness which was necessary to deal with such an Adversary, he was quickly answered (by fastening on the weakest parts) with new reproach and triumph; And the Author was doubly exposed to suffering: For whereas he was so near Conformity as that he had taken the *Oxford Oath*, and read some Common prayer, and therefore by connivance was permitted to preach in *South-Wark* to an Hospital, where he had 40*l.* per. *an.* and was now in expectation of Liberty at a better place in *Bridewell*, he was now deprived of that; And yet had little relief from the Nonconformists, because he Conformed so far as he did *: And having a numerous family was in great want.

* He after Conformed.

§ 93. The next year came out a far more virulent book called, *Ecclesiastical Policy*, written by *Sam. Parker* a young Man of pregnant parts, who had been brought up among the Sectaries, and seeing some weaknesses among them, and being of an eager Spirit, was turned with the Times into the contrary extreme for which he giveth thanks to God; And judging of those called Puritans and Nonconformists by the people that he was bred amongst, and being now made Arch-Bishop *Sheldon's* household Chaplain, where such work was to be done, he writeth the most scornfully, and rashly, and prophanely, and cruelly, against the Nonconformists, of any man that ever yet assaulted them (that I have heard of:) And in a fluent fervent ingenious style of Natural Rhetorick, poureth out floods of Odious reproaches, and (with incautious Extremities) saith as much to make them hated, and to stir up the Parliament to destroy them as he could well speak. And all this was to play the old game; at once to please the Devil, the Prelates and the prophane, and so to twist all three

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into one party; than which if prelacy be of God, a greater injury could not be done to it; being the surest tryed way to engage all the *Religious*, if not the *Sober* also of the Land against it.

§ 93. Soon after, Dr. *John Owen* first tryed to have engaged me to answer it, by telling me and others that I was the fittest Man in *England* for that work (on what account I now enquire not). But I had above all men been oft enough searched in the malignant fire, and contended with them with so little thanks from the Independents (tho they could say little against it) that I resolved not to meddle with them any more, without a clearer call than this: And besides *Patrick* and that Party by excepting me from those whom they reproached (in respect of Doctrine, disposition and practice) made me the unfittest person to rise up against them: Which if I had done, they that applauded me before, would soon have made me seem as odious almost as the rest: For they had some at hand, that, in evil speaking, were such Masters of Language, that they never wanted *Matter*, nor *Words*, but could say what they listed as voluminously as they desired.

§ 94. Whereupon Dr. *Owen* answered it himself, selecting the most odious Doctrinal Assertions, (with some others) of *Parker's* book; and laid them so naked in the Judgment of all Readers that ever I met with, that they concluded *Parker* could never answer it: Especially because the Answer was delayed about a year. By which Dr. *Owen's* esteem was much advanced with the Nonconformists.

§ 95. But *Parker* contriv'd to have his Answer ready against the Sessions of the Parliament (in *Octob.* 1670.) And shortly after it came out: In which he doth with the most voluminous torrent of naturall and malicious Rhetorick speak over the same things which might have been Comprized in a few Sentences; viz. The *Nonconformists*, *Calvinists*, *Presbyterians*, *Hugonots*, are the most villanous unsufferable sort of sanctified Fools, Knaves; and unquiet Rebels that ever were in the World: With their naughty Godliness, and holy Hypocrisie and Villanies, making it necessary to fall upon their Teachers, and not to spare them; for the Conquering of the rest. But yet he putteth more Exceptions here of the Soberer, honest, peaceable sort (whom he loveth but pitttyeth for the unhappines of their Education) and in particular speaketh kindly of me) than he had done before. For when he had before persuaded men to fall upon the Ministers, and said [*What are an hundred men to be valued, in Comparison of the safety of the whole.*] When Dr. *Owen* and others commonly understood him as meaning that there was but a 100 Nonconformable Ministers (when 1800 were silenced) he found out this shift to abate both the Charge of malignant Cruelty, and Untruth, and saith that he meant that he hoped the seditious hot headed party that misled the people were but a few: Whereby he vindicated fifteen hundred Nonconformable Ministers against those Charges which he and others frequently lay on the *Nonconformists* (by that name.)

But the second part of the Matter of his book, was managed with more advantage; because of all the Men in *England* Dr. *Owen* was the Chief that had Headed the Independents in the Army with the greatest height, and Confidence, and Applause, and afterward had been the greater persuader of *Fleetwood*, *Desborough* and the rest of the Officers of the Army who were his *Gathered Church*, to Compel *Rich. Cromwell* to dissolve his Parliament; which being done, he fell with it, and the King was brought in: So that *Parker* had so many of his Parliament and Army Sermons to cite, in which he urgeth them to Justice, and prophesyeth of the ruine of the *Western* Kings, and telleth them that their work was to take down Civil and Ecclesiastical Tyranny, with such like, that the Dr. being neither able to repent (hitherto) or to justify all this must be silent, or only plead the Art of Oblivion: And so I fear his unfitness for this Work was a general injury to the Nonconformists.

§ 96. And here I think I ought to give Posterity notice, that by the Prelatist's malice, and unreasonable implacable Violence, Independency and Separation got greater advantages, against Presbytery, and all settled accidental extrinlick order and means of Concord, than ever it had in these Kingdoms since the World began. For powerful and Godly Preachers (though now most silenced) had in twenty years liberty brought such numbers to serious Godliness, that it was vain for the Devil or his Servants to hope that suffering could make the most forsake it. And to the Prelatists they would never turn, while they saw them for the sake of their own Wealth and Lordships, and a few Forms and Ceremonies, silence so many hundred worthy self-denying Ministers, that had been Instruments of their Good, and to become the Sou of the prophane malignant Enmity to the far greatest part of the most serious Religion

ligious People in Three Kingdoms. And Presbyterians were forced to forbear all Exercise of their way: they durst not meet together (Synodically) unless in a Goal. They could not (ordinarily) be the Pastors of Parish-Churches, no not for the private part of the Work, being driven five Miles from all their former Charges and Auditors, and from every City and Corporation: Which Law, while they durst not (for the most part of them) obey, they were fain to live privately, as still flying from a Goal, and to preach to none but those that sought to them, and thrust in upon them. So that their Congregations were, through necessity, just of Independent and Separating Shape, and outward Practice, though not upon the same Principles. And the common People (though pious) are so apt to be led by outward palpable Appearances, that they forgot both former Principles, and sad Effects and Practices (though such as one would think should never have been forgotten, at least by them who suffered all these Confusions and Calamities as the Fruits:) yea, more than so, 1. the Sense of our common Faultiness; 2. and the necessity of our present Concord; 3. and the harshness of grating upon suffering Persons; 4. and the reconciling nature of our common Sufferings; made us think it unseasonable and sinful (though after ten Years) to tell one another never so gently of our former Faults, or to touch upon our different Principles; but 'twas thought best to bury all in silence, whilst the Fruits of them spread more, and leavened a great part of the Religious People of the City, yea, of the Land.

§ 97. And it was a great Advantage to them, that their selected Members being tyed by Covenants, stuck close to them, and the Presbyterians Assemblies (unless they gathered Churches in their way) were but unknown or uncertain People for a great part: And so the only order seemed to be left in the gathered Churches.

§ 98. And another Advantage was, That being more than the rest against the Bishops, Liturgies, Ceremonies, and Parish-Communion, they agreed much better with the disposition and passions of most of the Religious suffering People. And those of us that were of another mind, and refused not Parish-Communion in some Places and Cases, were easily represented by them to the People, as luke-warm Temporizers, Men of too large Principles, who sapt the Anti-christian Pottage, though we would not eat the Flesh. And a few such Words behind our backs, wrought more on the Minds of many, especially of the meaner and weaker sort of People, than many Volumes of Learned Argument: This weakness we cannot deny to their Accusers.

§ 99. But whoever be the Sect-Masters, it is notorious, That the Prelates (tho' not they only) are the Sect-makers, by driving the poor People by violence, and the viciousness of too many of their Instruments, into these alienations and extreams: (though I confess that Men's guilt, in the Days of Liberty of Conscience, must silence both Masters and Disciples from justifying themselves.) When I think of our Case, and think of Christ's way of using Parables, I am inclined to interpose a few.

§ 100. In the *West-Indies*, the Natives make Bread of a Root which is poison, 'till corrected, and then it is tolerable Bread: The *Europeans* had a Controversie with the *Indians*, and another among themselves: The *Indians* said, That their Roots were the better, because our Wheat consisted of so many small incoherent Grains, and was divisible even unto Atoms: To prove which, they did grind it to Flower on the Mill, and then triumphing cried, see what Dust your Corn is come to! The *Christians* said, that their Wheat was better than the *Indian's* Roots, as being more agreeable to the Nature of Man; and that all those Atoms might be Cemented by a skilful hand, and fermented into a wholsom Mass, and baked into better Bread than theirs. On the other side, in a Place and Year where *English* Corn was scarce, some of the *Christians* did eat of the *Indian* Bread; but the rest maintained that it was unlawful, because the Root had poison in it; and therefore they would rather live without. The other answered them, That the Poison was easily separable from the rest, and a wholsome Bread made of it, though not so good as ours. The Contention increased, and the Refusers called the other Murderers, as persuading Men to eat Poison: And the other called them ignorant Self-Murderers, who would furnish themselves and their Families. When the reviling and censure had continued a while, the Famine grew so hot, that one half of the Refusers dyed; and the rest by pinching hunger and dear-bought Experience, were first induced to

try, and after to feed on the *Indian* Bread, to the preservation of their Lives. But e'er long, the *English* Wheat prospered again; and then the *Europeans* fell into three Parties among themselves. One Party joyned with the *Indians*, and said the *Indian* Bread is best; for that saved our Lives when the *English* failed us: Therefore it shall be made Banishment or Imprisonment to sow or speak for the *English* (or *European*) Grain or Bread.

Another Party reviled those that drew their Fathers to eat *Indian* Bread, and said, shall we be befooled, and go against our Nature, and our common Senses, our Taste, our experience of Strength and Vivacity? Do we not see that the *English* is best? Therefore they were Traytors that drew our Fore-fathers to eat the others, and these are inhuman Tyrants that now compel Men to it.

But the third party said, The *English* Bread is best, which we never denied; but the *Indian* Bread was a thousand fold better than none: we only used it when we could get no better; which was no changing of our Minds, but of our Practice. And we will do the like in the like case of necessity. Yea, though it grieveth us to be put to it by our own Countrey-men, we will rather eat now the *Indian* Bread, than be famished by Banishment, or in a Prison. How this Controversie will end, time will shew: But every side hath so learned Men, that it's never like to end by Disputing; for every one can shame his Adversary's Words. But either another *Famine*, or a plenty of *European* Bread, with liberty to use it, is like to end it, if it ever end.

§ 101. The like Controversie fell out in the *Indies*, whether *Asses* or *Horses* were to be preferred, as fittest for Man's use. The *Indians* said *Asses*, because it had been their Countreys use; and *Horses* were so unruly, that they would run away with the Rider, and cast their Burdens, to the danger of Men's Lives. The *Europeans* said, the *Horses* might be so used, as to be more tame, and so made far more useful than the *Asses*; and some little inconveniencies and perils must be endured for a greater good. At last, all the *European Horses* dyed; and then the *English* fell into Difference, whether it were lawful to ride on *Asses*: Some said no, and aggravated their baseness: Some said yea, when we can have no better. But when the Land was again stored with *European Horses*, the *English* fell into just such a Difference as before. Some would have all the *English Horses* kill'd, and those banished or imprisoned that would use them: And they said, Do we not see by long experience, that Colts cannot be tamed, nor made tractable, except to a few, that use to ride them? And all that never had skill to tame them, or that had ever catch'd a fall by them, were on this side. Others said, it was not lawful to use an *Ass*, but yet they would have none denied liberty herein, save only that the Boys that see him, should have leave to hoot. The third sort preferred *Horses*, but yet would have every Man have liberty to use a Horse or an *Ass* as he pleased, and none to have liberty to hoot at them, or openly deride them on either side. The Matter came before the Judges. The first sort confessed, that *Horses* made a fairer shew, but that was their Hypocrisie; and that they went swifter, but it was to the Rider's overthrow: And said, what need you more than all our Experience; when all we have been cast by them, to the hazard of our Lives: And we only are the King's best Subjects, and therefore by casting us you would depose the King, and whatever you pretend, you are Traytors, and this lyeth at the bottom. For no Subjects, no King; and if we must ride on *Horses*, we shall be no Subjects long. And to have some use *Horses* and some *Asses*, will breed Factions and endless Divisions amongst us; and what a ridiculous Monster will it make the Kingdom? They that use *Horses* will still be deriding them that ride on *Asses*, &c. The other answered them 1. That the main cause of their misfortunes came from their own unskillfulness, and disuse, who had not Patience to learn to ride, nor Humility to confess their unskillfulness. And that it were better for the Kingdom, that those that have more skill to tame Colts, and ride *Horses*, were suffered to furnish the King and Kingdom with that nobler Breed, than to dishonour it, and wrong so many, to serve the ignorance or sluggishness of some.

The first urged their Experience, and the latter urged their contrary Experience; till the Judge, being a wise Man, would have fain seen the Experience of the latter sort, and have permitted them to ride a while before them. But the other urged, [Will not all our past Experience warn you? Will you yet be guilty of those Men's Blood?] The Judge answered, It will be but the Rider's, and none of yours: Why pretend you to be more careful of their Lives, than they are of their own; even when you would have them Imprisoned or Banished? So it came to the Tryal; but the Accusers would needs choose the Horses; and they chose none for the Tryal but unbroken Colts. The other only desired, that either they might have time to break these Colts first, at their own peril, or else might be tried with such as they themselves had broken. But the other cried out, Do you not hear now, my Lord, the impudence and unreasonableness of these brazen-faced Villains, that will never be content? Did not we tell you, That nothing would satisfy them, if you granted their Desires. You have granted them a Tryal, and now if they may not have their own Terms, they are as unquiet as before: Are these Fellows fit to be suffered in a peaceable Common-wealth.

But the King himself interposed, as wiser than them all, and said, I will try them both on Colts and Horses: so it came to the open Tryal; and it so strangely happened, that all the tamed Horses were ridden in a blameless Order, and the Colts themselves cast not one of their Riders; but only some time kick'd, and bit at those that came too near them, and strove a little against the Bit.

This Experience had like to have carried it for Horses; for the Judge said, I see now it is but the Accusers fault, that they have sped worse. And the Defendants said, We confess, my Lord, that Colts are Colts, and must have labour, and also that some Horses are too hot mettled, and we are contented that you lay by those few, if they prove untameable; but not to banish all Horses, and their Riders for their sakes.

This Motion seemed reasonable to some, and I am persuaded it had prevailed, but for two unhappy Arguments at the last. 1. Said the Accusers, my Lord, you see that these Horses, even the best ridden of them all, are Factious: They make a difference between the King's Subjects; they will be ruled indeed, but it is only by these Fellows that are used to them; they would quickly cast us off, if we should ride them: And then they say, it is our unskilfulness, when it is nothing but their seditious unruly humour. My Lord, We can name you as worthy Men, and skilful Riders, as any are in the World, that have been cast by Horses. And moreover, it appeareth, That Nature never made them for Man's use; for they have not their Gentleness as the *Asses* have by nature, but only by much force and use: And who knoweth not forced things will quickly return like an unstrung Bow, to their natural state, which here is nothing but unruly fierceness. And besides, when in all Ages, it must cost so much ado to tame them, with the hazard of Men's lives, Men will at last be weary of so much pains as well as we. 2. But if all this will not do, in a word, if you banish them not, you are not *Cæsar's* Friend, for we can tell you of a Horse that once cast an Emperor, to the loss of his life, who was as good and as skilful a Rider, as any in the World. This last Word stopt the Defendant's Mouths. For though they whispered among themselves, 1. That the main fault was in the Riders, that should have better tamed that Horse for the Emperor. 2. And that a Man in white was seen to put Nettles under the Horses Tail, and continually to keep and prick in his side, and to beat him on. 3. That many thousand *Irish* Men frightened him with Guns and Fire-balls, 'till he was not himself. 4. That it was an extraordinary fierce natur'd Horse. 5. The Accusers themselves were the unskilful Riders, who first spoiled them. 6. That it hath been revenged already by the Blood of many, who had the last Hand in spoiling the Horse. 7. That they abhor the Thoughts of the Action, as well as the Accusers; and are content, that as strict Laws be made as may be, for skilful Riders, and for a careful choice for the King's own Saddle] with more such like; yet this was so tender a Point, that very few of the Defendants durst speak out; and so -----

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And here also the defendants fell into differences among themselves; when the point of necessity, some that had pleaded most for *Horses*, would make use of *All's* rather than none: And others for it, called them *Turn-Coats*, and the Servants of Tyranny. But how the Controversie is like to end, I told you before.

I have but one word to say, for expounding my Parable, that by *Horses* I do not mean Non-conformists, (unless as any of them fall under another *Genus*. It is serious, Religious Persons that I mean, who are scorned as Puritans, Zealots, and Precisians, because they set not as light by Heaven as others, and will go further in Religion than dead Formality, and Imagery.

§ 102. But I must return and say something of my own affairs: Whilst I lived at *Alton*, as long as the Act against Conventicles was in force, though I Preached to my Family, few came to hear me of the Town; partly because they thought it would endanger me, and partly for fear of suffering themselves, but especially because they were an ignorant poor People, and had no Appetite to such things. But when the Act was expired, there came so many that I wanted room; and when once they had come and heard, they afterward came constantly. Infomuch that in a little time there was a great number of them that seemed very seriously affected with the things they heard, and almost all the Town and Parish, besides abundance from *Bramford*, and the Neighbour Parishes came: And And I know not of three in the Parish that were Adversaries to us or our Endeavours, or wisht us ill.

§ 103. Experience here convinced me that the Independent separating rigour is not the way to do the People good. After Dr. *Featly*, Mr. *Nye*, and Mr. *Elford*, two able Independents had been the settled Ministers at *Alton*; and when I was there, there remained but two Women in all the Town, and Parish, whom they had admitted to the Sacrament (whereof One was a Lady that by alienation from them turned Quaker, and was their great Patroness, and returned from them while I was there, and heard me with rest.) This rigour made the People think hardly of them; and I found that the uncharitable conceit, that the Parishes are worse than they are, doth tend to make them as bad as they are thought. I am sure there were many that spake to me like serious Christians, of the poorer sort, and few that were scandalous, and many I could comfortably have Communicated with. And when Threatnings increased, they continued still to hear with diligence, so that my Rooms would not contain them. And had I continued there longer, I should have hoped by those beginnings, that experience might convince Men, that Parish-Churches may consist of capable materials.

§ 104. The Parson of the Parish was Dr. *Rive*, Dean of *Windsor*, Dean of *Wolverhampton*, Parson of *Haseley*, and of *Alton*, Chaplain in ordinary to the King, &c. His Curate was a weak, dull young Man, that spent most of his time in Ale-houses, and read a few dry Sentences to the People, but once a day: But yet because he preached true Doctrine, and I had no better to hear, I constantly heard him when he preached, and went to the beginning of the Common Prayer; and my House facing the Church-Door, within hearing of it, those that heard me before, went with me to the Church; scarce three that I know of in the Parish refusing, and when I preached after the publick Exercise, they went out of the Church into my House. It pleased the Dr. and Parson that I came to Church, and brought others with me: But he was not able to bear the sight of Peoples crowding into my House, though they heard him also; so that though he spake me fair, and we lived in seeming Love and Peace (while he was there) yet he could not long endure it. And when I had brought the People to Church to hear him, he would fall upon them with groundless Reproaches, as if he had done it purposely to drive them away, and yet thought that my preaching to them, because it was in a House, did all the mischief, though he never accused me of any thing that I spake. For I preached nothing but Christianity and Submission to our Superiours; Faith Repentance, Hope, Love, Humility, Self-denial, Meekness, Patience, and Obedience.

§ 105. But he was the more offended because I came not to the Sacrament with him. Though I communicated in the other parish-Churches at *London*, and elsewhere. I was loth to offend him by giving him the Reason; which was that he being commonly reputed a Swearer, a Curser a Railer, &c. in those
tender

tender times it would have been so great an offence to the Congregational Brethren, if I had Communicated with him (and perhaps have hastened their sufferings who durst not do the same) that I thought it would do more harm than good.

§ 106. The last year of my abode at *Abon*, I had the happiness of a Neighbour whom I cannot easily praise above his worth: Which was Sir *Mat. Hale* Lord chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, whom all the Judges and Lawyers of *England* admired for his skill in Law, and for his Justice, and Scholars honoured for his Learning, and I highly valued for his sincerity, mortification, self-denial, humility, conscientiousness, and his close fidelity in friendship. When he came first to Town, I came not near him lest being a silenced and suspected person (with his Superiors) I should draw him also under suspicion, and do him wrong: Till I had notice round about of his desire of my Acquaintance; And I scarce ever conversed so profitably with any other person in my Life. *

§ 107. He was a Man of no quick utterance, but often hesitant; but spake with great reason. He was most precisely just; insomuch as I believe he would have lost all that he had in the World rather than do an unjust Act: Patient in hearing the tediousst speech which any Man had to make for himself! The pillar of Justice, the Refuge of the subject who feared Oppression, and one of the greatest Honours of his Majesty's Government: For with some more upright Judges, he upheld the honour of the *English* Nation, that it fell not into the reproach of Arbitrariness, Cruelty and utter Confusion. Every Man that had a just cause was almost past fear, if they could but bring it to the Court or Assize where he was Judge (for the other Judges seldom contradicted him.) He was the great Instrument for rebuilding *London*: For when an Act was made for deciding all Controversies that hindered it; it was he that was the constant Judge, who, for nothing followed the work, and by his Prudence and Justice removed a multitude of great Impediments. His great advantage for innocency was that he was no Lover of Riches or of Grandeur. His Garb was too plain; He studiously avoided all unnecessary familiarity with great persons, and all that manner of Living which signifyeth Wealth and Greatness. He kept no greater a family, than my self. I lived in a small house, which for a pleasant back-side he had a mind of: But caused a stranger (that he might not be suspected to be the Man) to know of me whether I were willing to part with it, before he would meddle with it; In that house he liveth contentedly, without any pomp, and without costly or troublesome retinue or visitors; but not without Charity to the poor: He continueth the study of Physicks and Mathematicks still as his great delight: He hath himself written four Volumes in Folio (three of which I have read) against Atheism, Sadduceism and Infidelity, to prove first the Deity and then the immortality of Man's Soul, and then the truth of Christianity and the holy Scripture, answering the Infidels Objections against Scripture; It is strong and masculine, only too tedious for impatient Readers: He saith, he wrote it only at vacant hours in his Circuits to regulate his meditations, finding that while he wrote down what he thought on, his thoughts were the easilier kept close to work, and kept in a method, and he could after try his former thoughts, and make further use of them if they were good. But I could not yet persuade him to hear of publishing it.

The Conference which I had frequently with him, (mostly about the immortality of the Soul, and other Foundation points, and Philosophical) was so edifying, that his very Questions and Objections did help me to more light than other mens solutions. Those that take no Men for Religious who frequent not private Meetings, &c. took him for an Excellently righteous moral Man: But I that have heard and read his serious Expressions of the Concernments of Eternity, and seen his Love to all good Men, and the blamelessness of his Life, &c. thought better of his Piety than of mine own. When the People crowded in and out of my House to hear, he openly shewed me so great respect before them at the Door, and never spake a word against it, as was no small encouragement to the Common People to go on; though the other sort muttered that a Judge should seem so far to countenance that which they took to be against the Law. He was a great Lamentor of the Extremities of the Times; and the violence and foolishness of the predominant Clergy, and a great desirer of such abatements as might restore us all to serviceableness and Unity. He had got but a very small Estate (though he had long the greatest Practice;) because he would take but little Money, and undertake no more business than he could well dispatch. He often offered to the Lord Chancellor to resign his place, when he was blamed for doing that which he supposed was

* I have since written my knowledge of him.

Justice.

Justice. He had been the Learned *Selden's* intimate friend, and one of his Executors. And because the *Hobbiens* and other Infidels would have persuaded the World that *Selden* was of their mind; I desired him to tell me truth therein: And he assured me that *Selden* was an earnest Professor of the Christian Faith, and so angry an Adversary to *Hobbs* that he hath rated him out of the Room.

§ 108. This year 1669 the Lord Mayor of *London* was *Sir William Turner*, a Man Conformable, and supposed to be for Prelacy; but in his Government, he never disliked the Nonconformable Preachers, nor troubled men for their Religion; And he so much denied his own gain, and sought the Common good and punished vice, and promoted the rebuilding of the City, that I never heard nor read of any Lord Mayor who was so much honoured and beloved of the City: Insomuch that at the End of his year, they chose him again and would have heard of no other, but that he absolutely refused it, partly as being an usual thing, and partly (as was said) because of a Message from his superiours: For the Bishops and Courtiers who took him for their own, were most displeased with him.

§ 109. The liberty which was taken by the Nonconformists in *London*, by reason of the plague, the fire, the connivance of the King, and the resolved quietness of the Lord Mayor, did set so many Preachers through the Land (as is said) on the same work, that in Likelyhood many thousand Souls are the better for it; And the predominant Prelates murmured and feared: For they had observed that when serious Godliness goeth up, they go down. So that they bestirred themselves diligently to save themselves and the Church of *England* from this dreaded danger.

§ 110. At this time our Parson *Dean Rive* got this following advantage against me (As I had it from his own mouth). At *Wolverhampton* in *Staffordshire* where he was Dean, were abundant of Papists, and Violent Formalists: Amongst whom was one *Brasgirdle* an Apothecary, who in Conference with Mr. *Reynolds* (an able Preacher there silenced and turned out) by his bitter words tempted him into so much indiscretion as to say that [the Nonconformists were not so contemptible for Number and Quality as he made them, that most of the people were of their mind, that *Cromwell* tho an Usurper had kept up *England* against the *Duch*, &c. And that he marvelled that he would be so hot against private Meetings, when at *Alton* the Dean suffered them at the next door.] With this advantage *Brasgirdle* writeth all this greatly aggravated to the Dean. The Dean hastens away with it to the King as if it were the discovery of a Treason. Mr. *Reynolds* is questioned, but the Justices of the Country to whom it was referred, upon hearing of the business, found meer imprudence heightened to a Crime, and so released him: But before this could be done, the King exasperated by the name of *Cromwell* and other unadvised words, as the Dean told me, bid him go to the Bishop of *London* from him, and him so to the suppression of my Meeting (which was represented to him also as much greater than it was) whereupon two Justices were chosen for their turn to do it: One *Ross*, of *Brainford*, a *Scot*, before-named, and one *Phillips*, a Steward of the A. Bishop of *Canterbury*.

§ 111. Hereupon *Ross* and *Phillips* send a Warrant to the Constable to apprehend me and bring me before them to *Brainford*. When I came, they shut out all persons from the Room. and would not give leave for any one person, no not their own Clerk or Servant, or the Constable to hear a Word that was said between us. Then told me that I was convicted of keeping Conventicles contrary to Law, and so they would tender me the *Oxford* Oath. I desired my Accusers might appear to Face, and that I might see and speak with the Witnesses that testified that I kept Conventicles contrary to the Law; which I denied, as far as I understood Law; but they would not grant it. I pressed that I might speak in the hearing of some Witnesses, and not in secret; for I supposed that they were my Judges, and that their presence and business made the place a place of Judicature, where none should be excluded, or at least some should be admitted. But I could not prevail: Had I resolved on silence, they were resolved to proceed, and I thought a Christian should rather submit to violence, and give place to Injuries, than stand upon his right, when it will give others occasion to account him obstinate. I asked them whether I might freely speak for my self, and they said yea, but when I began to speak, still interrupted me, and put me by: Only they told me, that private Meetings had brought us to all our Wars, and it tended to raise new Wars, and *Ross* told me what he had suffered by the War, (who, it's said was but a poor Boy, and after a Schoolmaster) and *Phillips* having but one Leg,

Leg, told me he had lost his Leg by the Wars; and I thought then there was no remedy, but Preachers must be silenced, and live in Goals. But with much importunity I got them once to hear me, while I told them why I took not my Meeting to be contrary to Law, and why the *Oxford Act* concerned me not, and they had no Power to put that Oath on me by the Act: But all the Answer I could get, was, *That they were satisfied of what they did.* And when, among other reasonings against their course, I told them I thought Christ's Ministers had in many Ages been Men esteemed, and used as we now are, and their Afflictors have insulted over them, the Providence of God hath still so ordered it, that the Names and Memory of their Silencers and Afflictors have been left to Posterity for a Reproach, insomuch that I wondered that they that fear not God, and care not for their own, or the People's Souls, should yet be so careless of their fame, when Honour seemeth so great a matter with them. To which *Ross* answered, that he desired no greater Honour to his Name, than that it should be remembred of him, that he did this against me, and such as I, which he was doing. Then they asked me whether I would take the Oath, I named a difficulty or two in it, and desired them to tell me the meaning of it. They told me, that they were not to expound it to me, but to know whether I would take it. I told them it must be taken with understanding, and I did not understand it. They said I must take it according to the proper sence of the Words. I asked them whether the proper sence of those Words [*I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of Government in the Church*] was not [*of any time*] universally as it's spoken; they said yea: I asked them, whether it were in the Power of the King and Parliament to make some alteration of Church-Government; *Ross* first said, that before it was settled it was --- But better bethinking himself, said, Yea: I told him the King once gave me a Commission to endeavour an alteration of the Liturgy, and allowance to endeavour the alteration of Church-Government, as may be seen in His Majesty's Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs. If he should command me the like again, am I not sworn by this Oath, if I take it, to disobey him; yea, or if the Law-makers change the Law, &c. At this *Ross* only laught and derided me, as speaking a ridiculous supposition, and said, that could not be the Sence. I told him, that then he must confess the Error of his Rule, and that the Oath is not to be understood, according to the proper meaning and use of those Words. And I bad them take notice that I had not refused their Oath, but desired an explication of it, which they refused to give, (though I had reason enough to resolve me not to take it, however they that were not the makers of the Law, should have expounded it.) And so *Phillips* presently wrote my *Mittimus*, as followeth,

§ 112. To the Keeper of his Majesty's Goal commonly called the *New-Prison* in *Clerkenwell*.

Middlesex. **VV** Horeas it hath been proved unto us, upon Oath, that Richard Baxter, Clerk, hath taken upon him to Preach in an unlawful Assembly, Conventicle, or Meeting, under colour or pretence of Exercise of Religion, contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom, at Acton, where he now liveth (in the said County) not having taken and subscribed the Oath by Act of Parliament, in that case appointed to be taken. And whereas we having tender'd to him the Oath and Declaration appointed to be taken by such as shall offend against the said Act, which he hath refused to take, we therefore send you herewith the Body of the said Richard Baxter straitly charging and commanding you in his Majesty's Name to receive him the said Richard Baxter into his Majesty's said Prison, and him there safely to keep for six Months without Bail or Mainprize. And hereof you are not to fail at your Peril. Given at Brentford the Eleventh of June, in the one and twentieth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second.

J. Philips.
Tho. Ross.

§ 113. Here it is to be noted that the Act against Conventicles was long ago expired; that I was never Convict of a Conventicle while that Law was in force, nor since: that the *Oxford* Act supposeth me Convict of a Conventicle; and doth not enable them to Convict me, without another Law: That really they had none but *Ross's* Man to witness that I preached, who crept in but the Lord's Day before, and heard me only preach on this Text. *Mat. 5. Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the Earth*] presseth especially Quietness and Patience towards our Governours, and denying all turbulent, unpeaceable, and seditious dispositions and practices.

§ 114. They would have given me leave to stay till *Monday* before I went to Goal, if I would promise them not to preach the next Lord's Day, which I denied to promise, and so went away the next Morning.

§ 115: This was made a heinous Crime against me at the Court, and also it was said by the --- that it could not be out of Conscience that I preached, else why did not my Conscience put me on it so long before. Whereas I had ever preached to my own Family, and never once invited any one to hear me, nor forbid any: So that the difference was made by the people, and not by me. If they come more at last than at first, before they had ever heard me, that signified no change in me. But thus must we be judged of, where we are absent, and our Adversaries present; and there are many to speak against us what they please, and we are banished from City and Corporations, and cannot speak for our selves.

§ 116. The whole Town of *Alton* were greatly exasperated against the Dean, when I was going to Prison; insomuch as ever since they abhor him as a selfish Persecutor: Nor could he devise to do more to hinder the success of his (seldom) Preaching there: But it was his own choice, Let them hate me, so they fear me: And so I finally left that Place, being grieved most that Satan had prevailed to stop the poor People in such hopeful beginnings of a common Reformation, and that I was to be deprived of the exceeding grateful Neighbourhood of the Lord Chief Baron *Hale*, who could scarce refrain Tears when he did but hear of the first Warrant for my appearance.

§ 117. I knew nothing all this while of the rise of my trouble; but I resolved to part in Peace on my part with the Dean, not doubting but it was his doing. And so I went to take my leave of him, who took on him to be sorry, and swore it was none of his doing, and to prove it, told me all the Story before mentioned; that such a Letter he received from *Wolverhampton*, and being treasonable, he was fain to acquaint the King with it: And when he saw my Meeting mentioned in the Letter, he examined him about them, and he could not deny but they were very numerous; and the King against his Will sent him to the Bishop of *London* to see it suppress. I told him that I came not now to expostulate or express any Offence, but to endeavour that we might part in Love. And that I had taken that way for his assistance, and his People's good, which was agreeable to my Judgment, and now he was trying that which was according to his Judgment; and which would prove the better the end will shew. He expostulated with me for not receiving the Sacrament with him, and offered me any Service of his which I desired, and I told him I desired nothing of him, but to do his People good, and to guide them faithfully, as might tend to their Salvation, and his own, and so we parted.

§ 118. As I went to Prison I called of Serjeant *Fountain*, my special Friend, to take his Advice (for I would not be so injurious to Judge *Hale*) And he perused my *Attritus*, and in short advised me to seek for a *Habeas Corpus*, yet not in the usual Court (the King's-Bench) for reasons known to all that know the Judges, nor yet in the Exchequer, lest his Kindness to me should be an Injury to Judge *Hale*, and so to the Kingdom (and the Power of that Court therein is questioned) but at the Common-Pleas, which he said might grant it, though it be not usual.

§ 119. But my greatest doubt was whether the King would not take it ill, that I rather sought to the Law than unto him; or if I sought any release rather than continued in Prison. My Imprisonment was at present no great Suffering to me, for I had an honest Jaylor, who shewed me all the Kindness he could; I had a large room, and the liberty of walking in a fair Garden; and my Wife was never so chearful a Companion to me as in Prison, and was very much against my seeking to be released, and she had brought so many Necessaries, that we kept House

House as contentedly and comfortably as at home, though in a narrower room, and I had the sight of more of my Friends in a day, than I had at home in half a Year: And I knew that if I got out against their Will, my sufferings would be never the nearer to an end. But yet on the other side, 1. It was in the extreamest heat of Summer, when *London* was wont to have Epidemical diseases: And the hope of my dying in Prison I have reason to think was one great inducement to some of the Instruments, to move to what they did. 2. And my Chamber being over the Gate, which was knockt and opened with noise of Prisoners just under me almost every Night, I had little hope of sleeping but by day, which would have been likely to have quickly broken my strength, which was so little, as that I did but live: 3. And the number of Visitors by day, did put me out of hope of Studying, or doing any thing but entertain them. 4. And I had neither leave at any time to go out of Doors, much less to Church on the Lord's Days, nor on that Day to have any come to me, nor to Preach to any but my Family.

Upon all these Considerations, the advice of some was, that I should Petition the King, but to that I was averse, 1. Because I was indifferent almost whether I came out or not; and I was loth either to seem more afflicted or impatient than I was, or to beg for nothing. 2. I had avoided the Court, and the Converse of all great Men so many years on purpose, that I was loth to creep to them now for nothing. 3. And I expected but to be put upon some promise which I could not make, or to be rejected. 4. I had so many great Men at Court who had profest extraordinary Kindness to me, (tho' I was never beholden to one Man of them all for more than Words) that I knew if it were to be done, they would do it without my seeking. And my Counsellor, Serjeant *Fountain*, advised me not to seek to them, nor yet refuse their Favour if they offered it, but to be wholly passive as to the Court: but to seek my Freedom by Law, because of my great weakness, and the probability of future Peril to my Life. And this Counsel I followed.

§ 120. The Earl of *Overy* I heard, did earnestly and speedily speak to the King how much my Imprisonment was to his dis-service. The Earl of *Manchester* could do little, but by the Lord *Arlington*, who with the Duke of *Buckingham* seemed much concerned in it: But the Earl of *Lauderdale*, (who would have been forwardest had he known the King's mind to be otherwise). said nothing. And so all my great Friends did me not the least Service, but made a talk of it, with no Fruit at all. And the moderate honest Part of the Episcopal Clergy were much offended, and said, I was chosen out designedly to make them all odious to the People. But Sir *John Babor* often visiting me, assured me, That he had spoken to the King about it, and (when all had done their best) he was not willing to be seen to relaxe the Law, and discourage Justices in executing it, &c. but he would not be offended if I sought my Remedy at Law (which most thought would come to nothing.)

§ 121. Whilst I was thus unresolved which way to take, Sir *John Babor* desiring a Narrative of my Case, I gave him one, which he shewed the Lord *Arlington*; which I will here insert, and I will joyn with it two other Scripts, one which I gave as Reasons to prove, That the Act against Conventicles forbad not my Preaching: Another which I gave all my Counsellors when they were to plead my Cause about the Error of the *Mittimus*.

§ 122. The Narrative of my Case.

The Oath cannot be imposed on me by the Act.

First, Because I never kept any Conventicle or Unlawful Assembly proved.

1. By Conventicles and Unlawful Assemblies for Religious Exercises, the Laws do mean only the Meetings of Recusants, Separatists, or such as Communicate not with the Church of *England*, or such Assemblies as are held in opposition to the Church-Assemblies, and not such as are held only by the Conformable Members of the Church, in meer Subordination to the Church-Assemblies, to promote them. But all Meetings which I have held are only of this latter sort.

The former Proposition is thus proved.

1. The Canons give the Sense of the Word [Conventicles] (for it is a Church-Term, about Church-Matters.) But the Canons mention but two sorts of Conventicles, one of Presbyters, when they meet to make Orders or Canons for Church-Discipline; the other of People who meet under the Profession of being a Church distinct from the Church of *England*; (and neither of these is my Case.)

2. The Statute of the 35 of *Eliz.* expoundeth it accordingly; charging none of Unlawful Assembling, but such as Separate, or Communicate not with the Church.

3. There is no other Statute that saith otherwise.

4. The Rubrick and Law alloweth Conformable Ministers to keep many Religious Assemblies, which are not in the Church, being but Subordinate, as 1. At the Visitation of the Sick, where no numbers of Neighbours are prohibited to be present: Sermons at the Spittle, *Sturbridge-Fair*; &c.

2. At private Baptisms.

3. At private Communions, where any Family hath an impotent Person that cannot Communicate at Church.

4. At the Rogation Perambulations, where it was usual to Feast at Houses in their way, and there for the Minister to instruct the People, and to Pray, and sing Psalms.

5. The Laborious sort of Conformable Ministers, have many of them used to repeat their Sermons to all that would Assemble at their Houses: Which Repeating was as truly Preaching, as if they had Preached the same Sermon in several Pulpits. Therefore all Meetings, besides Church-Meetings, are not Conventicles, nor those that are in Subordination to them.

5. Even the late Expired Act against Conventicles, forbiddeth no Religious Exercises, but such as are otherwise than the Liturgy or Practice of the Church; and distinguishing expressly between the *Exercises* and the *Numbers*, doth forbid no number, when the *Exercises* are not otherwise, as aforesaid, tolerating even unlawful Exercises to the number of Four, but not to more.

The Second Proposition [That my Meetings were never Unlawful Conventicles] is proved.

1. I do constantly joyn with the Church in *Common Prayer*, and go at the beginning. 2. I Communicate in the *Lord's Supper* with the Church of *England*. 3. I am no Nonconformist in the Sense of the Law, because I Conform as far as the Law requireth me (having been in no Ecclesiastical Promotion, *May 1. 1662.* the Law requireth me not to subscribe, declare, &c. till I take a Cure or Lecture, &c. 4. I sometimes repeat to the Hearers, the Sermon which I heard in the Church. 5. I exhort the People to Church-Communion, and urge them with sufficient Arguments, and Preach ordinarily against Separation, and Schism, and Sedition, and Disloyalty. 6. I have commanded my Servant to keep my Doors shut at the time of Publick Worship, that none may be in my House that while. 7. I go into the Church from my House, in the Peoples sight, that my Example, as well as my Doctrine, may persuade them. 8. In all this, I so far prevail, that the Neighbours who hear me, do commonly go to Church, even to the *Common-Prayer*; and I know not three, or two of all the Parish, that use to come to me, who refuse it; which success doth shew, what it is I do. 9. I have long offered the Pastor of the Parish (the Dean of *Windso*) that if he would but tell me, that it is his Judgment, that I hinder his Success, or the People's Good, rather than help it, I will remove out of the Parish, which he never yet hath done. 10. I have the Now-Arch-Bishop's License (not reversed, nor disabled) to Preach in the Diocess of *London*, which I may do by Law if I had a Church. And I offered the Dean to give over my Meetings in my House, if he would permit me to Preach (without Hire) sometimes occasionally in his Church, which I am not disabled to do. By all this it appeareth, that any Meetings are not Unlawful Conventicles. 11. And riotous they are not, for my House being just before the Church Door, the same Persons go out of the Church into my House, and out of my House into the Church;

Church; so that if one be riotous, both must be so. And I perform no Exercise at all, contrary to the Doctrine or the Practice of the Church; but when the Curate readeth only in the Evening, and doth not Preach or Catechize, when he hath done one part, I do the other which he omitteth.

2. The Oath cannot be imposed on me, because I am none of the three sorts of Offenders there mentioned. The first sort in the Act are such as have not Subscribed, Declared, and Conformed, according to the Act of Uniformity, and other Acts, I am none of them, because the Laws require it not of me (being, as aforesaid, in no Church Promotion on May 1. 1662.) The second sort, are other Persons not Ordained according to the Order of the Church, but I am so Ordained. The third sort is School-Teachers, which is not my Case (though I have also a License to Teach School.) And that the two Descriptions of the Conventicles in the Preamble, are to be the Expositions of the following prohibitious Parts of the Act, is plain by the answerable distinction of them. And also, 1. Because the very Title and plain design of this Act, is only to restrain Nonconformists. 2. Because the express end and business of it, is to preserve People from Seditious and Poisonous Doctrine. But the Clergy which are not Nonconformists, are not to be supposed to be defamed, or suspected by the Laws, of Preaching poisonous seditious Doctrine, nor can it be imagined, that they mean to drive them five Miles from all their Parishes in England, if they should once be at a private Meeting, or put the 40*l.* Fine on them, if they preach one Sermon after such Meeting, to their Parishes, before they have taken the Oath, though no Man offer it them, which would follow if it extended to them. And I am exempted from the Suspicion of that Preaching.

1. By being chosen and Sworn His Majesty's Chaplain in ordinary, and Preaching before Him, and Publishing my Sermons by His Special Commands, and never since accused of ill Doctrine, but the sharpest Debates written against Nonconformists, do quarrel with them, for quarrelling with my Doctrine.

2. Some think the words [*have kept*] in the Act, refer to the time past before the Act; and then 'tis nothing to me.

3. Should I not have been Convict in my presence of some one unlawful Conventicle, and of not departing after five Miles from the place: for how should I be bound to forsake my Dwelling, as an Offender, before I knew of my Offence?

Lastly, I told the Justices, That I did not refuse the Oath, but professed, that I understood it not, and desired time to learn to understand it, if I could; which they denyed me; and would neither tell me who were my Accusers, or Witnesses, nor shew me the Words of the Accusation or Depositions, nor suffer any Person but us three (themselves and me) to be at all present, or to hear any thing that was said by them or me. And though I shall never take Oaths which I cannot possibly understand, nor in a Sense which is contrary to the plain importance of the Words, till they are so expounded, nor shall ever number deliberate Lying, or Perjury, with things indifferent; yet I so far defie any Accuser, who will question my Loyalty, that (as I have taken the Oaths of Supremacy and of Allegiance, and a special Oath of Fidelity, when I was Sworn (I know not why) as His Majesty's Servant, so) I am ready to give a much fuller signification of my Loyalty than that Oath, if I had taken it, would be: And to own all that is said, for the Power of Kings, and of the Subject's Obedience and Non-resistance, by any (or all) the Councils and Confessions of any Christian Churches upon Earth, whether *Greeks or Romans, Reformed, Episcopal, Presbyterian*, or any that are fit to be owned as Christians (that ever came to my notice) besides what is contained in the Laws of our own Land. And if this will not serve, I shall patiently wait in my Appeal, to the Un-erring Universal Judgment.

§ 123. 2. [*In other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy or Practice of the Church of England ----- At which Conventicle, Meeting, or Assembly, there should be Five Persons, or more, Assembled over and above those of the Household.*]

Pos. 1. To Preach or Teach in a House not 'Consecrated for a Temple, is not contrary to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of England.

Arg. 1. That which the Scripture expressly alloweth, is not contrary to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of *England*. But to Preach and Teach (even Multitudes) in Houses (and other places) not so Consecrated, the Scripture expressly alloweth: *Ergo* -----.

The *Major* is proved, 1. Because the Book of Ordination requireth, that all that are Ordained, shall promise to [Instruct the People out of the Holy Scripture, being persuaded that they contain sufficiently all Doctrine required of Necessity to Salvation; and to teach no other: And with all Faithful Diligence to banish all Doctrines contrary to God's Word: And to use both publick and private Monitions and Exhortations, as well to the Sick as to the whole, as need shall require, and occasion shall be given.

2. The same Sufficiency of the Scripture is asserted in the 6th. Article of the Church. And *Article* 20. bindeth us to hold, That it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing contrary to God's written Word. So *Art.* 21. more.

3. The said Scriptures are appointed by the Rubrick to be read as the Word of God himself.

4. The Law of the Land declareth, That nothing shall be taken for Law which is contrary to the Word of God.

5. The *First* and *Second Homily* shew the sufficiency of it, and necessity to all Men.

The *Minor* is proved 1. from *Acts* 20. 20. 7, 8, & 28. last, & 8. 4, 25, 35. & 10. 34. & 12. 12. 2 *Tim.* 4. 1, 2. *Mat.* 5. 1, 2. *Mark* 2. 13. & 10. 1. *Luke* 5. 3. & 13. 26.

2. From those Texts which command Christ's Ministers to Preach, and not forbear: Therefore if they be forbidden to Preach in the Temples, they must do it elsewhere. *John* 21. 15, 16, 17. 1 *Cor.* 9. 16. *Acts* 4. 18, 19, 20. 2 *Tim.* 4. 1, 2. *Luke* 9. 62.

3. From the Expository Practice of the Universal Church in all Ages.

4. From the Expository Practice of the Church of *England*, who Preached in Houses in the time of their late Restraint by *Cromwel*.

Arg. 2. The Church of *England* bindeth Ministers to Teach both publickly and privately, in their Ordination, as afore recited.

2. In the Liturgy for the *Visitation* and *Communion of the Sick*, it alloweth private Exhortation, Prayer, and Sacraments.

3. The 13 *Canon* requireth that the *Lord's Day*, and other *Holy-Days*, be spent in publick and private Prayers. And the very *Canon* 71. which most restraineth us from Preaching and Administring the Sacrament in private Houses, doth expressly except *Times of necessity, when any is so impotent as he cannot go to Church, or dangerously sick, &c.*

4. The instructing of our Families, and Praying with them, is not disallowed by the Church. And I my self have a Family, and Persons impotent therein (who cannot go to Church) to Teach.

Arg. 3. The 76 *Can.* condemneth every Minister, who voluntarily relinquisheth his Ministry, and liveth as a Lay-Man: *Ergo*, We must forbear no more of the Ministerial Work than is forbidden us.

Pos. 2. The number of Persons present above Four, cannot be meant by this Act, as that which maketh the *Religious Exercise* to be [in other manner than allowed by the Liturgy or Practice of the Church.]

Arg. 1. Because the manner of the Exercise, and the number of Persons are most expressly distinguished: And the restraint of the number is expressly affixed only to them who shall use such unallowed manner of Religious Exercises; not meddling at all with others. The Words [at which Conventicle, &c.] do shew the Meeting to be before

before described by the manner of Exercise. Otherwise the Words would be worse than Non-sense.

2. Because if the Words be not so interpreted, then they must condemn all our Church Meetings for having above four. As if they had said [*where Five are met, it is contrary to the Liturgy of the Church*] which cannot be.

If it be said, *That for above Four to meet in a House is not allowed by the Church.* I Answer;

1. That is a Matter which this Act meddleth not with, as is proved by the foresaid distinguishing the manner of Exercise, from the number of Persons.

2. Nor doth the Act speak of private Houses, or put any difference between them and Churches, but equally restraineth Meetings in Churches, which are for disallowed Exercises of Religion.

3. Nor is it true in it self, that the Church disalloweth the number of Five in private Houses, as is proved before. But it contrarily requireth, that at private Communion there shall be [*Neighbours got to Communicate*] and not fewer than three or two. And at private Baptisms, and other occasions, the number is not limited by the Church at all.

3. Because the Act is directed only against seditious Sectaries, and their Conventicles.

4. Because the Words of the Act shew, that the Law-makers concur with the sence of the Church of England, which is no where so strict against Nonconformity as in the Canons: And in these Canons, viz. 73, and 11. A Conventicle is purposely and plainly described to be such [*other Meetings, Assemblies or Congregations, than are by the Laws held and allowed, which challenge to themselves the Name of true and lawful Churches:*] Or else secret Meetings of Priests or Ministers to consult upon any matter, or course to be taken by them, or upon their motion or direction by any other, which may any way tend to the impeachment, or depriving of the Doctrine of the Church of England, or the book of Common-Prayer, or of any part of the Government and Discipline] of the Church. So that where there is no such Consultation of Ministers, nor no Assemblies that challenge to themselves the Name of true and Lawful Churches, distinct from the allowed Assemblies, there are no Conventicles in the sence of the Canons of the Church of England, which this Act professeth to adhere to.

The same Sence is exprest also in Can. 10. which describeth Schismaticks: [*Whoever shall affirm that such Ministers as refuse to subscribe to the Form and manner of God's Worship in the Church of England, prescribed in the Communion-Book, and their Adherents may truly take unto them the Name of another Church, not established by Law; and dare presume to publish, that this pretended Church hath long groaned under, &c.---*]

And in the 9th Canon, where the Authors of Schism are thus described; [*Whoever shall separate themselves from the Communion of Saints, as it is approved by the Apostle's Rules in the Church of England, and combine themselves together in a new Brotherhood, accounting the Christians who are conformable to the Doctrine, Government, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church of England, to be prophane, and unmeet for them to join with in Christian Profession.---*]

Pro. 3. If our manner of Religious Exercises did differ in some meer degrees or Circumstances from that which is allowed by the Liturgy, and Practice of the Church, it ought not to be taken to be the thing condemned in this Act.

Arg. 1. Otherwise the Justices themselves, and almost all his Majesty's Subjects, either are already obnoxious to the Mulcts, Imprisonments, and Banishments, or may be they know not how soon.

Arg. 2. And otherwise no Subject must dare to go to Church, for fear of incurring Imprisonment or Banishment.

The reason of both is visible. 1. Almost all conformable Ministers do either by some omissions of Prayers, or other parts of the Liturgy, or by some alterations,

ons, many times do that which is dissonant from the Liturgy, and practise, or Canons of the Church. I have seldom been present where somewhat was not contrary to them. 2, Because most conformable Ministers do now Preach without Licenses; which is contrary to the express Canons of the Church. 3. Because few of the King's Subjects, or none can tell when they go to Church, but they may hear one that hath no License, or that will do somewhat dissonant from the manner of the Church.

Pro. 4. Preaching without License bringeth me not within the Penalty of the Act.

Arg. 1. Because I have the Archbishop's License.

Arg. 2. Because a License is not necessary for Family Instruction.

Arg. 3. Because else most of the Conformists would be as much obnoxious, which is not so judged by the Bishops themselves.

§ 124. (3.) *The Errors of the Mittimus, with the explication of the Oxford Act.*

THis Act containeth, I. The *end and Occasion*; that is, the preserving of Church and Kingdom, from the Danger of poisonous Principles.

II. The *Description of the dangerous Persons*. 1. in the *Preamble*: Where they are 1. *Nonconformists*, or such as have not subscribed and declared according to the Act of Uniformity, and other subsequent Acts. 2. They, or some of them, and other *Persons not ordained*, according to the Form of the Church of *England*, who have since the Act of Oblivion preached in Unlawful Assemblies, and have settled themselves in Corporations.

2. In the *Body of the Act*, where are two parts answering the two aforesaid in the *Preamble*. 1. The first Subject described is, *Non-subscribers*, and *Non-declarers*, according to the Act of Uniformity, &c. That is, *Non-conformists*; who also have not taken the Oath, (which is here prescribed as a preventing Remedy. 2. The second Subject is [All such Persons as *shall* Preach in unlawful Meetings, contrary to Laws, which must needs refer to the second branch of the *Preamble*, and mean only [such *Nonconformists*, and *unordained Persons* as *shall* so Preach;] the Word [*shall*] signifying that it must be after the passing of this Act.

III. The *Offence prohibited* is being, or coming after March 24. 1665. within five Miles of any Corporation, or of any place, where since the Act of Oblivion, they have been Parsons, Vicars, Lecturers, &c. Or have preached in an unlawful Assembly, contrary to the Laws, before they have in open Sessions taken the Oath. That is, who have done this since the Act of Oblivion before this Act (it being the purpose of this Act to put all those who shall again after this Act preach in Conventicles, in the same Case with them, who since the Act of Oblivion were Parsons, Vicars, &c. That is, that none of them shall come within five miles of any place where they were either Incumbents, or Conventiclers, before this Act since the act of Oblivion.

IV. The *Penalty* is, 1. 40 l. for what is past, (which the after taking of the Oath will not save them from.) 2. And six months Imprisonment also for such of them as shall not Swear, and subscribe the Oath and Declaration offered them.

So that in this Act the *Offence it self* prohibited is *Coming within five miles*, &c. But the *qualification of the subject offending*, is *absolutely necessary* to it.

So that the *Mittimus* for an offence against this Act, must signify, That *N. N.* having not subscribed and declared, according to the Acts of Uniformity, and other subsequent Acts; or being not ordained according to the Form of the Church of *England*

England, and having since the Act of Oblivion preached in an unlawful Assembly: and also hath so preached since this Act; and hath not taken the Oath here required, is proved by Oath to us to have been, or come since Mar. 24. 1665. Within five Miles of a Corporation, or a place where he was an incumbent, or preached in a Conventicle, before this Act since the Act of Oblivion; and also hath refused before us to swear and subscribe the said Oath, &c.

Now in this *Mittimus*. 1. Here is no mention that *R. B.* hath not subscribed and declared already according to the Act of Uniformity; or is a Non-conformist; nor yet that he is not ordained according to the Form of the Church of England.

2. Nor is there any mention that he hath preached in an unlawful Assembly since the Act of Oblivion; much less, since this Act, (which must be said)

3. Nor that ever they had proof of his not taking the Oath before, or that ever he was Convict of Preaching before he took it.

4. The Offence it self is not here said to be proved by Oath at all, viz. Coming or being within five Miles, &c. But another thing, viz. his Preaching in an unlawful Meeting, is said to be proved by Oath, which this Act doth not enable them to take such proof of.

As for the Word in the *Mittimus*, [where he now dwelleth] it cannot be understood as a part of Deposition. 1. Because it is expressed but as the Justice's Assertion, and not so much as an [and] or Conjunction put before it to shew that they had Oath made of it, as well as of Preaching.

2. Because the Word [now dwelleth] must be taken strictly or laxly; if strictly, it referreth but to the time of the Writing of the *Mittimus*, which was two days after the Constable's Warrant; and no Accuser, Witness, or other Person was suffered to be present; and therefore it must needs be but the Justice's own Words, or Assertion, without proof. Or if [now dwelleth] be taken laxly for a distant time; then note, that here is not any mention of Proof that there was any just or considerable distance between his [Preaching] and his [dwelling here] but he might go away the next hour after his Preaching, notwithstanding any thing here mentioned. For any Man that Preacheth, is in the place where he Preacheth while he Preacheth; and if he go away the next hour, it must be considered in what time he can go five Miles. But if [now] be taken for the Witnesses Words, here is no intimation of the least distance. And none can imagine that the Law meaneth that the Preacher shall be five Miles off the next Minute, or Hour. And indeed, seeing no Man can tell how many hours must be allowed, it is plain that the Act meaneth that the Person must be first legally Convict of Preaching in an unlawful Assembly (and also of not having conformed or taken the Oath) before the Oath is made of his not removing five Miles.

3. This Act, not at all enabling the Justices to take Oath about the Conventicles; but only about [not coming within five Miles] and there being but one Deposition mentioned [where he now dwelleth] being a very part of that one Testimony, if it be not the Justice's own Words; it followeth that this Oath must be made before the Act against Conventicles was expired; because no other Act enableth them to take such an Oath: And then the [now dwelleth] will signifie long ago, without any notified distance from his Preaching.

4. If [where he now dwelleth] be part of the Deposition, then so must the following Words [not having taken and subscribed the Oath,] which Charity forbiddeth us to believe that they swore, seeing I was never accused of it, and it's not possible that they, or any Man living should know that I have not taken it heretofore.

5. Here is no Oath that Richard Baxter Preached in a Conventicle before this Act, which is to be proved as well as that he did it after.

The great difficulty in this Act is, whether the general Words [all such Persons as shall take on them to Preach] be not to be taken as expounded in the Preamble limited to Non-conformists, and the un-ordained, as aforesaid. And it's plain, that it's not to be extended to Conformists. 1. Because the Law doth not dishonour them so far as to suspect them of poisonous Principles. 2. Else what ruin would it make in the Church, when every Pastor must no more come within five Miles of his Charge (no not the dignified Clergy) if any Enemy shall secretly swear that they once preached in an unlawful Assembly. 3. All the Conformable Clergy,

and their Council are of this mind: For none of them take this Oath at the Sessions; and therefore none of them think they are bound to take it. *Note*, it is to be taken unoffered; and that on the Penalty of 40 *l.* if they come within five Miles of their Charge, though they were never so willing to take it after.

Objection 1. The Conformists need it not, because they keep no Conventicles.

Ans. 1. They are commanded many private Meetings, as private Visitations of the Sick, Baptisms, Communion, Perambulations in the *Rogation-Week* (when they use in Houses by the way to spend the time in Pious Instructions, Prayers, &c.) And many of them repeat their Sermons in their Houses, which is as much Preaching as any thing I have ever done.

2. And there are few publick Assemblies, where some-what is not done contrary to the Liturgy, by Omissions, &c.

3. And every Man hath some Enemy, who may Swear that these are unlawful Assemblies.

Obj. 2. The Conformists have already Subscribed.

Ans. 1. That proveth that this Act intendeth them not, (and therefore not me, who Conform as far as any Law Requireth me.)

2. It is one thing to [*say I am of Opinion*] and another thing to [*Swear that so it is.*]

3. I may say that [*the Covenant bindeth me not to endeavour any Alteration of Church-Government*] easilier than Swear [*That I will never at any time endeavour it*] when we once already so far endeavoured it by Command, 1660. as *His Majesty's Gracious Declaration about Eccles. Affairs* expresseth; even while contrary Laws were in force.

§ 125. While I stayed in Prison, I saw some-what to blame my self for, and some-what to wonder at others for, and some-what to advise my Visitors about.

1. I blamed my Self that I was no more *sensible* of the Spiritual part of my Affliction, such as was the interruption of my Work, and the poor People from whom I was removed, and the advantage Satan had got against them, and the loss of my own publick Liberty, for worshipping in the Assemblies of his Servants.

2. I marvelled at some who suffered no more than I, (as Mr. *Rutherford*, when he was confined to *Aberdeen*) that their Sufferings occasioned them so great Joys as they express! which sure was from the Free Grace of God, to encourage others by their Examples, and not that their own Impatience made them need it much more than at other times. For surely so small a Suffering needeth not a quarter of the Patience, as many poor Nonconformable Ministers (and Thousands others) need, that are at liberty; whose own Houses, through Poverty, are made far worse to them, than my Prison was to me.

3. To my Visitors I found Reason, 1. To intreat my *Alton-Neighbours*, not to let their Passion against their Parson, on my account, hinder them from a due regard to his Doctrine, nor from any of the Duty which they owed him.

2. To blame some who aggravated my Sufferings, and to tell them, That I had no mind to fancy my self hurt before I felt it: I used at home to confine my self voluntarily almost as much: I had ten-fold more publick a Life here, and converse with my Friends, than I had at home: If I had been to take Lodgings at *London* for six Months, and had not known that this had been a Prison, and had knock'd at the Door and ask'd for Rooms, I should as soon have taken this which I was put into, as most in Town (save only for the Interruption of my sleep:) That it sheweth great weakness to magnifie a small Suffering, and much worse to magnifie our selves and our own Patience, for bearing so small a thing; (than which most poor Men in *England* bear more every Day.)

I found Cause to desire my Brethren, that when they suffered, they would remember that the design of Satan was more against their Souls than their Bodies: and that it was not the least of his hopes to destroy their Love, which was due to those by whom they suffered, and to dishonour Superiours, and by aggravating our Sufferings, to render them odious to the People: As also to make us take such a poor

Suffering

Suffering as this, for a sign of true Grace, instead of Faith, Hope, Love, Mortification, and a Heavenly Mind; and that the loss of one Grain of Love, was worse than a long Imprisonment: And that it much more concerned us, to be sure that we deserved not Suffering, than that we be delivered from it, and to see that we wronged not our Superiours, than that they wrong not us; seeing we are not near so much hurt by their Severities, as we are by our Sins. Some told me, that they hoped this would make me stand a little further from the Prelates and their Worship, than I had done. To whom I answered, That I wondred that they should think that a Prison should change my Judgment: I rather thought now it was my Duty to set a stricter watch upon my Passions, lest they should pervert my Judgment, and carry me into Extreame, in opposition to my Afflictors. (And not past a Year and half after, two Gentlemen turned *Quakers* in Prison.) If Passion made me lose my Love, or my Religion, the loss would be my own. And Truth did not change, because I was in a Goal. The temper of my Visitors called me much to this kind of talk.

§ 126. When I was in Prison, the Lord Chief Baron, at the Table at *Serjeant's Inn*, before the rest of the Judges, gave such a Character of me openly, without fear of any Man's displeasure, as is not fit for me to own, or recite, who was so much revered by the rest (who were every one Strangers to me, save by hearsay) that I believe it much settled their Resolutions. The Lord Chief Justice *Vaughan* was no Friend to Nonconformity, or Puritans, but he had been one of *Selden's* Executors, and so Judge *Hale's* old Acquaintance: Judge *Tyrell* was a well-affected sober Man, and *Serjeant Fountain's* Brother-in-Law by Marriage, and sometime his Fellow-Commissioner for keeping the Great Seal and Chancery: Judge *Archer* was one that privately favoured Religious People: And Judge *Wild*, though greatly for the Prelates way, yet (was noted for) a Righteous Man. And these were the Four Judges of the Court.

§ 127. My *Habeas Corpus* being demanded at the *Common Pleas*, was granted, and a Day appointed for my Appearance: But when I came, the Judges, I believe, having not before studied the *Oxford-Act*, when Judge *Wild* had first said [I hope you will not use to trouble this Court with such Causes,] asked whether the King's Council had been acquainted with the Case, and seen the Order of the Court: which being denied, I was remanded back to Prison, and a new Day set: They suffered me not to stand at the Bar; but called me up on the Table (which was an unusual respect;) and they sent me not to the *Fleet*, as is usual, but to the same Prison, which was a greater favour.

§ 128. When I came next, the Lord Chief Justice coming towards *Westminster Hall*, went into *White-Hall* by the way, which caused much talk among the People. When he came, Judge *Wild* began, and having shewed that he was no Friend to Conventicles, opened the Act, and then opened many defaults in the *Mittimus*, for which he pronounced it invalid; but in Civility to the Justices said, that the Act was so Penned, that it was a very hard thing to draw up a *Mittimus* by it (which was no Compliment to the Parliament.) Judge *Archer* next spake largely against the *Mittimus*, without any word of disparagement to the main Cause: And so did Judge *Tyrell* after him (I will not be so tedious as to recite their Arguments:) Judge *Vaughan* concluded in the same manner, but with these two Singularities above the rest.

1. That he made it an Error in the *Mittimus*, that the Witnesses were not named; seeing that (the *Oxford-Act* giving the Justices so great a power) if the Witnesses be unknown, any innocent Person may be laid in Prison, and shall never know where, or against whom to seek remedy (which was a Matter of great moment.)

2. When he had done with the Cause, he made a Speech to the People, and told them, That by the appearance, he perceived that this was a Cause of as great Expectation as had been before them, and it being usual with People to carry away things by the halves, and their misreports might mislead others, he therefore acquainted them, That though he understood that Mr. *Baxter* was a Man of great Learning, and of a good Life, yet he having this singularity, the Law was against Conventicles, and it was only upon the Error of the Warrant that he was released; and that they use in their Charge at Assizes to enquire after Conventicles, and they are against the Law; so that if they that made the *Mittimus* had but known how

to make it, they could not have delivered him, nor can do it for him on any that shall so transgress the Law.

This was supposed to be that which was resolved on, at *White-Hall* by the way. But he had never heard what I had to say in the main Cause, to prove my self no Transgressor of the Law: Nor did he at all tell them how to know, what a Conventicle is which the Common Law is so much against.

§ 129. Being discharged of my Imprisonment, my Sufferings began; for I had there better Health, than I had of a long time before or after; I had now more exasperated the Authors of my Imprisonment; I was not at all acquit as to the main Cause; they might amend their *Mittimus*, and lay me in again: I knew no way how to bring my main Cause (whether they had power to put the *Oxford-Oath* on me) to a legal Tryal: And my Counsellors advised me not to do it, much less to question the Justices for false Imprisonment, lest I were born down by power. I had now a great House of great Rent on my Hands, which I must not come to: I had no House to dwell in; I knew not what to do with all my Goods and Family; I must go out of *Middlesex*; I must not come within five Miles of City, Corporation, &c. where to find such a place, and therein a House, and how to remove my Goods thither; and what to do with my House the while, till my time expired, were more trouble than my quiet Prison by far; and the Consequents yet worse.

§ 130. Gratitude commandeth me to tell the World who were my Benefactors in my Imprisonment, and Calumny as much obligeth me, because it is said among some, that I was enriched by it; Serjeant *Fountain's* general Counsel ruled me; Mr. *Wallop*, and Mr. *Offley* sent me their Counsel, and would take nothing. Of four Serjeants that pleaded my Cause, two of them, Serjeant *Windham* (afterwards Baron of the Exchequer) and Serjeant *Sife*, would take nothing. Sir *John Bernard* (a Person that I never saw but once) sent me no less than Twenty Pieces; and the Countess of *Exeter* Ten Pound; And Alderman *Bard* Five; and I received no more; but I confess more was offered me, which I refused; and more would have been, but that they knew I needed it not. And this much defrayed my Law, and Prison Charges.

§ 131. When the same Justices saw that I was thus discharged, they were not satisfied to have driven me from *Alton*, but they make a new *Mittimus*, by Counsel, as for the same (supposed) Fault, naming the Fourth of *June* as the Day on which I preached, and yet not naming any Witness (when the Act against Conventicles was expired long before.) And this *Mittimus* they put into an Officer's hands in *London*, to bring me not to *Clerkenwell*, but among the Thieves and Murderers, to the common Jail at *Newgate*, which was since the Fire (which burnt down all the better Rooms) the most noisom place that I have heard of (except the *Tower Dungeon*) of any Prison in the Land.

§ 132. The next Habitation which God's Providence chose for me, was at *Totteridge*, near *Barnet*, where for a Year, I was fain, with part of my Family separated from the rest, to take a few mean Rooms, which were so extreemly smoaky, and the place withal so cold, that I spent the *Winter* in great pain; one quarter of a Year by a sore *Sciatica*, and seldom free from such Anguish.

§ 133. It would trouble the Reader for me to reckon up the many Diseases, and Dangers for these ten Years past, in, or from which, God hath delivered me; though it be my Duty not to forget to be thankful. Seven Months together I was lame, with a strange Pain in one Foot; Twice delivered from a Bloody Flux; a spurious Cataract in my Eye (with incessant Webs and Net-works before it) hath continued these eight Years, without disabling me one Hour from Reading or Writing: I have had constant Pains and Languors, with incredible Flatulency in Stomach, Bowels, Sides, Back, Legs, Feet, Heart, Breast, but worst of all, either painful Distentions, or usually vertiginous or stupifying Conquests of my Brain, so that I have rarely one Hour's, or quarter of an Hour's ease. Yet, through God's Mercy, I was never one Hour Melancholy, and not many Hours in a Week disabled utterly from my Work, save that I lost time in the Morning, for want of being able to rise early: And lately, an Ulcer in my Throat, with a Tumour, of near half a Year's continuance, is healed without any means. In all which I have found such merciful Disposals of God, such suitable Chastisements for my Sin, such plain Answers of Prayer, as leave me unexcusable if they do me not good. Besides many sudden and acuter Sickneses, which God hath delivered me from, not here to be num-
bred;

bred; his upholding Mercy under such continued weaknesſes, with tolerable, and ſeldom diſabling Pains, hath been unvaluable.

§ 134. I am next to give ſome ſhort account of my Writings ſince 1665. 1. A ſmall MS. lyeth by me, which I wrote in Answer to a Paper which Mr. Caryl of *Suſſex* ſent me, written by *Crefſy* (called now *Serenus*) about *Popery*.

§ 135. 2. Mr. *Yates* of *Hambden*, Miniſter, ſending me the Copy of a Popiſh Letter, as ſpread about *Oxford*, under the Mask of one doubting of Chriſtianity, and calling the Scholars to a Trial of their Faith, in Principles, did by the Juggling Fraud, and the ſlightneſs of it, provoke me to write my book called, *The Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion*. And the Philoſophy of *Gaſſendus*, and many more beſides the *Hobbians*, now prevailing, and inclining men to Sadduciſm, induced me to write the *Appendix* to it, about the *Immortality* of the Soul.

§ 136. 3. Oft Conference with the Lord Chief Baron *Hale*, put thoſe Caſes into my mind, which occasioned the writing of another ſhort Piece, of the *Nature and Immortality* of the Soul, by way of Queſtion and Answer (not printed.)

§ 137. 4. The great Weakneſſes, and Paſſions, and Injudiciouſneſs of many Religious Perſons, and the ill effects; and eſpecially perceiving that the Temptations of the Times, yea the very Reproofs of the Conformiſts, did but increaſe them among the ſeparating party, cauſed me to offer a book to be Liſenſed, called, *Directions to weak Chriſtians how to grow in grace*, with a ſecond part, being *Sixty Characters of a Sound Chriſtian*, with as many of the *Weak Chriſtian* and the *Hypocrite*; Which I the rather writ to imprint on men's minds a right apprehenſion of Chriſtianity, and to be as a Confession of our Judgment in this malignant Age, when ſome Conformiſts would make the World believe, that it is ſome menſtruous thing compoſed of Folly and Sedition, which the Nonconformiſts mean by a *Chriſtian* and a *Godly Man*. This Book came forth when I was in Priſon, being long before reſuſed by Mr. *Grigg*.

§ 138. 5. A *Chriſtian Directory*, or Summ of Practical Divinity in Folio, hath lain finiſhed by me, many years; (and ſince twice printed.)

§ 139. 6. My Bookſeller deſiring ſome Additions to my Sermon before the King, I added a large Directory of the *whole Life of Faith*, which is its Title, which is publiſhed.

§ 140. 7. Abundance of Women firſt, and Men next growing at *London*, into ſeparating Principles; Some thinking that it was ſin to *hear* a Conformiſt; and more, That it is a ſin to *pray* according to the *Common Prayer* with them; and yet more, That it is a ſin to *Communicate* with them in the Sacrament: And the Conformiſts abominating their Houſe-Meetings as Schiſmatical; and their Diſtance and Paſſions daily increaſing, even among many, to earneſt deſires of each other's Ruine, I thought it my Duty to add another part to my book of *Directions to weak Chriſtians*, being *Directions* what courſe they muſt take to *avoid being Dividers*, or troublers of the Churches: The rather becauſe I knew what the Papiſts and Infidels would gain by our Diviſions, and of how great neceſſity it is againſt them both, that the honeſt moderate part of the Conformiſts, and the Nonconformiſts, be reconciled, or at leaſt grow not into mortal Enmity againſt each other. This Book was offered to Mr. *Sam. Parker*, the Archbiſhop's Chaplain to be Liſenſed, but he reſuſed it; and ſo I purpoſed to caſt it by: But near two years after, Mr. *Grove*, the Biſhop of *London's* Chaplain (without whom I could have had nothing of mine Liſenſed, I think) did Liſenſe it, and it was publiſhed; of which more anon.

§ 141. 8. About this time I heard Dr. *Owen* talked very yieldingly of a Concord between the Independents and Presbyterians (which all ſeemed willing of.) I had before, about 1658. written ſomewhat in order to Reconciliation; and I did (by the invitation of his Speeches) offer it to Mr. *Geo. Griffiths* to be conſidered: And near a twelve-month after he gave it me again, without taking notice of any thing in it: I now reſolved to try once more with Dr. *Owen*: And though all our buſineſs with each other had been contradiction, I thought it my Duty without any thoughts of former things, to go to him, and be a Seeker of Peace: which he ſeemed to take well, and expreſſed great deſires of Concord, and alſo many moderate Conceſſions, and how heartily he would concur in any thing that tended to a good agreement. I told him, That I muſt deal freely with him. that when I thought of what he had done formerly, I was much afraid leſt one that had been ſo great a breaker, would not be made an Inſtrument in healing: But in other Reſpects I thought him the fitteſt man in *England* for this Work; partly becauſe he could underſtand the Caſe, and partly, becauſe

his Experience of the Humours of Men, and of the mischief of dividing Principles and Practises, had been so very great, that if Experience should make any man wise, and fit for an healing Work, it should be him: And that a book which he had lately written (a Catechism for Independency) offensive to others, was my chief Motive to make this Motion to him; because he there giveth up two of the worst of the Principles of Popularity; acknowledging,

1. That the People have not the Power of the Keys.

2. That they give not the Power of the Keys, or their Office-Power to the Pastors. I told him that I had before this driven on an Agreement between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, in another manner, but that I plainly saw, that while the Lord Chancellor, and such others, were still talking of Plots and Conspiracies, they would be so jealous of our Union, that they would give out, that we were strengthening our selves by it, as a Confederacy against the King; and it would have tended to the sudden increase of our Suffering. He answered me, That for his part, he thought the Work so necessary, that he would trust God, and over-look such dangers. I told him, That the danger being so visible, Prudence in the management of the Work was our Duty, though not carnal Policy to desert it. The great difficulty had always been to find out the Terms on which we must be United, if ever it be done: This was it which could not be done in the Assembly at *Westminster*, nor in all the Years of our Liberty and Difference ever since. And this is a thing which a few Hands may dispatch, much better than many. I told him therefore, that my Opinion was, That he and I only should first try whether we could come to Agreement in Principles; and that none living might know of our Attempt till it was finished; that if we could not agree, the notice of our Failing might not be a hindrance to others, nor a reproach to our selves; but if we did agree, it were easie to make use of the Terms agreed on, when ever Prudence should tell us it was conducive to our Ends; and to get two or three of a side to Subscribe it first, till it were fit to make it publick for the use of more.

This much we agreed on, and our next Question was of the method. I told him that as to the positive Terms of Concord, I thought that those *Essentials of Religion and Communion*, which are the Terms that all Christians must agree in, must be ours; and that we had not any new Terms to devise; but only some new *Means* to bring us to consent to Communion upon those Terms. To which end I thought it would be a good way to draw up a Writing, containing all the Points of Discipline, which the two Parties are really agreed in (great and small,) that while the World seeth the extent of their Agreement, the few things which they differ in may seem so small, among all those, and not to be sufficient to hinder their Communion. He approved of the Motion, and desired him to draw it up; which when he put off, I desired that each of us might bring in a Draught; but he would needs cast it on me alone.

When I had drawn up abundance of *Theses* as the Matter of our common Concord, and left them with him, the next time I came to him, he commended the thing, but said, that they were too many, and I could do it in a narrower room. I perceived by this, that his Thoughts were, that many that were among them, would not grant all those Points, and so it must be wider yet. I told him, that if he changed the Design, we must change the Means: If he thought it the better way to draw up only those Points which are necessary to our Agreement, then we must do it in as narrow a compass as may be; which being determined of, I urged him again in vain to do it: but he cast it upon me, and I brought him speedily a Draught of so many of the things which both *Presbyterians* and *Independents* are agreed in, as are necessary to their Practical Concord and Communion, with respect to the things in which they are, or seem disagreed. When he had kept them a few Weeks, I waited on him again and again; and he told me, that it was the fairest Offer, and the likeliest Means, that ever he yet saw; and he saw nothing yet but that it might well conduce to the End intended. I desired him to give me his Animadversions, 1. Of all that he took to be false or unsound in it. 2. Of all that he thought the two Parties were not agreed in. 3. Of all that he thought inconvenient and unapt to the End intended. 4. Of all that he thought unnecessary: which he consented to, and shortly after sent me this Letter (which intimateth his purpose of coming to me, because I invited him to take the Country Air with me, in a Cold that he had, &c.)

§ 142. SIR,

THE continuance of my Cold, which yet holds me, with the severity of the Weather, have hitherto hindred me from answering my purpose of coming unto you at Acton: but yet I hope ere long to obtain the advantage of enjoying your Company there for a Season. In the mean time I return you my Thanks for the Communication of your Papers; and shall on every occasion manifest, that you have no occasion to question, whether I were in earnest in what I proposed, in reference to the Concord you design. For the desire of it is continually upon my Heart, and to express that desire on all occasion, I esteem one part of that Profession of the Gospel which I am called unto. Could I contribute any thing towards the Accomplishment of so holy, so necessary a Work, I should willingly spend my self, and be spent in it. For what you design concerning your present Essay, I like it very well, both upon the Reasons you mention in your Letter, as also that all those who may be willing and desirous to promote so blessed a Work, may have Copies by them to prepare their Thoughts in reference to the whole.

For the present, upon the Liberty granted in your Letter (if I remember it aright) I shall tender you a few Quæries; which if they are useless or needless, deal with them accordingly.

As 1. Are not the Severals proposed or insisted on, too many for this first Attempt? The general Heads I conceive are not; but under them, very many Particulars are not only included, which is unavoidable, but expressed also, which may too much dilate the original Consideration of the whole.

2. You expressly exclude the Papists, who will also sure enough exclude themselves, and do, from any such Agreement: But have you done the same as to the Socinians, who are numerous; and ready to include themselves upon our Communion? The Creed, as expounded in the Four first Councils will do it.

3. Whether some Expressions suited to prevent future Divisions and Separations, after a Concord is obtained, may not at present, to avoid all exasperation, be omitted, as seeming reflective on former Actings, when there was no such Agreement among us, as is now aimed at?

4. Whether insisting in particular, on the power of the Magistrate, especially as under civil Coercition and Punishment, in cases of Error or Heresie, be necessary in this first Attempt? These Generals occurred to my Thoughts, upon my first reading of your Proposals. I will now read them again, and set down, as I pass on, such apprehensions in particular, as I have of the Severals of them.

To the first Answer, under the first Question, I assent; so also to the first Proposal, and the Explanation: Likewise to the second and third. I thought to have proceeded thus throughout; but I fore-see my so doing would be tedious and useless; I shall therefore mention only what at present may seem to require second Thoughts. As,

1. To Propos. 9. by those Instances [what Words to use in Preaching, in what Words to Pray, in what decent Habit] do you intend Homilies, prescribed Forms of Prayer, and Habits superadded to those of vulgar decent use? Present Controversies will suggest an especial Sense under general Expressions.

2. Under Pos. 13. Do you think a Man may not leave a Church, and joyn himself to another, unless it be for such a Cause or Reason, as he supposeth sufficient to destroy the Being of the Church? I meet with this now answered in your 18th. Propos. and so shall forbear further particular Remarks, and pass on.

In your Answer to the Second Qu. Your 10th. Position hath in it some-what that will admit of further consideration, as I think. In your Answer to the 3d. Qu. have you sufficiently expressed the accountableness of Churches mutually, in case of Offence from Misadministration and Church Censures? This also I now see in part answered, Prop. 5th. I shall forbear to add any thing as under your Answer to the last Question, about the power of the Magistrate, because I fear, that in that matter of punishing, I shall some-what dissent from you; though as to meer Coercion I shall in some Cases agree.

Upon the whole Matter, I judge your Proposals worthy of great Consideration, and the most probable medium for the attaining of the End aimed at, that yet I have perused. If God give not an Heart and Mind to desire Peace and Union, every Expression will be disputed, under pretence of Truth and Accuracy: But if these things have a place in us answerable to that which they enjoy in the Gospel, I see no reason why all the true Disciples of Christ

Christ might not upon these, and the like Principles, condescend in Love unto the Tractical Concord and Agreement, which not one of them dare deny to be their Duty to Aim at. Sir, I shall Pray that the Lord would guide and prosper you in all Studies and Endeavours, for the Service of Christ in the World, especially in this your Desire and Study for the introducing of the Peace and Love promised amongst them that Believe, and do beg your Prayers.

Your truly affectionate Brother,

Jan. 25. 1668.

And unworthy Fellow-Servant,

John Owen.

§ 143. For the Understanding of this, you must know, 1. That the way which we came to at last, for the publication of the Terms, if he and I had agreed secretly, should be, That as I had Printed such a thing called *Universal Concord*, 1660. which was neglected, so I would Print this as the Second Part of the *Universal Concord*, that it might lye some time exposed to view in the Shops, before we made any further use of it, that so the State might not suspect us for our Union, as if we intended them any ill by doing our Duty: which course he approved. 2. That I oft went to him, and he had written this Letter ready to send me, and so gave it me into my hand; but we first debated many things in presence, in all which there remained no apparent Disagreement at all, so far as we went: And in particular, the great Point about separating in the Cases enumerated, he objected no more but what I answered, and he seemed to acquiesce. 3. But I so much feared that it would come to nothing, that I ventured to tell him what a difficulty I feared it would be to him to go openly and fully according to his own Judgment, when the Reputation of former Actions, and present Interest in many that would censure him, if he went not after their narrowed Judgment, did lye in his way, and that I feared these Temptations more than his Ability and Judgment. But he professed full Resolutions to follow the Business heartily and unbiassedly, and that no Interest should move him. And so I desired him to go over my Proposals again, and fasten upon every Word that was either unsound, or hurtful, or unapt, or unnecessary, and every such Word should be altered: which he undertook to do; and so that was the way that we agreed on: but when I came home, I first returned him this following Answer to his Letter and Exceptions:

Feb. 16. 1668.

S I R,

UPON the perusal of Yours when I came home, I find your Exceptions to be mostly the same which you speak; and therefore shall be the briefer in my Answer, upon Supposition of what was said.

To your *First Qu.* I answer, I am as much for Brevity as you can possibly wish: so be it our Agreement be not thereby frustrated, and made insufficient to its ends. I would desire you to look over all the Particulars, and name me not only every one that you think unsound, but every one which you judge unprofitable or needless. But if we leave out that which most, or many will require, and none have any thing against, it will but stop our Work, and make Men judge of it, as you did of the want of a longer Profession than the Scriptures against Socinianism: And it will contradict the Title, *The Just Terms of Agreement*: For our Terms will be insufficient.

And as to your Words [*the first attempt*] my business is to discover the sufficient Terms at first, that so it may facilitate Consent: For if we purposely leave out any needful part as for [*a second attempt*] we bring contempt upon our first Essay; and
before

before the *second, third, and perhaps twentieth* Attempt have been used to bring us to Agreement, by Alterations, and cross Humours, and Apprehensions, things will go as they have done, and all be pulled in pieces. Therefore we must, if possible, find out the sufficient *Terms* before too many hands be engaged in it. Your own Exceptions here say, That if too many Explications had not afterward occurred, you had been unsatisfied in that which went before. And you know what Mr. Nye is wont to say against *drawing a Hose over our Differences* (though for my part I know no other way where we agree not in particulars, but to take up with an Agreement in Generals.) But where indeed we do agree in Particulars, I know no Reason why we should hide it, to make our Difference to seem greater than it is.

2. The Reasons, why I make no *larger a Profession necessary* than the *Creed and Scriptures*, are, because if we depart from *this old sufficient Catholick Rule*, we narrow the Church, and depart from the old *Catholicism*: And we shall never know where to rest: From the same Reasons as you will take in *Four Councils*, another will take in *Six*, and another *Eight*, and the *Papists* will say, Why not the rest, as well as these?

3. Because we should Sin against the Churches 1200 Years Experience, which hath been torn by this Conceit, That our Rule or Profession must be altered to obviate every new Heresie. As if you could ever make a Creed or Law which no Offender shall mis-interpret, nor hypocritically profess. By this means the Devil may drive us to make a new Creed every Year, by Sowing the Tares of a new Heresie every Year. *Hilary* hath said so much against this, not sparing even the *Nicene Creed* it self, that I need say no more than he hath done upon that Argument of Experience, but only that if 30 or 40 Years Experience so much moved him against new Creed-making, what should 1200 Years do by us?

4. And the Means will be certainly Fruitless, seeing that Hereticks are usually Men of wide Consciences, and if their Interest require it, they will Equivocate, as Men do now with Oaths and Subscriptions, and take any Words in their own Sense.

5. And the Means is needless, seeing there is another and fitter Remedy against Heresie provided, and that is not making a *new Rule or Law*, but judging Hereticks by the *Law of God* already made. Either they are Hereticks only in *Heart*, or in *Tongue* also, and Expression: If in *Heart* only, we have nothing to do to Judge them. *Heart-Infidels* are and will be in the Churches. If they be proved to be Hereticks in *Tongue*, then it is either before they are taken into the Communion of the Church, or after. If *before*, you are to use them as in case of proved Wickedness; that is, call them to publick Repentance before they be admitted: If it be *after*, they must be admonished, and Rejected after the first and second contemned Admonition: And is not this enough? And is not this the certain regular way? Is it not confusion to put *Law for Judgment*, and say there wants a *new Law or Rule*, when there wants but a *due Judgment by the Rule in being*.

6. *Lastly*, We shall never have done with the *Papists*, if we let go the *Scripture-Sufficiency*. And it is a double Crime in us to do it, who Dispute with them so vehemently for it. And we harden and justify Church-Tyranny and Impositions when we will do the like our selves.

If there be nothing against *Socinianism* in the Scripture, it is no Heresie: If there be (as sure there is enough, and plain enough) Judge them by that Rule, and make not new ones.

But if any will not hold to this truly Catholick Course, I shall next like your Motion very well, to take up with the Creed, as Expounded in the 4. First Councils, called *General*: which I can readily subscribe my self, but it's better let them all alone, and not to be so fond of *one onely Engine*, which hath torn the Church for about 1200 Years. I mean departing from the *Ancient Rule*, and making *new Creeds and Forms of Communion*.

To your *Third Qu.* 1. I suppose you observe that what I say about *Separation*, is not under the *third Head* (of the Concord of *Neighbour Churches*, but under the *second Head* of the Concord of Members in the same particular Churches) and were you not heretofore at Agreement in your own Churches? And is it not the *Duty* and *Interest* of your own Churches to keep Unity, and that the Members separate not unjustly whether you agree with other Churches or not?

2. Either what I say about *Separation* is that which we are all (now Uniting) agreed in, or not: If it be, it *honoureth* our Brethren to profess it, and can be no Reproach or Offence to them to declare it: If any have lined against their own present Judgment, I hope they are not so Impenitent, as to desire us to forbear agreeing with their *own Judgments*, because it is against their *former sins*. And here is no Word said Historically to upbraid any with these Sins at all. But if we are not all agreed thus far against *Separation*, I desire you to name the Terms which we agree not in, and then we shall see whether we may leave them out, or whether it render our Concord desperate and impossible (of which anon.)

To your *Fourth Qu.* The *Jealousies* and *Errors* of these Times do make it necessary to our Peace, to make some Profession of our Judgment about Magistracy; and I think there is nothing questionable in this. I am sure there is nothing but what many of the Congregational-Party do allow; but if you come to Particulars, I shall consider of them again.

The particular Exceptions which you Obliterate not your selves are but these.

1. To *Qu. Prop. 9.* Whether I mean *prescribed Forms*, and *Homilies*, and *Habits*, by the Terms [*what Words to use in Preaching and Prayer, &c.*] *Answ.* That which I say as plain as I can is, 1. That a determination of such Circumstances is not a sinful Addition to God's Word, nor will allow the People therefore to avoid the Churches Communion. 2. That it belongs to the Pastor's Office to determine them (what Words he shall Preach and Pray in, &c.) Therefore you have no cause to ask my meaning about *imposing upon him*, but only whether *he may so far impose upon the Flock*, as to use his own Words in Preaching, Prayer, &c. 3. That yet if the Pastor determine these Circumstances *destructively*, the People have their Remedy. And is not this enough? Why must I tell you whether you may read a *Sermon* (or *Homily*) of your own Writing, or another Man's unto the People? Or if you do, whether they must separate? Or else if you read a Prayer, &c. Either you determine these things to the Churches *hurt*, or not? If not, why should they blame you, or Separate? If you do, they have their Remedy. But whether you do or not, I now decide not. If we meddle with all such Particulars, we shall never agree: more than those must be left to liberty. You think our Particulars are too many already, and would you have more? And if the Controversies of the Times will tempt any to Expound our General Terms of Agreement amiss, we must not go from Generals for that.

To the *Tenth Prop.* You say there is something that will admit of a farther Consideration: Whereupon I considered it, and have added [*Supposing it be a publick Profession of Christianity which is made:*] Because, though the People are not bound to try the Persons before-hand, that are so to be received to Communion, yet they may ordinarily expect, that when they are admitted, their Profession be publick, or made known to the Church, which I imply'd before.

And now, *Sir*, I pray give me leave to speak some-what freely to the Cause it self, (assuring you I shall patiently, if not thankfully receive as free Language from you or others.) I shall 1. mention what it is that we have to do; and 2. what Reasons we have for doing it.

Our Business is to heal *Church-Divisions*, and *Heart-Divisions*; therefore you must give us leave to say much against *Divisions* or *Separations* which are *unjust*, because this is our *end*, and all the rest is but the *means*; and if you would have us leave out *that*, it is all one as to say [*I let us agree to have no Agreement or Unity;*] or [*we will be healed,* so we may continue to be unhealed;] or, [*do but excuse us from Con-*

cord,

cord, and we will agree with you.] The Reason why we would ~~bear~~ with other Differences, is because we cannot bear with the absence of Unity, Love and Peace, else we may let all go to Divisions, without any more ado.

And the great things which hinder the *Presbyterians* and *Moderate Episcopal Men*, from closing with you, are principally these.

1. Because they think that your way tends to destroy the Kingdom of Christ, by dividing it, while all Excommunicate Persons, or Hereticks, or humorous Persons, may at any time gather a Church of such as Separate from the Church which they belonged to, though it be on the account of Ungodliness, or Impatience of Discipline, &c. and then may stand on equal Terms with you; especially when you are not for the constant Correspondency of Churches in Synods, by which they may strengthen themselves against them.

2. They think, while you seem to be for a *stricter Discipline* than others, that your way (or usual Practice) tendeth to extirpate Godliness out of the Land; by taking a very few that can talk more than the rest, and making them the Church, and shutting out more that are as worthy, and by neglecting the Souls of all the Parish else, except as to some publick Preaching; against which also you prejudice them by unjust Rejections; and then think that you may warrantably account them unworthy: because you know *no worthiness* by them, when you estrange your selves from them, and drive them away from you. They think that *Parish-Reformation* tendeth to the making *Godliness universal*, and that your *Separation* tendeth to dwindle it to nothing. I know that some of you have spoken for *endeavouring the good of all*; but (pardon my plainness) I knew scarce any of you that did not by an *unjust espousing of your few*, do the People a double Injury, one by denying them their Church-Rights, without any regular Church Justice, and the other by lazily omitting most that should have been done for their Salvation. In our Countrey almost all the rest of the Ministers agreed to deal seriously and orderly with all the Families of their Parishes (which some did to their wonderful benefit) except your Party, and the highly Episcopal, and they stood off. The doubt was when I came to *Kidderminster*, Whether it were better to take 20 Professors for the Church, and leave a Reader to head and gratifie the rest? Or, to attempt the just Reformation of the Parish? The Professors would have been best pleased with the first, and I was for the latter, which after full tryal, hath done that which hath satisfied all the Professors: So that professed Piety, and Family-Worship (in a way of Humility and Unity) was so common, that the few that differ among some Thousands are mostly ashamed of their Difference on the account of Singularity, and would seem to be Godly with the rest.

The last Week I had with me an honest *Scotchman*, and one of my *Acton* Neighbours, and I asked him how their Nation came to be so unanimous in the approbation of Godliness without any Sect. And he told me that usually they had twelve Elders in a Parish, and every one took their Division and observed the manners of the People, and if any Family prayed not, &c. They admonished them, and told the Pastor; and that the Pastor then went to them (though many Miles off) and taught them to Pray, and led them in it, and set them upon other means as we teach Children to read: And that once a Week they had a meeting of the Elders, to consult about the good of the Parish, and once a Week a meeting of the People to pray and confer, and receive resolution of Doubts, before the Pastor, and every Lord's Day after Sermon, they stayed to discourse of the things Preached of, that Objections might be answered, and those urged to their duties that had nothing to say against it. This, and more, the *Scotchman* averred to me. My *Acton* Neighbour told me, that there is now but one Person (a Woman) in all this Town and Parish that was here admitted to the Sacrament, and that the rest were partly by this course (and other reasons) distastd, and their dislike encreased, and partly neglected and left to themselves: That of rich Families, (Mr. Rous, Major Skippous, Collonel Sely, and Mr. Humphreys) were admitted while the rest were refused, or neglected: And that one surviving Person who was admitted, it but a Sojourner here. Whereas upon a little Tryal, I am able to say, that there are comparatively few openly scandalous Persons in the Town; that there are many *who*, I have reason to believe do seriously fear God, and are fit for Church-Communion: That almost the whole Town and Parish (even those that seemed most *averse*) are desirous and

diligent to hear, even in private, and seem to be desirous of Family-helps, and desire good Books to read in their Families. And I hear not of one Person (or hardly any if one) that speak against the strictest Godliness, but commonly rather take part with those that are judged to fear God. Even the very Inns and Ale-houses themselves do signify no *Opposition* or *ill-will*: In a word, the willingness seemeth so great and common, that if I were their Pastor, and had time to go to them in private, and try, and promote their Knowledge (which comes not at once) I see no reason to doubt but Godliness might become the common Complexion of the Parish. I speak this to shew you (if Experience signify any thing with you,) that your separating way tendeth to Laziness, and the grievous hinderance of that Godliness which you seem to be more zealous for than others, and that the way of Reforming Parish-Churches, is not so hopeless as you make your selves believe it is. Some one wrote lately Exceptions to Mr. Eliot, upon his Proposals, in which he asketh him, [*What shall one, or two, or three in a parish do, who usually are as many in most, or many Parishes as are fit for Communion, &c.*] Men first estrange themselves from the poor People, whom they should teach with tenderness, and diligence, and then they think their ignorance of the People ground enough to Judge them ignorant, and talk of *one or two* in a Parish. But Christ will find many more, I am past doubt, even Members of his *Mystical Church*, than these Men can do of the *visible*, which is much larger. And you cannot say, if there be any difference of Successes, that it is only from the difference of *Persons*, and not of the several ways: For here where I live were two of the worthiest Persons of your way (Mr. Nye, and Mr. Elford) whose ability and Piety were beyond all question, and so was their great advantage then. But *your way* is your disadvantage, and Christ's Friends should suspect that way of honouring Godliness, which tendeth to diminish it, or suppress it.

I tell you some few of the things offensive to your Brethren, that you may see wherein our Agreement must give Satisfaction. The rest I now omit.

I had thought to have said more of the Reasons why you should heartily promote it. But I will now say but these two things. 1. That he that can consider what the effects of our Divisions have been upon Church and State, and the Lives of some, and the Souls of Thousands, both of the openly ungodly, and Professors, and that knows how great a Reproach they are now to our Profession, and hardening of the Wicked, and hinderance to that good, even of the best, and yet doth not thirst to see them healed, hath small sense of the interest of Christ, and Souls.

2. That he, that considereth what it was to continue such Divisions unheal'd for 20 Years, under such Warnings and Calls to Unity; and to do what we have done against our selves and others, after such smart, and in such a manner to the last, is most dreadfully impenitent, if Repentance do not now make him zealous for a Cure. And in particular, if *you*, and Mr. Nye, and I, be not extraordinary zealous for this work, there are scarce three Men to be found in the World, that will be more hainously guilty, and without excuse: (I need not tell you why.) And truly, if we have *zeal*, and yet not *skill* for such a Cure, (when all say that the People are willing to be healed) it will be a shame for us to cry out on them, that Silence us: as if such Shepherds were necessary to the Flock, that have skill to Wound, and none to Cure. Therefore, as I am heartily glad of your forwardness and willingness to this Work, pardon me for telling you, *I will Judge of it by the Effects*. I address my self to you alone, because I know that *Understanding* and *Experience* are great Assistants (to lead on Charity) in this Work; and there is no dealing with them that understand not the Case. And I will hope that the Effect will shew, that no Humours of others (Men of narrow Minds, and Interests, and injudicious Passions) shall prevail with you against so great a work of Repentance, and Love to God and Godliness, and the Souls of Men. Again, Pardon this Freedom used by

Your much Honouring

And Unworthy Brother,

Rich. Baxter,

§ 144. After this I waited on him at London again, and he came once to me to my Lodgings, when I was in Town (near him;) And he told me, that he received my chiding Letter, and perceived that I suspected his Reality in the Business; but he was so hearty in it, that I should see that he really meant as he spake, concluding in these Words [*You shall see it, and my Practice shall reproach your Diffidence.*] I told him, That if I fore-saw his Temptations, and were willing to help him by Premonition to overcome them, I meant not that as an Accusation; but I thank'd him for his Promise, to *reproach my Diffidence by his Practice*, and such an Event would be his Honour, and let it reproach me and spare not, so be it the Work were done. But again, I desired that no one living might know of it, till he and I had finished our attempt. And thus I waited for his Animadversions.

§ 145. About a Month after I went to him again, and he had done nothing, but was still hearty for the Work. And to be short, I thus waited on him time after time, till my Papers had been near a Year and quarter in his Hand, and then I desired him to return them to me, which he did, -with these Words, [*I am still a well-wisher to those Mathematicks;*] without any other Words about them, or ever giving me any more Exception against them. And this was the issue of my third Attempt for Union with the Independents.

§ 146. Having long (upon the Suspension of my Aphorisms) been purposing to draw up a Method of Theology, I now began it: I never yet saw a Scheme, or Method of Physicks or Theology, which gave any Satisfaction to my Reason: Tho' many have attempted to exercise more accurateness in Distribution, than all others that went before them, (especially *Dudley, Fenner, Tzegeidine, Sobnius, Gomarus, Amesius, Treleatius, Wollebius, &c.* and our present busie-boaster, *Dr. Nich. Gibbon*, in his Scheme) yet I could never yet see any whose Confusion, or great Defects, I could not easily discover, but not so easily amend. I had been Twenty Six Years convinced that Dichotomizing will not do it; but that the Divine Trinity in Unity, hath exprest it self in the whole Frame of Nature and Morality: And I had so long been thinking of a true Method, and making some small Attempts, but I found my self insufficient for it; and so continued only thinking of it, and studying it all these Years. *Campanella* I saw had made the fairest Attempt that ever I saw made, in the Principles of Nature (and *Commenius* after him;) but yet as I believe, he quite mist it in his first operative Principles of Heat and Cold (mistaking the nature of Cold and Darkness;) so he run his three Principles, which he calleth Primalties, into many subsequent Notions, which were not provable or coherent: Having long read his *Physicks, Metaphysicks, de Sensu rerum*, and *Atheismus Triumphatus*, I found him mention his Theology, which put me in hope, that he had there also made some Attempt, but I could never hear of any one that had seen any such Book of his: At last *Mr. Geo. Lawson's Theopolitica* came out, which reduced Theology to a Method more Political and righter in the main, than any that I had seen before him: But he had not hit on the true Method of the *Vestigia Trinitatis*; and some long Debates by Writing between him and me, which had gone before (about 7 Years) had engaged him to make good his first Papers, in those mistakes about the Office of Faith in Justification (as Justifying only as Christ's Propitiation as the Object of it :) Of which in that Book he saith so much (to the pity rather than satisfaction of the Judicious :) his Book being otherwise the soundest, and most abounding with Light of any one that I have seen. But the very necessity of explaining the Three Articles of Baptism, and the Three Summaries of Religion (the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Decalogue) hath led all the common Catechisms that go that way (of which *Ursine* Corrected by *Paræus* is the chief) into a truer Method, than any of our exactest Dichotomizers have hit on, (not excepting *Treleatius, Solinius, or Amesius*, which are the best.)

§ 147. The Nature of things convinced me, That as Physicks are presupposed in Ethicks, and that Morality is but the ordering of the Rational Nature and its Actions, so that part of Physicks and Metaphysicks, which opened the Nature of Man, and of God, which are the Parties contracting, and the great Subjects of Theology and Morality, is more nearly pertinent to a Method of Theology, and should have a larger place in it, than is commonly thought and given to it: Yet I knew

knew how Uncouth it would seem to put so much of these Doctrines into a Body of Divinity: But the three first Chapters of *Genesis* assured me, That it was the Scripture-Method. And when I had drawn up one Scheme of the Creation, and sent it the Lord Chief Baron (because of our often Communication on such Subjects, and being now banished from his Neighbourhood, and the County where he lived) he received it with so great Approbation, and importuned me so by Letters, to go on with that work, and not to fear being too much on Philosophy, as added somewhat to my Inclinations and Resolutions. And through the great Mercy of God, in my Retirement at *Totteridge*, in a troublesome, poor, sinoaky, suffocating Room, in the midst of daily pains of the Sciatica, and many worse, I set upon, and finished all the Schemes, and half the Elucidations in the end of the Year 1669. and the beginning of 1670. which cost me harder Studies than any thing that ever I had before attempted.

§ 148. In the same time and place, I also wrote a large Apology for the Non-conformists: Partly, to prove it their Duty to Exercise their Ministry as they can when they are Silenced; and partly to open the State of the Prelacy, the Subscriptions, Declarations, &c. which they refuse: for the furious Revilings of Men did so increase, and their Provocations, and Accusations, and Insultings, were so many and great, that it drove me to this work as it were against my will: But when I had done it, I saw that the Publication of it would (by Imprisonment or Banishment) put an end to my other Labours, which made me lay it by; for I thought that the finishing of my *Methodus Theologiae* was a far greater work: But if that had been done, I think I should have published it whatever it had cost me.

§ 149. This Year 1670 my forementioned *Cure of Church Divisions* came out, which had been before cast by, which occasioned a storm of Obloquy among almost all the separating Party of Professors, and filled the City and Country with matters of Discourse: which fell out to be as followeth. I had long made use of two Bookfellers, Mr. Tyton, and Mr. Simmons, the former, lived in London and the later in *Kidderminster*: But the latter removing to London, they envied each other, in a meer desire of gain, one thinking that the other got more than he was willing should go besides himself. Mr. Tyton first refused an equal Co-partnership with the other: Whereupon it fell to the others share to Print my *Life of Faith*, and *Cure of Church Divisions*, after my *Directions to weak Christians*, together: Which occasioned Mr. Tyton to tell several that came to his Shop, that the Book, as he heard, was against private Meetings, at least, at the time of Publick, and made those Schismaticks that used them: Mr. Simmons met with a credible Citizen that gave it him under his Hand, that Mr. Tyton said that [he might have had the Printing of the Book, but would not, because it spake against those things which he had seen me Practise &c.;] which were all gross Untruths; for the Book was never offered him, nor had he never seen a word of it, or ever spoken with any one that had seen it, and told him what was in it. Mr. Tyton being a Member of an Independent Church, this sort of People the easilier believed this; and so it was carried among them from one to one, first that I wrote against private Meetings, and then that I accused them all of Schism, and then that I wrote for Conformity, and lastly, that I conformed; so that before a Line of my Book was known, this was grown the common Fame of the City, and thence of all the Land, and sent as certain into *Scotland* and *Ireland*: yea, they named the Text that I preached my Recantation Sermon on before the King, as stirring him up to Cruelty against the Nonconformists. So common was the Sin of Back-biting and Slandering among the Separating Party, so it were but done at the second hand; and they that thought themselves too good to joyn with the Conformists, or use their Liturgy, or Communion, yet never stuck at the common carrying of all these Falshoods, because they could say, a good Man told it me. So that Thousands made no bones of this, that would not have defiled themselves with a Ceremony, or an imposed Form of Prayer, by any means. Yea, the Streets rang with Reproaches against me for it, without any more proof.

Some said that I took part with the Enemies of Godliness, and countenanced their Church-Tyranny; and some said that I sought to reconcile my self to them, for fear of further Suffering: And thus the Christians that were most tenderly afraid of the Liturgy and Ceremonies, were so little tender of receiving and vending the most dis-
ingenuous

ingenuous falsehoods, as if they had been no matter of Scruple. So ealie is a sinful Zeal, and so hardly is true Christian Zeal maintained.

§ 150. At the same time there fell out a Case which tended to promote the Calumny. The old Reading Vicar of *Kidderminster* dyed, about the Day of the Date of the Act against Conventicles) Sir *Ralph Clare*, his chief Friend, and my Applauder, but Remover, being dead a little before; the old Patron, Colonel *John Bridges*, Sold the Patronage to Mr. *Thomas Foley*, with a condition, that he should present me next, if I were capable; which he promised, as also, that he would Present no other but by my consent. Because I had done so much before to have continued in that place, and had desired to Preach there but as a Curate, under the Reading Vicar, when I refused a Bishoprick, and the Vicaridge was now come to be worth 200 *l. per Ann.* and this falling void at the same time, when the *Independents* had filled the Land with the Report that I was Writing against them for Conformity; hereupon the Bishops themselves believed it, that the love of *Kidderminster* would make me Conform; and they concurred in vending the Report, infomuch that one certainly told me, that he came then from a worthy Minister, to whom the Arch-bishop of *York* (*Sterne*) spake these Words, [*Take it on my Word, Mr. Baxter doth Conform, and is gone to his Beloved Kidderminster.*] And so both Parties concurred in the false Report, though one only raised it.

§ 151. Another Accident fell out also, which promoted it. For Mr. *Crofton* having a Tryal, (as I hear upon the *Oxford* Act of Confinement) at the *King's Bench*, Judge *Neeling* said, *You need not be so hasty, for I hear that Mr. Crofton is about to Conform.* And Judge *Morton* said, [*And I hear that Mr. Baxter hath a Book in the Press against their private Meetings:* Judge *Ramsford* said somewhat, that he was glad to hear it; and Judge *Morton* again, That it was but time, for the *Quakers* in *Buckingham-shire*, he was confident were Acted by the Papists; for they spake for *Purgatory* already.] This Talk being used in so high a Court of Justice, by the Grave and Reverend Judges, all Men thought then that they might lawfully believe it and report it. So Contagious may the Breath of one Religious Man be, as to infect his Party; and of that Religious Party, as to infect the Land, and more than one Land, with the belief and report of such ungrounded Lies.

§ 152. At the same time, in the end of my *Life of Faith*, I Printed a *Revocation* of my Book called *Political Aphorisms*, or *A Holy Common-wealth*; which exasperated those who had been for the Parliament's War, as much as the former, but both together did greatly provoke them. Of which I must give the Reader this Advertisement. I wrote that Book 1659. by the provocation of Mr. *James Harrington*, the Author of *Oceana*; and next by the Endeavours of Sir *Hen. Vane* for a Common-wealth: Not that I had any Enmity to a well ordered Democracy; but 1. I knew that *Cromwell* and the Army, were resolved against it, and it would not be. 2. And I perceived that *Harrington's* Common-wealth was fitted to *Heathenism*, and *Vane's* to *Fanaticism*; and neither of them would take: Therefore I thought that the improvement of our Legal Form of Government was best for us: And by *Harrington's* Scorn (Printed in a half Sheet of *Clibberish*) was then provoked to write that Book. But the madness of the several Parties, before it could be Printed, pull'd down *Rich. Cromwell*, and chang'd the Government so oft in a few Months, as brought in the King, contrary to the hopes of his closest Adherents, and the expectations of almost any in the Land.

And ever since the King came in, that Book of mine, was preached against before the King, spoken against in the Parliament, and wrote against by such as desired my Ruine: *Morley*, Bishop of *Worcester*, and many after him, branded it with Treason, and the King was still told that I would not retract it, but was still of the same mind, and ready to raise another War, and a Person not to be indured. New Books every Year came out against it; and even Men that had been taken for Sober and Religious, when they had a mind of Preferment, and to be taken notice of at Court, and by the Prelates, did fall on Preaching or Writing against me, and specially against that Book, as the probablest means to accomplish their Ends. When I had endured this ten Years, and found no stop, but that still they proceeded to make me odious to the King and Kingdom, and seeking utter ruine this way, I thought it my Duty to remove this stumbling Block out of their way, and without recanting any particular Doctrine

Doctrin in it, to *revoke the Book*, and to *disown* it, and desire the Reader to take it as *non Scriptum*, and to tell him that I repented of the writing of it. And so I did: Yet telling him, That I retracted none of the Doctrin of the first Part, which was to prove the Monarch of God; but for the sake of the *whole second Part*, I repented that I wrote it: For I was resolv'd at least to have that much to say, against all that after wrote, and preach'd, and talk'd against it, *That I have revoked that Book, and therefore shall not defend it.* And the incessant bloody Malice of the Reproachers, made me heartily wish, on two or three accounts, that I had never written it. 1. Because it was done just at the fall of the Government, and was buried in our ruines, and never, that I know of, did any great good. 2. Because I find it best for Ministers, to meddle as little as may be with Matters of Polity, how great soever their Provocations may be: and therefore I wish that I had never written on any such Subject. 3. And I repented that I meddled against *Vine* and *Harrington* (which was the second Part) in *Defence of Monarchy*, seeing that the Consequents had been no better,

Not that my Judgment is changed, as it was for Monarchy. But I am sorry that I wrote for any Men against their wills, and to their displeasure. Its meet they should chuse their own Servants.

and that my Reward had been to be silenced, imprisoned, turned out of all, and reproached implacably, and incessantly, as Criminal, and never like to see an end of it: He, that had wrote for so little, and so great displeasure, might be tempted as well as I, to wish that he had *sat still*, and let GOD and Man alone with Matters of Civil Policy. Though I was not convinced of many Errors in that Book, so called by some Accusers to recant, yet I repented the writing of it as an *infelicity*, and as that which did no good but hurt.

§ 153. But because an *Appendix* to that Book had given several Reasons of my adhering to the Parliament at first, many thought I changed my Judgment about the first part of the Parliament's Cause: And the rather, because I disclaimed the Army's Rebellious Overthrows of Government (as I had always done.) I knew I could not revoke the Book, but the busie peevishness of censorious Professors would fall upon me as a Revolter: And I knew that I could not forbear the said Revocation, without those ill Effects which I supposed greater. And which was worst of all, I had no possible Liberty further to explain my Reasons.

§ 154. When my *Cure of Church Divisions* came out, the sober Party of Ministers were reconciled to it; especially the Ancienter sort, and those that had seen the Evils of Separation: But some of the *London* Ministers, who had kept up Publick Assemblies, thought it should have been less sharp; and some thought because they were under the Bishop's Severities, that it was unseasonable. For the Truth is, most Men judged by *sense*, and take that to be good or bad, which they feel do them good or hurt at the present: And because the People's Alienation from the Prelates and Liturgy, and Parish-Churches, did seem to make against the Prelates, and to make for the Nonconformist's Interest, they thought it not Prudence to gratifie the Prelates so far as to gain-say it. And so they considered not from whence dividing Principles come, and to what they tend, and what a disgrace they are to our Cause, and how one of our own Errors will hurt and disparage us more, than all the cruelty of our Adversaries; and that sinful means is seldom blessed to do good.

§ 155. But upon fore-sight of the tenderness of Professors, I had before given my Book to the Perusal of Mr. *John Corbet*, my Neighbour, (accounted one of the most Calm, as well as Judicious Nonconformists) and had altered every Word that he wished to be altered: And the same I had done by my very worthy Faithful Friend, Mr. *Richard Fairclough*, who Perused it in the Press, and I altered almost all that he wished to be altered, to take off any Words that seemed to be too sharp. But all did not satisfy the guilty and impatient Readers.

§ 156. For when the Book came out, the Separating Party, who had received before an odious Character of it, did part of them read and interpret it by the Spectacles and Commentary of their Passions and fore Conceits; and the most of them would not read it all; but took all that they heard for granted: The hottest that was against it was Mr. *Ed. Bagshaw*, a young Man, who had written formerly against Monarchy, had afterward written for me against Bishop *Morley*; and being of a resolute *Roman* Spirit, was sent first to the *Tower*, and then laid there in the horrid Dungeon (where the damp casting him into the Hemorrhoids, the Pain caused that Sweat which saved his Life :) Thence he was removed to *Southbay-Castle*, near *Portsmouth*, in the Sea, where he lay Prisoner many Years; where *Vivafor Powel* (an honest injudicious Zealot of *Wales*) being his Companion, heightned him in his Opinions.

He

He wrote against me a Pamphlet so full of Untruths and Spleen, and so little pertinent to the Cause, as that I never met with a Man that called for an Answer to it: But yet the ill Principles of it made me think, that it needed an Answer, which I wrote. But I found that Party grown so tender, expecting little but to be applauded for their Godliness, and to be flattered, while they expected that others should be most sharply dealt with, and indeed to be so utterly impatient of that Language, in a Confutation which had any suitableness to the desert of their Writings, that I purposed to give over all Controversial Writings with them, or any other, without great necessity: And the rather, because my own Stile is apt to be guilty of too much freedom and sharpness in Disputings.

§ 157. The next to Mr. *Bagshaw* (now again in Prison for not taking the Oath of Allegiance it self,) who behind my Back did most revile my Book, was Dr. *Owen*; whether out of Design or Judgement, I cannot tell; but ordinarily he spake very bitterly of it; but never wrote to me a Word against it: He also divulged his dissent from the Proposals for Concord, which I offered him, though he would say no more against them to my self, than what I have before expressed.

§ 158. At this time also one *Hinkley* of *Norfield*, near *Worcester-shire*, desiring to be taken notice of, wrote a virulent Book against the Nonconformists, and particularly some Fallhoods against me, and a vehement Invitation to me to publish the Reasons of my Nonconformity; when he could not be so utterly ignorant as not to know, that I could never get such an Apology Licensed, and that the Law forbade me to Print it unlicensed, and that he himself taketh it for a Sin to break that Law. But such impudent Persons were still clamouring against us.

§ 159. By this time my own old Flock at *Kidderminster* began (some of them) to Censure me: For when the Bishop, and Deans, and many of their Curates, had preached long to make the People think me a Deceiver; as if this had been the only way to their Salvation, the People were hereby so much alienated from them, that they took them for Men unreasonable, and little better than mad; inasmuch as that they grew more alienated from Prelacy than ever. Also, while they continued to repeat Sermons in their Houses together, many of them were laid long in Jayls, (among Thieves and common Malefactors; which increased their Exasperations yet more. They continued their Meetings whilst their Goods were Seised on, and they were Fined and Punished again and again. These Sufferings so increased their Aver-sation, that my Book against Church-Divisions coming out at such a time, and a Preface which I put before a Book of Dr. *Bryan's*, in which I do but excuse his Speaking against Separation, they were many of them offended at it as unseasonable; and judging by *feeling Interest* and *Passion*, were angry with me for strengthening the Hands of Persecutors, as they call it; whereas if I had called the Bishops all that's nought, I am confident they would not have blamed me. And they that fell out with the Bishops for casting me out, and speaking ill of me, were (some of them) ready to speak ill of me, if not to cast me off, because I did but persuade them of the Lawfulness of Communicating in their Parish-Church, with a Conformable Minister in the Liturgy.

§ 160. At this time, as is said, the old reading Vicar dying it was cast on me to chuse the next: But the Religious People (who were the main Body of the Town, and Parish) would not so much as chuse a Man, when they might have had their choice; no, nor so much as write or send one word to one about it, lest they should seem to consent to his Conformity, or to be obliged to him in his Office. Whereupon I also refused to meddle in the Choice, and the rather because some of the malignant slanderous Prelatists who write of me, as *Durel*, *L'strange*, and many others have done, would in likelihood have said, that I contracted for some Commodity to my self; and because Mr. *Foley* the Patron was a truly honest Religious Man, who, I knew would make the best choice he could.

§ 161. When he had chosen them a Minister (whom they themselves commended for an honest Man and a good Preacher, and rather wished him than another) I wrote a Letter to them to advise them to join with the said Minister in Prayers and Sacrament; because I had before advised them not to own the Ministry of Mr. *Dance*, for his utter incapacity and insufficiency, but if ever they had a

tolerable Man, to own him, and Communicate with him. And because he was the best, that the Patron by their Consent, could chuse, and for many Reasons, which I gave them. But their Sufferings had so far alienated them from the Prelates, that the very rumour of this Letter was talkt of as my Book against Divisions was, so that it was never so much as read to them.

§ 162. And here it is worth the nothing, how far Interest secretly swayeth the Judgments of the best. A few Ministers, who have a more taking way of Preaching than the rest, and being more moving and affectionate, are for that way now which most suiteth with the Inclination of the People who most esteem them, which is to go far enough from the Conformists, (or too far) but the rest who are less followed by the People, are generally more for Peace and Moderation.

§ 163. This Year the Act against Conventicles was renewed, and made more severe than ever: And (as all that ever I spake with of it, supposed) with an Eye upon my Case, they put in divers Clauses: As that the fault of the *Antitimus* should not disable it; that all doubtful Clauses in the Act should be interpreted, as would most favour the suppression of Conventicles; that they that fled or removed their Dwelling into another County, should be pursued by Execution, (to this Sense) What a strait is a Man in among People of such Extremes? One side pursueth us with implacable Wrath, while we are charged with nothing but Preaching Christ's Gospel in the most peaceable manner we can: And the other censureth us, as Compilers with Persecutors and Enemies to Piety, because we desire to live peaceable with all Men, and to separate from them no further than they separate from God.

§ 164. Their own Laws against Conventicles hinder us from doing their own Wills. They write and clamour against me for not perswading the People to Conformity: And when I would draw them but to that Communion, which I had within my self, the Law disableth me to Communicate a Letter to them, seeing no more than four must meet together; which way among many hundred or thousand Dissenters, would make many Years work of Communicating that one part of my Advice. Thus do our Shepherds use the Flocks.

§ 165. At this time Mr. *Giles Firmin*, a worthy Minister that had lived in *New-England*, writing against some Errors of Mr. *Hooker*, Mr. *Shepherd*, Mr. *Daniel Rogers*, and Mr. *Perkins*, gave me also also a gentle reproof, for tying Men too strictly to Meditation; whereto I wrote a short answer, called, *A Review of the Doctrine of Meditation*.

§ 166. A worthy Lady was perverted from the Lord's Day to the *Saturday-Sabbath*, desiring my Judgment, and Mr. *Francis Bamfield*, a Minister, who hath lain about seven Years in *Dorchester-Goal* (the Brother of Sir *John Bamfield*, deceased) being gone to the same Opinion, and many following them, I wrote by the Perswasion of some Friends, a small Tractate also on that Subject, to prove the divine appointment of the Lord's Day, and the cessation of the *Jewish Sabbath*.

§ 167. Dr. *Manton* (though he had the greatest Friends, and promise of Favour of any of the Presbyterians) was sent Prisoner to the Gatchouse for Preaching the Gospel in his own House, in the Parish where he had been called formerly to the Ministry, and for not taking the *Oxford-Oath*, and coming within five Miles of a Corporation; where he continued six Months: but it proved convenient to his ease, because those six Months were spent in *London*, in a hot pursuit of such private Preaching, by Bands of Soldiers, to the terrour of many, and the death of some.

§ 168. Madam, the King's Sister dyed in *France*, when she returned from visiting His Majesty in *England*, to his very great grief.

§ 169. Sir *John Babor* talk'd to the Lord *Arlington* of our late Treaty upon the Lord Keeper's Invitation, with Bishop *Wilkins*; whereupon Dr. *Manton* sent to me, as from him, to Communicate the Terms and Papers. But they were at *Adon* from whence they had driven me, and I had meddled enough in such Matters only to my cost. So that though he said the King was to see them, I could not then answer his desire, and I heard no more of it.

§ 170. Upon the Publication of my Book against Divisions, and the Rumour of my Conforming, the Earl of *Lauderdale* invited me to speak with him: Where he opened to me the purpose of taking off the Oath of Canonical Obedience, and all Impositions of Conformity in *Scotland*, save only that it should be necessary to sit in Presbyteries and Synods with the Bishops and Moderators (there being already no Liturgy, Ceremonies, or Subscription save only to the Doctrine of the Church:) Hereupon he expressed his great Kindness to me, and told me he had the King's Consent to speak with me, and being going into *Scotland*, he offered me what place in *Scotland* I would choose, either a Church, or a Colledge in the University, or a Bishoprick: And shortly after, as he went thither, at *Barnet* he sent for me; and I gave him the Answer following in these Papers, besides what I gave him by word to the same purpose. But when he came thither, such Acts against Conventicles were presently made, as are very well worthy the Reader's serious Perusal, who would know the true Complexion of this Age.

§ 171.

My Lord,

BEING deeply sensible of your Lordship's Favours, and in special of your Liberal Offers for my Entertainment in *Scotland*, I humbly return you my very hearty Thanks: But these Considerations forbid me to entertain any hopes or further thoughts of such a remove.

1. The Experience of my great Weakness and decay of Strength, and particularly of this last Winter's Pain, and how much worse I am in *Winter* than in *Summer*, doth fully persuade me, That I shall live but a little while in *Scotland*, and that in a disabled, useless Condition, rather keeping my Bed than the Pulpit.

2. I am engaged in Writing a Book, which if I could hope to live to finish, is almost all the Service that I expect to do God and his Church, more in the World, (A *Latin Methodus Theologiae*;) And I can hardly hope to live so long, (it requiring yet near a Years labour more.) Now if I should go spend that one half Year, or Year, which should finish that Work in Travel, and the trouble of such a Removal, and then having intended Work undone, it would disappoint me of the ends of my Life: (For I live only for *Work*, and therefore should remove only for *Work*, and not for *Wealth* and *Honour*, if ever I remove.)

3. If I were there, all that I could hope for were liberty to Preach the Gospel of Salvation, and especially in some *University among young Scholars*. But I hear that you have enough already for this Work, that are like to do it better than I can.

4. I have a Family, and in it a Mother-in-Law of 80 Years of Age, of Honourable Extract, and great Worth, whom I must not neglect, and who cannot Travel. And it is to such a one as I, so great a business to remove a Family, and all our Goods, and Books so far, as deterreth me to think of it (having paid so dear for Removals these 8 Years, as I have done, and being but yesterday settled in a House which I have newly taken, and that with great trouble and loss of time.) And if I should find *Scotland* disagree with me (which I fully conclude of) to remove all back again.

All this concurreth to deprive me of this Benefit of your Lordship's Favour. But, my Lord, there are other Fruits of it, which I am not altogether hopeles of Receiving. When I am commanded to pray for Kings, and all in Authority, I am allowed the Ambition of this Preferment (which is all that ever I aspired after) to live a quiet and peaceable Life, in all Godliness and Honesty. *Diu nimis habitavit anima mea inter obores pacis.*

I am weary of the Noise of contentious Revilers, and have oft had Thoughts to go into a Foreign Land, if I could find any where I might have a healthful Air, and quietness, that I might but Live and Die in peace. When I sit in a Corner, and meddle

meddle with no Body, and hope the World will forget that I am alive, Court, City, and Country is still fill'd with Clamours against me; and when a Preacher wanteth Preferment, his way is to Preach, or write a Book against the Nonconformists, and me by Name: So that the *Menstrua* of the Press (and Pulpits of some) is some Bloody Invectives against my self, as if my Peace were inconsistent with the Kingdom's Happiness: And never did my Eyes read such impudent Untruths in Matter of Fact, as these Writings contain; and they cry out for Answers and Reasons of my Nonconformity, while they know the Law forbiddeth me to answer them (Unlicensed. I expect not that any Favour or Justice of my Superiours should Cure any of this: But,

1. If I might but be heard speak for my self, before I be judged by them, and such things believed. (For to condemn the Judgment of my Rulers, is to dishonour them.)

2. I might live quietly to follow my private Study, and might once again have the use of my Books (which I have not seen these ten Years, and pay for a Room for their standing at *Kidderminster*, where they are eaten with Worms and Rats, having no security for my quiet Abode in any place, enough to encourage me to send for them:) And if I might have the Liberty that every Beggar hath, to Travel from Town to Town, I mean, but to *London*, to over-see the Press, when any thing of mine is Licensed for it. And,

3. If I be sent to *Newgate* for Preaching Christ's Gospel; (For I dare not sacrilegiously renounce my Calling to which I am Consecrated, *per Sacramentum Ordinis*) if I have the Favour of a better Prison, where I may but walk and write; These I should take as very great Favours, and acknowledge your Lordship my Benefactor if you procure them. For I will not so much injure you as to desire, or my Reason as to expect, any greater Matters; no not the Benefit of the Law. I think I broke no Law in any of the Preachings which I am accused of; and I most confidently think, that no Law imposeth on me the *Oxford-Oath*, any more than any Conformable Minister; and I am past doubting the present *Mittimus* for my Imprisonment is quite without Law. But if the Justices think otherwise now, or at any time, I know no Remedy. I have yet a License to Preach publicly in *London-Diocefs*, under the Arch-bishop's own Hand and Seal, which is yet valid for occasional Sermons, tho' not for Lectures or Cures: But I dare not use it, because it is in the Bishop's power to recall it. Would but the Bishop (who one would think should not be against the Preaching of the Gospel) not re-call my License, I could preach occasional Sermons, which would absolve my Conscience from all Obligations to private Preaching. For 'tis not Maintenance that I expect: I never received a Farthing for my Preaching, to my Knowledge, since *May 1. 1662*. I thank God I have Food and Raiment without being chargeable to any Man; which is all that I desire; had I but leave to Preach for nothing; and that only where there is a notorious Necessity. I humbly Crave your Lordship's Pardon for the tediousness; and again return you my very great Thanks for your great Favours, remaining

My Lord,

Your Lordship's Humble,

June 24. 1670.

Much Obligated Servant,

Richard Baxter.

One

One Reason more also, as additional, moveth me, That the People of *Scotland* would have such jealous Thoughts of a Stranger, especially at this time, when Fame hath rung it abroad that I Conform, that I should do little good among them, and especially when there are Men enough among themselves, that are able, if Impediments were removed.

Another Letter to the E. of Lauderdale.

I Scarce account him worthy the Name of a *Man*, much less of an *English-man*, and least of all of a *Christian*, who is not sensible of the great *Sinfulness* and *Calamity* of our *divided* and *distracted* Condition in his Majesty's Dominions. The Sin is a Compendium of very many heinous Crimes: The *Calamity* is 1. The *King's*, to have the trouble and peril of Governing such a divided People: 2. The *Kingdom's*, to be as *Guelphes* and *Gibelines*, hating and reviling one another, and living in a Heart-War, and a Tongue-War, which are the Sparks that usually kindle a *Hand-War*; and I tremble to think, what a Temptation it is to Secret and to Foreign Enemies, to make Attempts against our Peace, and to read Infallibility it self pronouncing it, a Maxim which the Devil himself is practically acquainted with, That a House or Kingdom divided against it self cannot stand. 3. The *Churches*: To have Pastors against Pastors, and Churches against Churches, and Sermons against Sermons, and the Bishops to be accounted the perfidiourest Enemies of the People's Souls, and the Wolves that devour the Flock of Christ; and so many of the People to be accounted by Bishops to be *Rebellious*, *Schismatics*, and *Fanatics*; whose Religiousness and Zeal is the Plague of the Church, and whose ruine or depression is the Pastor's Interest, against whom the most vicious may be employed, as being more trusty and obedient to the Orders of the Church! How doleful a Case is it, that *Christian Love*, and delight in doing good to one another, is turned almost every where into wrath and bitterness, and a longing after the downfall of each other; and to hear in most Companies, the edifying Language of Love and Christianity, turned into most odious Descriptions of each other, and into the pernicious Language of Malice and Calumny? It is to sober Men a wonderful sort of wickedness, that all this is so obstinately persisted in, even by those that decry the evil of it in others: And to one sort all seemeth justified, by saying, that others are their *Inferiours*; and to the other by saying, that they are *Persecuted*. And 'tis a wonderful sort of *Calamity*, which is so much loved, that in the face of such *Light*, and in the fore-sight of such *Dangers*, and in the present Experience of such great Concussions and Confusions, the Peace-killers will not hold their hands.

My Lord, Many sober By-standers think, That this *Sin* might cease, and this *misery* be healed, at a very easie Rate, and therefore that it is not so much *Ignorance* as *Interest*, that hindereth the Cure: And they wonder who those Persons are who can take such a State as this to be their Interest. Sure I am, That Peace-makers shall be Blessed as the Children of God; that *safe* and *honest Terms* might easily be found out, if Men were impartial and willing; and that he that shall be our Healer, will be our Deliverer; and if your Lordship could be Instrumental therein, it would be a greater *honour* to you in the Estimation of the true Friends of the *King*, and *Kingdom*, and *Church*, and a greater Comfort to your Conscience, than all worldly Greatness can afford. For the Means, I am not so vain as to presume to offer you any other Particulars, than to tell you, that I am persuaded, That if there were first a Command from His Majesty to the Bishops of *Chester* and *Norwich* on one side, and two Peaceable Men on the other, freely to Debate and offer such Expedients as they think most proper to heal all our Divisions, they would soon agree: And when they had made that Preparation, if some more such Moderate Divines were joyned

to

to them (as Dr. *Stillington*, Dr. *Tillotson*, Dr. *Outram*, Dr. *Pierſon*, Dr. *Whitchcot*, Dr. *More*, Dr. *Worthington*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Barlow*, Dr. *Tully*, Mr. *Gifford*, &c. on one ſide; and Dr. *Conant*, Dr. *Dillingham*, Dr. *Langley*, and many more that I could Name on the other ſide;) they would quickly fill up, and Confirm the Concord. And ſuch a Preparation being made, and ſhewed His Maſteſty, certainly he would ſoon ſee that the Inconveniencies of it, will be ſo great, as the Miſchiefs of our Diviſions are, and are like to be (for the further they go, as a Torrent, the more they will ſwell, and Violence will not end them, when it ſeemeth to allay them.) And oh! what a Pleaſure would it then be to His Maſteſty, to Govern a Concordant People, and to feel the *Affections* and *Strength* of a *United Kingdom*, and to have Men's Religious Zeal engage them in a Fervency for his Love and Service! And what a Joy would it be to the Paſtors to be Beloyed of their Flocks! And what a Joy to all the Honeſt Subjects, to live in ſuch a Kingdom, and ſuch a Church! And that this Work may not ſeem over-difficult to you, when your Lordſhip ſhall Command it, I ſhall briefly tell you, what the generality of the Sober Nonconformiſts hold; and what it is that they deſire, and what it is that they reſuſe as ſinful, that when they are underſtood, it may appear how far they are from being intolerable, either in the Kingdom or the Church. My Lord, Pardon this boldneſs of

June 24. 1670.

Your Humble Servant

Rich. Baxter.

To the Right Honourable, the E. of Lauderdale,
His Maſteſty's Commiſſioner for Scotland.

§ 172. When the E. of *Lauderdale* was gone into Scotland, Sir Rob. *Murrey*, (a worthy Perſon, and one of *Greſham-Colledge-Society*, and the Earl's great Conſident) ſent me the Frame of a Body of Church-Diſcipline for Scotland, and deſired my Animadverſions on it. I had not Power to Tranſcribe them, or make them known; but you may Conjecture what they were by my Animadverſions. Only I may ſay, That the Frame was very handſomely contrived, and much Moderation was in it, but the main Power of Synods was contrived to be in the King.

To the Honourable Sir Rob. Murrey, this preſent.

IN General.

I. The *External Government* of the Church, is ſo called, 1. From the Object, becauſe it is about the Body; and ſo it belongeth both to the King, and to the Paſtor, who ſpeak to Men as ſenſible and corporeal. 2. Or, from the Act of *Governing*; and ſo it belongeth alſo to both. For to *Preach*, and *Admoniſh*, and give the *Sacrament of Baptiſm*, by the Key of Admiſſion, and to Excommunicate, &c. are outward Acts. 3. From the *Matter* of Punishment, when it is the *Body* immediately, or the *Goods* that are meddled with by Penalty: And ſo the Government belongeth to the King and Magiſtrates alone. But this is much plainlier and ſitlier diſtinguiſhed (as Biſhop *Biſſon* frequently, and Proteſtants ordinarily do) by the Terms of *Governing*, by the *Sword*, and by the *Word*: Or, by *Co-active*, and *Spiritual* and *Pastoral Government* (which is by *Authoritative Perſuaſion*, or by God's Word applied to the Conſcience.)

II. Though

II. Though there be an *External Government* in the two first Senses, given by Christ, as immediately to the Pastors as to the Prince, (they having the Keys of the Church, as immediately committed to them, as the Sword is to the Prince;) yet in the *Exercise of their Office*, in Preaching, Sacraments and Discipline, they are under the *Civil Government* of the King, who as he may see that *Physicians*, and all others in his Kingdom, do their Duties without gross abuse, so may he do by *Pastors*; tho' he cannot either assume to himself their *Office*, or *prohibit* it, yet he may *govern* them that use it, and see that they do it according to Christ's Law: So that under that Pretence he take not their proper Work into his *own hand*, nor *hinder* them from the true Exercise.

III. Though there are many things in the Frame of Canons which I am incapable of judging of, as concerning another Kingdom, whose Case and Customs I am not perfectly acquainted with, yet I may say these three things of it in general.

1. That I am very glad to see no ensnaring Oaths, Declarations, Professions or Subscriptions in it; no not so much as a Subscription to these Canons themselves, For peaceable Men can live quietly and obediently under a Government, which hath many things in it which they dare not justify or approve of. It is our Work to *obey*; it is the *Magistrate's Work*, and not *ours* to *justify* all his own *Commands* and *Orders* before God, as having no Errors: Therefore it is pity to see Subjects so put upon that which is not their Work, upon the terrible Terms as some-where they are.

2. I conceive that this Frame will make a Nation *happy* or *miserable*, as the *Men* are who shall be chosen for the Work. The King having the choice of all the Bishops and Moderators, and the Commissioners having the Absolute Power of nullifying all, if Wise and Godly Bishops and Moderators be chosen, and moderate Commissioners, Piety will be much promoted by these Rules of Government. But if contrary, it will have contrary Effects.

3. Therefore supposing a choice of meet Persons, though the *mixtures* of the *Magistrates* and the *Churches* power here, be such as I cannot justify (who had rather they were *distinctly managed*) yet I should be thankful to God, if we might see but as *good* a Frame of Canons *well used* in *England*, and should live peaceably, submissively, and gratefully under such a Government.

To the Particulars.

1. The Name of Bishop appropriated to the Diocesane, will stumble so ne, who have learned that *every Church hath one Bishop* (saith Ignatius) *Et ubi Episcopus, ibi Ecclesia*, saith Cyprian: Therefore they will think that you Un-Church all the Churches of the Land, save the Diocesane. And I could wish that the Name were fitted to the thing, to avoid Errour: but yet I think that none should stick much at this, because it is but *de Nomine*, and afterwards you seem to leave a true *Governing Power*, not only in the *Presbyters*, but in the *Pastors* and *Elders* of the Parish-Churches.

7. Seeing your *Moderators* are truly *Bishops*, as described (and others also, if the *Parishes* be true *Churches*) why is *Ordination* appropriated to the Bishops so called? Do you intend that he shall do it by Consent of his Synod, or a *Presbytery*; or by his own *Power* alone?

2. Is he to suspend, depose, and excommunicate by himself alone (as this General seems to intimate) or only in, and by Consent of his Synod, or *Presbytery*?

3. The same also I ask as to his [*Transplanting Ministers as he sees useful*:] for if he may do all this himself *ad libitum*, it may discourage a Man from meddling with the Ministry, when after all his Study and Labour, it is at the Bishop's pleasure whether he shall Preach, or be Suspended: For though you after say for what Faults he shall be Suspended, yet that signifieth nothing if the Bishop be Judge. Of Appeals as a dear Remedy, and doubtful Men will be diffident. And Transplanting may undo a Minister at the Bishop's Pleasure. And I doubt the absolute Deprivation of the People of their Power of Consent, or Dissent, in this and other Cases, of Title to their proper Pastors, will be found 1. contrary to the nature of the Pastors.

ral Work; 2. to the Scripture; 3. and to all Antiquity, and practice of the Catholick Church for many Hundred Years.

15. If it had been said, that none but such Bishops shall have power to pronounce the *Major Excommunication*, or that which is now called *Excommunication in Scotland*, to which Horning, &c. is annexed, it would have less founded to the contradiction of Antiquity, &c. For Suspension from the Communion, which you allow to particular Churches and Presbyteries, is called by many the *minor Excommunication*, and by some a Temporary Conditional Excommunication; and by others, (as Sir Wil. Morrice) is written against, as an unlawful thing, 'till some just Excommunication precede.

22. Might but the Moderator with his *Presbytery* (by consent) Ordain, it would more satisfy.

24. In Transplanting both Moderators and Pastors, should not either their own Consent, or the *Presbytery's*, or People's be made necessary?

31. The words of the *Formula* of Ordination will be material, as to honest Men's reception, or refusal of the Office.

32. The Office of a Pastor as instituted in Scripture, is not only to Baptize, and celebrate the Sacrament of Communion, but also to Judge by the power of the Keys, whom to Baptize, and to whom to give the Sacrament of Communion, that is, in Subordination to Christ's Prophetical, Priestly, and Kingly Office, to be his Minister in Office; 1. To teach the People; 2. To go before them in Worship; 3. To guide them by the Keys of Discipline. And he is no true Minister that wanteth any one of these Powers, however he may be hindered from the Exercise.

33. At least 1. Necessity *ad finem*; 2. Scripture; 3. And the Catholick Antiquity, should be so far regarded as to make the People's *Consent* necessary, though not their Election, at least when they do not by unreasonable Denial forfeit this Privilege.

35. If this be a limitation of *Can. 7.* its well.

A. 3. *viz.* Supposing there be a tolerable Pastor there, and no notorious necessity; for some Parishes may have no Pastor, some worse than none, and some with us (as many in London-Parishes, Stepney, Giles, Cripplegate, Sepulchres, Martins, &c.) have more Souls than ten Men can Teach and Over-see: who must not therefore be forsaken and given up to Satan, what-ever we suffer for endeavouring their Salvation.

47. A Bishop, if he please, may thus causelessly keep most Ministers in his Diocese from Preaching the Gospel, for the most part of their Lives. I had rather be punished as a Rogue at a Whipping Post, before I am fully heard and judged, than have innocent Souls deprived of the usual means of their Salvation under pretence of Punishing me. At least, let no Suspension be valid, longer than the place is competently supplied by another.

48. Will no Mulcts or Stripes satisfy the Law. without Silencing Men, and forbidding them to endeavour Men's Salvation (before their Crimes are proved such as render them incapable of that work?)

49. But hath the *Synod* or *Presbytery* a Negative Voice in his punishment, or not?

50. For Treason and Murder there is reason for it; but if every Man must be deposed from the Ministry, that did ever Curse, Swear, or had any scandalous Vice from his Child-hood, before his Ordination, or Conversion, I doubt the number left will be too small.

53. The old Canons distinguished: Some Crimes left so great a blot as made Men incapable; others did not so. If such a War should break out, as between the Emperor *Henry IV. &c.* and the Pope; or between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, the prevailing Party will force the Ministers to own him; and if the other Party after prevail, their Crime will be called Treason, and all the Churches left desolate,

desolate, and the Peoples Souls forsaken by the Ministers perpetual incapacity; and the King's pardoning Power much restrained.

54. Why should it be left to the Bishop's Will, whether he will restore such a Penitent or not?

56. Peaceable Men will consent that no Ministers should be permitted to Preach, or Talk Seditiously against even those Rules of Government which they do not approve. But this Penalty is so high and severe, that few worthy Ministers will think their Station secure, but will prepare for Banishment. For,

1. These Rules are many.

2. And *Derogatory* is a large Word, and will extend far.

3. And there are few worthy Ministers that have no Drunkards, Fornicators, &c. for their Enemies to accuse them. E. g. if I lived in *Scotland*, and should but read *Blondel de jure Plebis in regimine Ecclesiastico*, and say, it is sound Doctrine, and this in Discourse at my own Table, I might be thus troubled, and banished, it being *derogatory* to that part of the King's Rules, as here express, which deprive the People of all power of Consent, &c. Is it not enough that this Paper of Canons be so far equalled with God's Word, yea, with the very Articles of our Faith, as that the open Oppugners of them have the same Penalty as open Hereticks (who of old were after a first and second Admonition to be avoided;) And surely I think even that this is too much; and yet I would have turbulent Preaching against the Government, or Endeavours openly to subvert it, restrained. But methinks after the first and second Admonition, a competent Mulct might do that sufficiently, till Men go so far as to be turbulent Incendiaries.

63. Shall the *Presbytery* have a Negative Voice in the Ordination, or be Cyphers?

66. It is well that the Elders Consent is required: but I think it should be the Congregation's: And what if the Elders dissent? Shall that hinder the Relation or not?

93. The number of chosen Ministers in National Synods, will be inconsiderable as to the rest.

96. The use of a National Synod (where all Bishops and Moderators are chosen by the King, and the Commissioner ruleth) being before-hand resolved to be [to Compile a Liturgy, and Rules for all Points of Divine Worship, with the Methods, Circumstances, and Rites to be observed therein;] Many knowing what Liturgy, Subscriptions, Declarations, and Rites, are pleasing to Authority in *England*, will imagine them in *fiery*, if not virtually set up already in *Scotland*, when these Rules are set up.

107. *Publick Penance* ----- And why not? [and Suspension from Communion till penitent Confession be made.] But I know not why *Compensations* should serve instead of Confession, and Promise of Reformation (without which Money will not make a Man a Christian, nor fit for Church-Communion:) But for any other Penance, besides one penitent Confession, and Promise of Amendment, and desire of the Churches Prayers for Pardon, I know nothing of it, and therefore meddle not with it.

132. [No Act, Order, nor Constitution] may be Expounded to reach to Scripture Constitutions and Orders, and the proper Acts of the Ministerial Office, if not better explained.

133. The Word [Ecclesiastical Meeting] may be interpreted of particular Synaxes or Congregations of a Parish for Worship, if not limited, which Convocating of the People is part of the Pastor's proper Office, and for a thousand Years was so accounted by the Catholick Church. And if in case of Discord or Heresie, a few Neighbour Ministers meet for a Friendly Conference, to cure it, it seemeth hard to charge them with Sedition.

140. If the Parties be able to come.

143. Many of these Faults should be Corrected by Mulcts, before Men be forbidden to Preach the Gospel. If every Man be Suspended (which I suppose is prohibiting him to Preach and Endeavour Mens Salvation) who useth unsound Speeches, Flattery, or Lightness, I doubt so many will talk themselves into Silence, that a sharp Prosecution will leave many Churches desolate.

145. But what if there be no Preachers to be had? May not the Suspended Preach?

146. Disobedience to some of the small Ecclesiastical Rules may be punished with Mulcts, without absolute Silencing, especially when able Preachers are wanting. Shall the instructing of the Peoples Souls so much depend on every Word in all these Canons? ----- But oh, that you would make that good in Practice that [*labouring to get Ecclesiastical Preferment*] should be punished, if it were with less than *Deposition*: It would be a happy Canon.

147. But shall the Synod, or *Presbytery* carry by Vote, or not?

149. If every Church-Session have this power of Suspension, with power but to say [*We declare you unfit for Communion of this particular Church, till you repent,*] it would give me great Satisfaction, were I in *Scotland*. For to speak freely, I take these two Things to be of Divine Appointment. 1. That each particular Church have its proper Pastor, who have the Ministerial Power of Teaching, Worship, (Sacraments, Prayer, Praise) and Discipline; and I desire no more Discipline than you here grant, that is, Suspension from Communion in that particular Church, if also the Person may be declared unfit for it till he Repent. 2. That these Pastors hold such Correspondency as is necessary to the Union of the Churches in *Faith* and *Love*. And 3. For all the rest, I take them to be Circumstances of such prudential Determination, that I would easily submit to the Magistrates determination of them, so they be not destructive to the Ends: and would not have Ministers take too much of the trouble of them upon themselves, without necessity.

152. But then you seem here to retract the particular Churches Power again: For if a Man may be debarred the Communion for *once sinning* (by Fornication, Drunkenness, &c.) why not much more for doing again after Repentance? I differ more from this than all the rest: Is it not enough that the Party may *Appeal to the Presbytery*? And that the Sessions or Pastor be *responsible* for Male-Administration or Injury, if proved? This one Canon would drive me out of the Ministry in *Scotland*: I would never be a Pastor, where I must after the first Crime, ever after give the Sacrament to every flagitious Offender, till the *Presbytery* suspend him; unless they do it very quickly; which perhaps they may never do.

153, 154. No doubt but *Jure Divino* every true particular Church hath the Power of Excommunicating its own Members out of that particular Church-Communion: (Delivering up to Satan is a doubtful Phrase which I shall not stand on.) But an Excommunication which shall bind many Churches to avoid the Sinner, must be done, or *Consented to*, by those *many Churches*. Therefore Excommunication should be distinguished.

156. Sure some few [*Ecclesiastical Rules and Proceedings*] may be so low as that a Contempt of them may be easilier punished than with this terrible Excommunication.

Impenitency must be joyned with Scandalous Sins, or else they make not the Person Excommunicable, as is implied in what followeth.

162. No doubt but every Church may absolve its own Members from that sort of Excommunication which it self may pass: And so may a *Presbytery*. But if the Magistrate will have a more formidable, Diocesane or National Excommunication, and an answerable Absolution, those Circumstances are to be left to his Prudence, so be it, he deprive not each particular Pastor and Church, of their proper Power and Priviledge plainly found in Scripture, and used many hundred Years through the Catholick Church.

Honourable Sir, The Copy which you sent me goeth no further than to the Visitation of the Sick, *viz.* to *Can.* 176. And so much according as I was desired, I have freely and faithfully Animadverted. And in general, here are many excellent Canons, though of many things I cannot Judge, and those few Exceptions I humbly offer to your Consideration, craving your Pardon for this boldness, which I should not have been guilty of, if the worthy Messenger had not told me, that it was your desire. *Sir*, I rest

July, 22. 1670.

Your Humble Servant

Rich. Baxter.

§ 173. I had forgotten one passage in the former War of great remark, which put me into an amazement: The Duke of *Ormond*, and Council, had the cause of the Marquess of *Antrim* before them, who had been one of the *Irish* Rebels in the beginning of that War, (when in the horrid Massacre two hundred thousand Protestants were murdered :) His Estate being sequestred, he sought his restitution of it, when King *Charles II.* was restored. *Ormond*, and the Council judged against him as one of the Rebels: He brought his cause over to the King, and affirmed that what he did was by his Father's Consent, and Authority. The King referred it to some very worthy Members of his Privy-Council, to examine what he had to shew: Upon Examination they reported that they found that he had the King's Consent, or Letter of Instructions for what he did, which amazed many: Hereupon His Majesty, *Charles II.* wrote to the Duke of *Ormond* and Council to restore his Estate, because it appeared to those appointed to examine it, that what he did was by his Father's Order or Consent: Upon this the Parliament's old Adherents grew more confident than ever of the righteousness of their Wars: And the very destroyers of the King (whom the first Parliamentarians called Rebels) did presume also to justify their Cause, and said that the Law of Nature did warrant them.

But it stopt not here: For the Lord *Mazarine*, and others of *Ireland*, did so far prosecute the Cause, as that the Marquess of *Antrim* was forced to produce in the Parliament of *England* in the House of Commons, a Letter of the King's, (*Cha I.*) by which he gave him order for his taking up Arms: Which being read in the House, did put them into a Silence. But, yet so egregious was their Loyalty and veneration of Majesty, that it put them not at all one step out of the way which they had gone in. But the People without Doors talked strangely: Some said, Did you not perswade us that the King was against the *Irish* Rebellion? And that the Rebels belied him when they said that they had his Warrant or Commission? Do we not now see with what Mind he would have gone himself with an Army into *Ireland* to fight against them? A great deal more not here to be mentioned was vended seditiously among the People, the Sum of which was intimated in a Pamphlet which was Printed, called, *Murder will out*; in which they published the King's Letter, and Animadversions on it. Some that were still Loyal to the King did wish, that the King that now is, had rather declared, that his Father did only give the Marquess of *Antrim* Commission to raise an Army as to have helped him against the *Scots*, and that his turning against the *English* Protestants in *Ireland*, and the murdering of so many hundred thousand there, was against his Will: But *quod scriptum erat*, *scriptum erat*. And though the old Parliamentarians expounded the Actions and Declarations both of the then King and Parliament, by the Commentary of this Letter, yet so did not the Loyal Royalists; or at least thought it no reason to make any change in their Judgments, or stop in their Proceedings against the *English* Presbyterians, and other Non-conformable Protestants.

§ 174. In the beginning of *December 1670.* The Duke of *Ormond*, as he was returning home to *Clarendon* House in the Night, was seized on by six Men, who set him on Horseback to have carried him away. But he was rescued before they could accomplish it.

Shortly after, some of his Majesty's Life-Guard surprized * Sir *John Coven-* * This *trig*, a Member of the House of Commons, and cut his Nose, which occasioned a great heat in the House, and at last that Act which is newly passed for preventing of the like. Many Murders and outrages, and cutting of Noses were committed also on other Persons. But the greatest Noise was made by certain Dukes and Lords that went in a torrent of Jovialty to a defamed House in a Street, called *Whetstone-Park*, and when the wretched Women cried for help, the Beadle came in with some Watchmen, and they killed him presently. Whilst such things went on, the House of Commons was busie about an Act to make all forbidden Meetings for God's Worship, Preaching and Praying by the silenced Ministers, to be severelier yet punished as Routs and Riots.

§ 175. There happened a great rebuke to the Nobility and Gentry of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, which is related in their *Gazette* in these words. [*Dubl. Dec. 27.* " Yesterday happened here a very unfortunate Accident: Most of the Nobility and Gentry being at a Play, at a publick Playhouse, the upper Galleries on a sudden fell all down, beating down the second, which together with all the People that were in them, fell into the Pit and lower Boxes: His Excellency, the Lord * Lieutenant, with his Lady, happened to be there, but thanks be to God escaped the Danger without any harm, part of the Box where they were remaining firm, and so resisting the Fall from above; only his two Sons were found quite buried under the Timber. The younger had received but little hurt, but the eldest was taken up dead to all appearance, but having presently been let Blood, &c. recovered. There were many dangerously hurt, and seven or eight killed outright.]

So far the *Gazette*. About seventeen or eighteen died then, and of their Wounds. The first Letters that came to *London* of it, filled the City with the report, that it was a Play in scorn of Godliness, and that I was the Person acted by the Scorners, as a Puritan, and that he that represented me was set in the Stocks, when the fall was, and his Leg broke. But the Play was *Ben. Johnson's Bartholomew-Fair*, with a sense added for the times, in the which the Puritan is called a *Banbury Man*, and I cannot learn that I was named, nor meddled with more than others of my Condition, unless by the Actor's dress they made any such reflecting Intimations.

§ 176. The Lord *Lucas*, and the Earl of *Clare* made two vehemently cutting Speeches before the King (who now came frequently to the Lord's House,) The first declaring the frustration of their hopes, and the addition of much more to their sufferings, Calamities, and dangers since the King came in, and aggravated the stupendious expence of Moneys; and the of the Commons in a Bill then sent up for giving no less than three Millions (said he) at once, and provoking the Lords to stop their Excesses: The other was against the King's sitting so ordinarily in the Lord's House, and that without his Robes, &c. There were Copies of the Lord *Lucas's* Speech given out, which encreased the offence; and at last it was burned by the Hangman, and ere long he died.

§ 177. The *Irish* Men, called the Rebels, petitioned the King by the hands of Colonel *Richard Talbot*, a Papist, Servant to the Duke of *York* for a re-hearing against the former Judgments that had deprived many of them of their Lands; that so they might be restored to them, and the *English* dispossessed, which offended the House of Commons as well as the *English* Nation, and caused some Votes, which signified their Offence, and the King at present cast aside their Petition.

§ 178. Lamentable Complaints came from the Protestants of *France* for the severities more and more used against them; their Churches pulled down, and after *Montaban*, their other University of *Lannors* decreed to be prohibited.

§ 179. In the latter end of this Year, the Bishops and their Agents gave out their great fears of Popery, and greatly lamented that the Dutchess of *York* was turned Papist, and thereupon gave out that they greatly desired that some of the Presbyterians (as they called even the Episcopal Nonconformists) might, by some abatement of the New Oaths and Subscriptions have better invitation to conform in other things: Bishop *Morley*, Bishop *Ward*, and Bishop *Dolbin* spake ordinarily their desires of it; but after long talk there is nothing done, which maketh Men variously interpret their Pretensions, which time at last will more certainly expound. Some think that they are real in their desires, and that the hindrance is from the Court: And others say, they would never have been the grand cause of our present Case, if it had been against their Wills, and that if they are yet truly willing of any healing, they will shew it by more than their discourages, (as a Man would do when the City was on Fire, that had a mind to quench it) and that all this is but that the *Odium* may be diverted from themselves, while that which they take on them to fear, is accomplished. But I hope yet they are not so bad as this Censure doth suppose. But it's strange that those same Men that so easily led the Parliament to what is done (when they had given

given the King thanks for his Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs) can do nothing to bring them to moderate abatements, and the healing of our Breaches, if they are truly willing. For my part, I suspend my Judgment of their Intents, till the Event shall make me understand it. Grant Lord that it be not yet too late; for Charity commandeth us to take nothing of others minds for certain, till we have certain Proof, how perilous soever our Charitable hopes may prove.

§ 180. Mr. *Bagshaw* wrote a Second Book against my Defence, full of untruths, which the furious, temerarious Man did utter, or the rashness of his Mind, which made him so little heed what he had read, and answered, as that one would scarce think he had ever read my Book: I replied to him in an *Admonition*, telling him of his mistakes. To which he pretended a Rejoinder in a third Libel, but I found as I was told, that his design was to silence almost all that I said, and to say all that he thought might make me odious, because that those that read his Books would not read mine, and so would believe him, and be no whit informed by my answers at all.

§ 181. This same year 1671. I was desired by my Friend and Neighbour, Mr. *John Corbet*, to write somewhat to satisfy a good man that was fallen into deep melancholly, feeding it daily with the thoughts of the number that will be damned, and tempted by it to constant Blasphemy against the goodness of God, who could save them, and would not, but decreed their damnation: And I wrote a few Sheets, called, The vindication of God's Goodness, which Mr. *Corbet* with a prefixed Epistle published.

§ 182. Also Dr. *Ludov. Molineus* was so vehemently set upon by the crying down of the Papal, and Prelatical Government, that he thought it was the work that he was sent into the World for, to convince Princes that all Government was in themselves, and no proper Government, but only Persuasion belonged to the Churches; to which end he wrote his *Parænesis contra edificatores Imperii in Imperio*, and his *Papa Ultrajectinus*, and other Tractates, and thrust them on me, to make me of his mind; and at last wrote his *Jugulum Cause*, with no less than seventy Epistles before it, directed to Princes and men of Interest, among whom he was pleased to put one to me. The good Man meant rightly in the main, but had not a head sufficiently accurate for such a Controversie, and so could not perceive that any thing could be called properly Government, that was no way *coactive* by Corporal Penalties: To turn him from the *Erastian* Extreme, and end that Controversie by a Reconciliation, I published an Hundred Propositions conciliatory, and of the difference between the Magistrate's power, and the Pastor's.

§ 183. Also one Dr. † *Edward Fowler* (a very ingenious sober Conformist) wrote † He is two Books: One an Apology for the Latitudinarians, as they were then called; now the the other entitled, *Holyness the design of Christianianity*; in which he sometimes worthy put in the word [only] which gave offence, and the Book seemed to some to have a scandalous design, to obscure the Glory of free Justification, under pretence of extolling Holiness as the only design of Man's Redemption: Which occasion- ed a few Sheets of mine on the said Book and Question for reconciliation, and clearing up of the Point: Which when Mr *Fowler* saw, he wrote to me to tell me that he was of my Judgment, only he had delivered that more generally which I opened more particular, and that the word [only] was Hyperbolically spoken, as I had said; but he spake feelingly against those quarrelsome men that are readier to censure than to understand. I returned him some advice to take heed, lest their weakness, and censoriousness, should make him too angry and impatient with Religious People as the Prelates are, and so run into greater Sin than theirs, and favour a looser Party because they are less censorious. To which he returned me so ingenious and hearty thanks, as for as great Kindness as ever was shewed him, as told me that free and friendly Counsel to wise and good men is not lost.

§ 184. I was troubled this Year with multitudes of melancholly Persons, from several Parts of the Land, some of high Quality, some of low, some very exquisitely learned, some unlearned; (as I had in a great measure been above twenty years before.) I know not how it came to pass, but if men fell melancholly, I must hear from them or see them (more than any Physician that I know.) Which I mention only for these three uses to the Reader; that out of all their Cases I have gathered. 1. That we must very much take heed

lest we ascribe Melancholy Phantasms and Passions to God's Spirit: for they are strange apprehensions that Melancholy can cause (though *Bayshaw* revile me for such an intimation, as if it were injurious to the Holy Ghost.) 2. I would warn all young Persons to live modestly, and keep at a sufficient distance from Objects that tempt them to carnal Lust, and to take heed of wanton Dalliance, and the beginnings or Approaches of this Sin, and that they govern their Thoughts and Senses carefully. For I can tell them by the sad Experience of many, that venereal Crimes leave deep wounds in the Conscience; and that those that were never guilty of Fornication, are oft cast into long and lamentable Troubles, by letting Satan once into their *Phantasies*, from whence till Objects are utterly distant, he is hardly got out; especially when they are guilty of voluntary active Self-pollution. But above all I warn young *Students*, and *Apprentices*, to avoid the beginnings of these Sins; for their Youthfulness and Idleness are oft the incentives of it, when poor labouring Men are in less danger; and they little know what one Spark may kindle. 3. I advise all Men to take heed of placing Religion too much in Fears, and Tears, and Scruples; or in any other kind of Sorrow, but such as tendeth to raise us to a high Estimation of Christ, and to the magnifying of Grace, and a sweeter taste of the Love of God, and to the firmer Resolution against Sin: And that Tears and Grief be not commended inordinately for themselves, nor as meer Signs of a Converted Person: And that we call Men more to look after *Duty* than after *Signs* as such; set Self-love on Work and spare not; so you will call them much more to the Love of God, and let them know that that Love is their best sign, but yet to be exercised on a higher Reason, than as a *sign* of our own Hopes: for that Motive alone will not produce true Love to God. And as the *Antinomians* too much exclude Humiliation and signs of Grace, so too many of late have made their Religion to consist too much in the seeking of these out of their proper time and place, without referring them to that Obedience, Love and Joy, in which true Religion doth principally consist.

Reader, I do but transcribe these three Counsels for thee, from a Multitude of Melancholy Persons sad Experiences.

§ 185. This Year *Salisbury*-Diocesis was more fiercely driven on to Conformity, by Dr. *Seth Ward*, their Bishop, than any place else, or than all the Bishops in *England* besides did in theirs. Many Hundreds were Prosecuted by him with great Industry. And among others, that learned, humble, holy Gentleman, Mr. *Thomas Grove*, an Ancient Parliament-Man, of as great Sincerity and Integrity, as almost any Man I ever knew: He stood it out a while in a Law-Suit, but was overthrown, and fain to forsake his Countrey, as many Hundreds more are quickly like to do.

§ 186. And his Name remembreth me, that Ingenuity obligeth me to Record my Benefactor. A Brother's Son of his, Mr. *Rob. Grove*, is one of the Bishop of *London*'s Chaplains, who is the only Man that Licenseth my Writings for the Press, (supposing them not to be against Law, which else I could not expect;) And besides him alone, I could get no Licenser to do it. And because being Silenced, Writing is the far greatest part of my remaining Service to God for his Church, and without the Press my Writings would be in vain, I acknowledge that I owe much to this Man, and one Mr. *Cook*; the Arch-bishop's Chaplain heretofore, that I live not more in vain.

§ 187. And while I am acknowledging my Benefactors, I add, that this Year died Serjeant *John Fountain*, the only Person from whom I received an Annual Sum of Money; which though through God's Mercy I needed not, yet I could not in Civility refuse: He gave me 10 l. per Ann. from the time of my Silencing till his Death: I was a Stranger to him before the King's Return; save that when he was Judge (before he was one of the Keepers of the Great Seal) he did our Countrey great Service against Vice. He was a Man of a quick and sound Understanding, an upright impartial Mind and Life, of too much testiness in his weakness, but of a most believing serious Fervency towards God, and open zealous owning of true Piety and Holiness (without owning the little Partialities of Sects) as most Men that ever I came near in Sicknes: When he lay sick, (which was almost a Year) he sent to the Judges and Lawyers that sent to visit him, such Answers as these: [I thank your Lord, or Master, for his kindness: Present my Service to him, and tell him, It is a great

great Work to Die well; his time is near; all worldly Glory must come down; intreat him to keep his Integrity, over-come Temptations, and please God, and prepare to Die.] He deeply bewailed the great Sins of the Times, and the Prognosticks of dreadful things which he thought we were in danger of: And though in the Wars he suffered Imprisonment for the King's Cause, towards the end he came from them, and he greatly feared an inundation of Poverty, Enemies, Popery and Infidelity.

§ 188. The great Talk this Year was of the King's Adjourning the Parliament again for about a Year longer; and whether we should break the Triple League, and desert the *Hollanders*; &c.

§ 189. Before they were Adjourned, I secretly directed some Letters to the best of the Conforming Ministers, telling them how much it would conduce to their own, and the Churches Interest, if they that might be heard, would become Petitioners for such Abatements in Conformity, as might let in the Non-conformists, and unite us; seeing two things would do it. 1. The removal of Oaths and Subscriptions, save our Subscription to Christianity, the Scriptures, and the 39 Articles, and the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. 2. To give leave to them that cannot use all the Liturgy and Ceremonies, to be but Preachers in those Churches where they are used by others; submitting to Penalties if ever they be proved to Preach against the Doctrine, Government, or Worship of the Church, or to do any thing against Peace, or the Honour of the King and Governours. But I could get none to offer such a Petition. And when I did but mention our own petitioning the Parliament, those that were among them, and familiar with them, still laughed at me for imagining that they were reasonable Creatures, or that Reason signified any thing with them in such Matters. And thus we were Silenced every way.

§ 190. During the Mayoralty of Sir *Samuel Sterling*, many Jury's Men in *London* were Fined and Imprisoned by the Judge, for not finding certain *Quakers* guilty of violating the Act against Conventicles. They Appealed and sought remedy. The Judges remained about a Year in suspense; and then by the Lord Chief Justice *Vaughan* delivered their Resolution against the Judge for the Subject's Freedom from such force of Fines, that when he had in a Speech of two or three Hours long, spoke vehemently to that purpose, never thing, since the King's Return, was received with greater Joy and Applause by the People; and the Judges still taken for the Pillars of Law and Liberty.

§ 191. The Parliament having made the Laws against Nonconformists Preaching, and private Religious Meetings, &c. so grinding and terrible as aforesaid, the King (who consented to those Laws) became the sole Patron of the Nonconformist's Liberties; not by any Abatements by Law, but by his own Connivance as to the Execution, the Magistrates for the most part doing what they perceived to be his Will. So that Sir *Rich. Ford*, all the time of his Mayoralty in *London* (though supposed one of their greatest and most knowing Adversaries) never disturbed them. The Ministers in several Parties were oft encouraged to make their Addresses to the King, only to acknowledge his Clemency by which they held their Liberties; and to profess their Loyalty: Sir *John Babor* introduced Dr. *Manton*, and some with him; Mr. *Innis*, a Scotch Non-conformist by Sir *Rob. Murray*, introduced Mr. *Whittakers*, Dr. *Annesley*, Mr. *Watson*, and Mr. *Vincent's*. The King (as they say themselves) told them, That though such Acts were made, He was against Persecution, and hoped ere long to stand on his own Legs, and then they should see how much he was against it. By this means many score Nonconformable Ministers in *London* kept up Preaching in private Houses: Some 50, some 100, many 300, and many 1000, or 2000 at a Meeting, by which for the present, the City's Necessities were much supplied. For very few burnt Churches were yet built up again, (about 3 or 4 in the City) which yet never moved the Bishops to relent, and give any Favour to the Preaching of Nonconformists. And though the best of *England* of the Conformists, for the most part, were got up to *London*, alas! they were but few: And the most of the Religious People were more and more alienated from the Prelates and their Churches.

§ 192. Those that from the beginning thought they saw plainly what was doing, lamented all this: They thought that it was not without great Wit, that seeing only a Parliament was trusted before the King with the People's Liberties, and could raise

a War against him, (Interest ruling the World) it was contrived that this Parliament should make the severest Laws against the Nonconformists to grind them to dust, and that the King should allay the Execution at his pleasure, and become their Protector against Parliaments; and they that would not consent to this should suffer. And indeed, the Ministers themselves seemed to make little doubt of this: But they thought, 1. That if *Papists* shall have liberty, it is as good for them also to take theirs, as to be shut out: 2. And that it is not lawful for them to refuse their present Liberty, though they were sure that Evil were design'd in granting it. 3. And that before Men's designs can come to ripeness, God hath many ways to frustrate them, and by drawing one Pin, can let fall the best contrived Fabrick. But still remember, that all Attempts to get any Comprehension (as it was then called) or abatement of the Rigour of the Laws, or Legal Liberty and Union, were most effectually made void.

§ 193. At this time there was Printed in *Holland*, the *Thesis*, or Exercise Performed at the Commencement, for the Degree of Dr. of Law, by one of the King's Subjects, a Scots-Man, *Rob. Hamilton*: In which he largely proveth the Necessity of a standing Treasury in a Kingdom, and the power of the King to raise it, and impose Tributes without the People's Consent, and Dedicated it to the King, and largely applying it to *England*, he sheweth that Parliaments have no Legislative Power but what the King giveth them, who may take it from them when He seeth Cause, and put them down, and raise Taxes according to his own Discretion, without them: And that *Parliaments* and *Magna Charta*, are no impediments to him, but Toys; and that what Charter the former Kings did grant, could be no Band on their Successors (forgetting that so he would also disoblige the People from the Agreements made by their Predecessors (as e. g. that this Family successively shall rule them, &c.) with much more. Whom Fame made to be the Animator of this Tractate, I pass by.

§ 194. There was this Year a Man much talk'd of for his Enterprises, one Major *Blood*, an *English-man* of *Ireland*. This Man had been a Soldier in the old King's Army against the Parliament, and seeing the Cause lost, he betook himself towards *Ireland*, to live upon his own Estate. In his way he fell in Company with the *Lancashire* Ministers, who were then Writing against the Army, and against all violence to King or Parliament. *Blood* being of an extraordinary Wit, falls acquainted with them, and not thinking that the *Presbyterians* had been so true to the King, he is made the more capable of their Counsel; so that in short he became a Convert, and married the Daughter of an honest Parliament Man of that Countrey: And after this in *Ireland* he was a Justice of Peace, and Famous for his great Parts and upright Life, and success in turning many from *Popery*. When the King was Restored, and he saw the old Ministers Silenced in the Three Kingdoms, and those that had Surprized *Dublin-Castle* for the King from the *Anabaptists*, cast aside, and all things go contrary to his Judgment and Expectation, being of a most bold and resolute Spirit, he was one that plotted the Surprizing of the D. of *Ormond*, and of *Dublin Castle*. But being detected and prevented, he fled into *England*: There he lived disguised, practising Physick, called Dr. *Clarke*, at *Rumford*. When some Prisoners were carried to be put to Death at *York*, for a Plot, he followed and Rescued them, and set them free: At last it was found to be He, with his Son, and three or four more, that attempted to Surprize the D. of *Ormond*; and to have carried him to *Holland*, where he had a Bank of Money, and to have made him there to pay his Arrears. Missing of that Exploit, he made a bolder Attempt, even to fetch the King's Crown and Jewels out of the *Tower*; where pretending Friendship to the Keeper of it, He, with two more (his Son, and one *Perrot*) suddenly Gagg'd the old Man, and when he cryed out, he struck him on the Head, but would not kill him, and so went away with the Crown. But as soon as ever they were gone, the Keeper's Son cometh in, and finds his Father, and heareth the Case, and runs out after them, and *Blood*, and his Son, and *Perrot* were taken. *Blood* was brought to the King, and expected Death; but he spake so boldly that all admired him: telling the King, How many of his Subjects were disoblige'd, and that he was one that took himself to be in a State of Hostility: and that he took not the Crown as a Thief, but an Enemy, thinking that lawful which was lawful in a War; and that he could many a time have had the King in his power, but that he thought his Life was better for them than his Death,

Death, lest a worse succeed him; and that the number of Resolute Men disoblighd were so great, as that if his Life were taken away, it would be revenged: That he intended no hurt to the Person of the D. of *Ormond*, but because he had taken his Estate from him, he would have forced him to restore the value in Money: and that he never Robb'd, nor shed Blood, which if he would have done, he could easily have kill'd *Ormond*, and easily have carried away the Crown. In a word, he so behaved himself, that the King did not only release and pardon him, but admit him frequently to his presence. Some say, because his Gallantry took much with the King, having been a Soldier of his Father's: Most say, That he put the King in fear of his Life, and came off upon Condition that he would endeavour to keep the discontented Party quiet.

§ 195. Mr. *Bagshaw* (in his rash and ignorant Zeal, thinking it a Sin to hear a Conformist, and that the way to deal with the Persecutors was to draw all the People as far from them as we could, and not to hold any Communion with any that did Conform) having Printed his Third Reviling Libel against me, called for my Third Reply, which I Entitled [*The Church told of, &c.*] But being Printed without License, *LeStrange*, the Searcher, Surprized part of it in the Press (there being lately greater Penalties laid on them that Print without License, than ever before:) And about the Day that it came out, Mr. *Bagshaw* died (a Prisoner, though not in Prison:) Which made it grievous to me to think that I must seem to write against the Dead. While we wrangle here in the dark, we are dying and passing to the World that will decide all our Controversies: And the safest Passage thither is by peaceable Holiness.

§ 196. About Jan. 1. the King caused his Exchequer to be shut up: So that whereas a multitude of Merchants, and others, had put their Money into the Banker's hands, and the Bankers lent it to the King, and the King gave Order to pay out no more of it, of a Year, the murmur and complaint in the City was very great, that their Estates should be (as they called it) so surprized: And the rather, because it being supposed to be in order to the Assisting of the *French* in a War against the *Dutch*, they took a Year to be equal to perpetuity, and the stop to be a loss of all, seeing Wars use to increase Necessities, and not to supply them. And among others, all the Money (and Estate, except 10 *l.* per Ann. for 11 or 12 Years) that I had in the World of my own (not given away to others, whom Charity commanded me to give it to for their Maintenance, before) was there: which indeed was not my own; which I will mention to Counsel any Man that would do good, to do it speedily, and with all their might. I had got in all my Life the just Sum of 1000 *l.* Having no Child, I devoted almost all of it to a Charitable Use (a Free-School, &c.) I used my best and ablest Friends for 7 Years with all the Skill and Industry I could, to help me to some Purchase of House or Land to lay it out on, that it might be accordingly settled: And though there were never more Sellers, I could never by all these Friends hear of any that Reason could encourage a Man to lay it out on as secure, and a tolerable Bargain: So that I told them, I did perceive the Devil's Resistance of it; and did verily suspect that he would prevail, and I should never settle, but it would be lost: So hard is it to do any good when a Man is fully resolved, that divers such Observations verily confirm me, That there are Devils that keep up a War against Goodness in the World.

§ 197. The great Preparations of the *French* to invade the *United Provinces*, and of the *English* to assist them, do make now the Protestants Hearts to tremble, and to think that the *Low Countries* will be Conquered, and with them the Protestant Cause deeply endangered: (Though their vicious worldly Lives deserve God's Judgments on themselves; yet they are a great part of the Protestants Humane Strength.) But the Issue must expound God's purposes, without which Men's Designs are vain.

§ 198. This Year a new Play-House being built in *Salisbury-Court* in *Fleet-Street*, called the *Duke of York's*, the Lord Mayor (as is said) desired of the King, that it might not be; the Youth of the City being already so corrupted by Sensual Pleasures; but he obtained not his desire: And this Jan. 1671. the King's Play-House in *Drury Lane*,

Lane took Fire, and was burnt down, but not alone, for about fifty or sixty Houses adjoining, by Fire and blowing up, accompanied it.

§ 199. A Stranger, calling himself *Sam. Herbert*, wrote me a Letter against the Christian Religion, and the Scriptures, as charging them with Contradictions, and urged me to answer them, which I did: And his Name inviting my memory, I adjoyned an Answer to the Strength of a Book heretofore written, by *Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, some-time Ambassador in *France*, the Author of the History of *Henry VII.* called *de Veritate*, being the most powerful Assault against the Christian Religion, placing all the Religion that's certain, in the Common or Natural Notices: I entitled the Book, *More Reasons for the Christian Religion, and none against it: Or, a Second Appendix to the Reason for the Christian Religion.*

§ 200. The foresaid Mr. *Hinkley* by his impertinent Answer to my former Letters, extorted from me a large Reply; but when I was sending it him in Writing, I heard that he intended to Print some scraps of it with his Papers, the better to put them off: Whereupon I sent him word he should not have them, till he satisfied me that he would not so abuse them, &c. The rather because, 1. The Subject of them was much to prove that the War was raised in *England* by an Episcopal Parliament, jealous of other Episcopal Men, as to *Po-pery* and *Propriety*. 2. And it was so much against *Diocesanes*, and their new Oaths, as would much displease them, 3. And in a sharper stile than was fit for publick View: And as to the first Reason, I was afraid lest any Papists would lay hold of it, to make any Princes, that already hate the the Non-conformists, and Presbyterians, to hate the Conformists and Prelatists also; and so to seem themselves the most Loyal: And I had rather they hated, and cast off the Non-conformists alone, than both. This mindeth me to add that.

§ 201. About a Year ago one *Henry Fowles*, Son to Sir *David Fowles*, an *Oxford* Man, who had wrote against the Presbyterians with as filthy a Language almost as a Man in his Wits could do, having written also against the Papists, His Book (after his Death) was Printed in a large Folio, so opening the *Principles* and *Practices* of Papists against Kings, their Lives and Kingdoms, by multitudes of most expresse Citations from their own Writers, that the like hath not before been done by any Man; nor is there extant such another Collection on that Subject (though he left out the *Irish* Massacre:) But whereas the way of the Papists is, to make a grievous Complaint against any Book, that is written effectually against them, as injurious (as they did against *Pet. Moulin's* Answer to *Philanax Anglicus*, and against Dr. *Stillingsfleet's* late Book) or the contrary; this Book being copious true Citations and History, is so terrible to them, that their method is to say nothing of it, but endeavour to keep it unknown; for of late they have left the disputing way, and bend all their endeavours to creep into Houses, and pervert Persons in secret; but especially to insinuate into the Houses and Familiarity of all the Rulers of the World, where they can be received.

§ 202. The Death of some, the worthy Labours, and great Sufferings of others, maketh me remember that the just characterizing of some of the Ministers of Christ, that now suffered for not swearing, subscribing, declaring, conforming, and for refusing Re-ordination, is a duty which I owe to the honour of God's Graces in them. But because no Man can expect that I should be so voluminous as to describe particularly all the Eighteen hundred silenced, I shall but tell you what my own Neighbours were, not speaking by hearsay, but personal acquaintance; herein imitating *Thuanus*, *Micrelus*, and many others in the truth and brevity of the Character, but giving you nothing of any unknown Person by bare report.

1. In the County where I lived, in *Worcester* City, was silenced Mr. *Joseph Baker*, born in *Stourbridge* (whose Wifes Funeral Sermon and Life I printed.) He was a Learned Man, of a blameless Life, Preaching constantly, Catechising the People, and conferring with the several Families (especially before he first admitted them to the Lord's Supper) personally: But of extraordinary Prudence, Calmness, Patience, Gravity, and Soundness of Judgment; neither for Prelacy, Presbytery, nor Independency, as then formed into Parties; but for that which was found in all the Parties, and for Concord upon such Catholick terms: The Parish of *St. Andrews*, where he was Minister, had but about six Pound a year maintenance, of which

which he took none, but gave it to a Woman to teach the poor Children of the Parish to read, living upon his own, and some small augmentation granted by the Parliament.

2. At the Cathedral, Mr. *Simon Moor* was silenced, an old Independent, who somewhat lost the Peoples Love, upon Reasons which I here omit.

3. In the same City was silenced Mr. *Juice*, (his Son-in-Law) a moderate Independent, and a sober, grave, serious, peaceable, blameless, able Minister.

4. In the same City was silenced Mr. *Fincher*, a moderate Independent, a zealous able Preacher, of a good Life.

5. At *Kemsley*, was put out Mr. *Tho. Bromwich*, an ancient, reverend, able Minister, of an upright Life: But when Bishop *Morley* was there, and Mr. *Collier* of *Blockley* had conformed, he was over-perswaded to take the Declaration: But before he came to profess his Assent and Consent openly, and fully to conform, he was cast into great and long distress of Conscience, and went no farther: But yet by Preaching he used that Liberty that he had so procured.

6. At *Upton*, upon *Severn*, was silenced Mr. *Benjamin Baxter*, Son to that old holy, reverend Mr. *George Baxter*, Pastor at little *Wenlock* in *Shropshire*, near the *Wrekon-Hill*, who lived there till about eighty six years of Age, in the constant faithful Preaching and practising of the Gospel. His Son now mentioned was a Preacher of extraordinary Skill, especially in matter and method, so that few that ever I heard excelled him: He lived uprightly to near fifty seven Years of Age, and suffered much by the lowness of his Estate by his Ejection, who before had lived plentifully.

7. His Brother, Mr. *Stephen Baxter*, though below him in utterance, was of a solid Understanding, and a calm, peaceable Spirit, most humble, and blameless in his Life, and liveth since his silencing in the practise of Physick.

8. At *Evesham* was silenced Mr. *George Hopkins*, Son to Mr. *William Hopkins*, the most eminent, wise, and truly Religious magistrate of *Bewdley*, (my old dear Friend) at last a member of the long Parliament. This his Son, having long been Pastor at *Evesham*, was many Years silenced; and when the *Oxford Oath* came out, he was over perswaded to take it, in his own Sense, and so not to be forced five miles from the People: But he died either on, or very near the same day that he should have had the benefit of it: He was a very judicious, godly, moderate, peaceable, and upright man: He hath one Writing extant, called *Salvation from Sin*.

9. At *Martley* was silenced and ejected Mr. *Ambrose Sparry*, heretofore Schoolmaster at *Stourbridge*, where he was born; he was an ancient sober, peaceable, moderate, humble, godly, judicious man; formerly for the Conformists, but now cast out among the rest: But his great Prudence, and moderation, and Learning, and the chief of *Stourbridge* being his Friends, caused the Chancellor to connive at last at his teaching the School at *Stourbridge* again, where he had been in his Youth, where he is yet connived at, and liveth with great acceptance, though he was a while maliciously laid in Goal.

10. At *Bewdley* was silenced Mr. *Henry Oatland*, the most lively, fervent, moving Preacher in all the County, of an honest, upright Life, who rode about, from place to place Preaching fervently, and winning many Souls to God, besides all his very great Labours with his own People, publicly, and from House to House: And he yet continueth Preaching up and down privately where he can have opportunity, with zeal and diligence: And though those that excelled others in zealous Preaching and acceptance with the People, were apter to be carried (in my Judgment) a little too far from Conformity, and the Prelate's Indignation against the Church-Tyranny, but not at all forsaking Orthodox, and sound Principles, yet so was not he.

11. At *Stourbridge* was silenced Mr. *Jarvis Bryan*, Brother to Dr. *Bryan* of *Coventry*, a most humble, upright, faithful Minister, of a blameless Life, and sound Doctrine.

12. At *Stene* was silenced Mr. *Richard Serjeant*, formerly my Assistant, a man of such extraordinary Prudence, Humility, Sincerity, Self-denial, Patience, and blamelessness of Life; that I know not of all the Years that he assisted me, of any one person, in Town or Parish, that was against him, or that ever accused him of saying or doing any thing amiss. So that though many excelled him in Learning and utterance, yet none that ever I knew, as far as I could Judge, in

Innocency and Sincerity ; which made him beloved of all above many abler Men.

13. At *Broom* was silenced Mr. *Humphrey Waldern*, my Assistant after Mr. *Serjeant*, exactly agreeing in the same Character I gave him, in the next degree ; of good Learning and Utterance.

14. At *Womborne* was silenced Mr. *Wilsby*, an ancient, judicious, peaceable, moderate Divine (who had long kept one of the most learned of the Prelatists in his House.) At * *Bremicham*, where he lived privately, he was troubled by Sir *Robert Holt*, but (under many Infirmities) is yet alive, a man of humility, and an unblameable Life. I mention not the Judgment of any of these, that I may say of all together, that as far as I could perceive, they were neither for Prelacy, Presbytery, or Independency, as now in Parties, but as I said of them before, of the primitive temper, for Concord, on the Terms that all sound and good men are agreed in, and for the practice of that, rather than contending about more: And of the primitive extraordinary Humility and Innocency.

* *Birmingham.*

15. The same I must say of Mr. *Andrew Tristram*, first of *Clent*, then silenced at *Bridgnorth*, a Man of more than ordinary ability in Preaching and Prayer, and of an upright Life, and now a Physician.

16. The same I must say of Mr. *John Reynolds*, silenced at *Wolverhampton*, a Man of more than ordinary Ability, for Learning and Preaching, and now also a Physician.

17. At *Avely* was silenced Mr. *Lovel*, formerly Schoolmaster at *Walverley*, who having been supposed still to be not only against the Parliament's Cause, but for the Prelates and Conformity, and never coming into our ministerial Meetings, where we monthly kept up disputations and Discipline, but only extraordinary constant at my Lecture at *Kidderminster*, he was as a stranger to us all, till the silencing time came, and then he suffered with the most patient and resolved, and hath since appeared, on fuller notice, a prudent and very worthy Man, and is yet living in his patient Silence, aged about sixty two.

18. At *Bromsgrove* was silenced Mr. *John Spilsbury*, born in *Bewdley*, a man accounted an Independent, but of extraordinary worth, for moderation, peaceableness, ability, and ministerial diligence, and an upright Life.

19. At *Whitley* was silenced Mr. *Joseph Read*, born in *Kidderminster*, and sent by me to *Cambridge*, and after living in my House, and for one Year my assistant at *Kidderminster*, a man of great sincerity, and worth.

20. At *Churchil* was cast out Mr. *Edward Boucher*, another young man, born in *Kidderminster*-Parish, of great humility, sincerity, peaceableness, and good ministerial parts ; Brother to *James Boucher*, a Husbandman, who can but write his Name, and is of as good understanding in Divinity as many Divines of good account, and more able in Prayer than most Ministers that ever I heard. And of so calm a Spirit, and blameless a life, that I never saw him laugh, or sad, nor ever heard him speak an idle Word, nor ever heard Man accuse him of a sinful Word or Deed, which I note with Joy, and to tell the Reader, that he, and others of his Temper, in *Kidderminster*, did by their Example exceedingly farther my success.

21. At *Clent* was silenced Mr. *Tho. Baldwin*, a godly, calm, sober Preacher, of a blameless Life.

22. From *Chaddeley* was cast out Mr. *Thomas Baldwin*, Senior, who had been our Schoolmaster at *Kidderminster*, sent to me by Mr. *Vines* from *Cambridge* ; a good Schollar, a sober, calm grave, moderate, peaceable minister, whose Conversation I never heard one Person blame, for any one Word or Deed ; an extraordinary Preacher : Wherefore I desired when I was driven from *Kidderminster*, that the People would be ruled by him and Mr. *Serjeant*, and he liveth yet among them, and teacheth them privately from House to House. He was present with me when I had Conference with Bishop *Morley* when he silenced me, and the witness of our Discourse ; which, with the imprisonment of the most Religious and blameless of the Flock, and the experience of the Quality of some Preachers that were sent to the People in my stead, and the rest of the havock made in the Churches, did alienate him so much from Prelacy, and Conformity, and the People with him, that though afterward they got a godly, Conformable Minister, I could not get them to Communicate with him, though I got them constantly to hear him.

On

On this occasion I will mention the great Mercy of God to that Town and Country in the raising of one Man, Mr. *Thomas Foley*, who, from almost nothing, did get about five Thousand Pound *per Annum*, or more, by Iron-works, and that with so just and blameless Dealing, that all Men that ever he had to do with, that ever I heard of, magnified his great Integrity and Honesty, which was questioned by none: And being a Religious, Faithful Man, he purchased among other Lands, the Patronage of several great places, and among the rest of *Stourbridge* and *Kidderminster*, and so chose the best Conformable Ministers to them that could be got: And not only so, but placed his Eldest Son's Habitation in *Kidderminster*, which became a great Protection and Blessing to the Town; having placed two Families more elsewhere of his two other Sons, all three Religious worthy Men. And in thankfulness to God for his Mercies to him, built a well-founded Hospital near *Stourbridge*, to teach poor children to read and write, and then set them Apprentices, and endowed it with about five hundred Pounds a Year *per Annum*: Such worthy Persons, and such strange Prosperity, and holy use of it are so rare, and the interest of my poor Neighbours in it so great, that I thought meet to mention it to God's Praise and his.

§ 203. There were more Ministers silenced of that Countrey, but I will not be tedious in naming more of them. A word of the other places where I myself had lived. In *Coventry*, both the Ministers were cast out. 1. Dr. *John Bryan*, an ancient Learned Divine, of a quick and active Temper, very humble, faithful, and of a Godly, upright Life, who had so great a fitness to teach and educate Youth, that there have gone out of his House more worthy Ministers into the Church of God, than out of many Colledges in the University in that time. And he had three Sons that were all worthy Non-conformable Ministers, all silenced.

2. Dr. *Grew*, a Man of a different natural temper, yet both Concordant lovingly in the work of God, a calm, Grave, sober, sedate Divine, more retired, and of less activity, but godly, able, and faithful in his Ministry.

3. At *Birmingham* was silenced Mr. *Wills*, a sedate, retired, peaceable, able Divine also, born in *Coventry*.

4. As for Mr. *Anthony Burges* of *Sutton Coldfield* (a place of near 300*l.* *per Annum*, which he left) I need not describe him, he was so famously known in the Assembly, and *London*, and by his many Learned, Godly Writings, for a Man eminently Learned, and Pious: And though in the old Conformity he was before a Conformable Man, yet he was so far from the New Conformity, that on his Death-bed he professed great satisfaction in his Mind that he had not Conformed.

5. From *Walshall* was cast out Mr. *Burdall*, a very Learned able and Godly Divine, of more than ordinary parts and worth, now dead also.

6. At *Wedgbury* was silenced Mr. *Fincher*, whom I have seen, but was not much acquainted with, but he was reputed a very Godly Man, and a good Preacher. But I pass by all those I knew not myself.

7. From *Rowley* had lately removed Mr. *Joseph Rock*, and was silenced; a very calm, humble, sober, peaceable, godly, and blameless Minister, and of very good Abilities; like our *Worcestershire* Ministers before described, as to his temper, and judgment of Church-Government.

8. At *Kings-Norton* was silenced Mr. *Tho. Hall*, an ancient Divine, known by his many Writings, of a quick Spirit, a Godly, upright man, and the only Presbyterian whom I knew in that County.

9. At *Tippon*, Mr. *Hinks* was silenced, a Godly Preacher, a moderate Independent.

10. At *Hales-Owen* was silenced Mr. *Paston*, a sober, moderate, peaceable Minister, of a godly, upright Life.

11. Near *Newcastle* was silenced Mr. *Sound*, an ancient Divine, of great Learning, moderation, judgment, and calmness of Spirit, and of a Godly, upright Life, born by *Worville*, near *Bridgworth*, known to me about thirty years ago, who, though, with others, he was of old a Conformist, is far enough from the new Conformity.

12. At *Shrewsbury* was silenced Mr. *Heath*, an ancient, grave minister, moderate, sedate, quiet, religious, eminent for his Skill in the Oriental Languages.

13. In the same Town was silenced Mr. *Francis Talents*, an ancient Fellow of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and a good Schollar, a godly, blameless Divine, most eminent for extraordinary Prudence, and moderation, and peaceableness towards all, who in our Wars lived at *Saumur* in *France*, and is now there again.

14. In the same Town was silenced Mr. *Brian*, Son to Dr. *Brian*, a Godly, able Preacher, of a quick and active Temper, but very humble.

15. At *Whitchurch* was silenced and cast out Mr. *Porter* an ancient, grave Divine of great integrity, blamelessness and Diligence, and so excellent a Preacher, that few arrived to his Degree that ever I have heard.

16. At *Baschurch* was cast out and silenced Mr. *Lawrence*, a solid, calm, peaceable, godly man, and a good Preacher, who hath wrote a Treatise about *Sickness*: He was lately in trouble, and his Goods taken away for preaching in a private House, where but four Neighbours were present, on pretence that a little Daughter of the House that came newly from School, and another Child made the Supernumeraries, which put him to a tedious Suit: And Mr. *Powis*, an able Lawyer of that Country, who had ever before carried it moderately, and soberly, being entertained against him, whether *pro more*, or *why* I know not, at the Bar called him a Seditious Fellow (who was far from it) and spake of him revilingly, and eagerly, and about a week or fortnight after died almost suddenly.

17. At *Wem* was silenced, and long imprisoned in the Common Goal, Mr. *Parsons*, a moderate, ancient Minister, having but used the word [*King*] in his Sermon, relating to Christ, an ignorant profane Enemy witnessed that he said somewhat against the King, for which he so long suffered: And for the very same Cause Dr. *Brian* was accused, and Mr. *Field* before-mentioned, kept in Prison in the Gatehouse till he there died.

18. At *Clun* was silenced Mr. *Froyssell*, an ancient Divine, of extraordinary worth, for Judgment, moderation, Godliness, blameless living, and excellent Preaching; who (as many of the rest) hath in poverty, and Sickness, and great Suffering continued to preserve the Peace of his Conscience.

19. Many more worthy men in that County were cast out and silenced. Mr. *Barnet*, Mr. *Taylor*, Mr. *Thomas*, Mr. *Berry*, Mr. *Malden* of *Newport*, (a very Learned Man) Mr. *Champion*, Mr. *Thomas Wright* of *Kinnerley*, (a Man of extraordinary Learning, Ability, and Moderation, and Peaceableness) and divers others, all men of Godliness, and upright Lives, and great Ministerial Diligence, those of them that survive living in great Poverty, most of them having nothing, or next to nothing, of their own: And the Charity that should maintain them and their Families, is clogg'd with so great Poverty, through the burning of *London*, the decay of Trade, Taxes, &c. that alas! their Relief is very small.

§ 204. To give any Description of the *London* Ministers so well known, would be superfluous; viz. 1. Old Mr. *Simon Ash*, old Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, Mr. *Asalton*, all dead: (three, Men of excellent Humility, and sincere Godliness, and good Abilities) Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Seaman*, (of great Learning) Mr. *Sheffield*, Mr. *Comper*, Mr. *Gouge*, (that wonder of Charity, Humility, Sincerity, and moderation) Mr. *Wickins*, Mr. *Hawler*, Mr. *Cradacote*, Mr. *Peter Vink*, Mr. *Blackmore*, Mr. *Flaviland*, Mr. *Samuel Clark*, Mr. *Jenkins*, (that Sententious Elegant Preacher) Dr. *Bates*, (a Learned, Judicious, moderate Divine) Mr. *Matthew Pool*, (that Learned most industrious Man known by his Abreviation of the Criticks) Mr. *Sangar*, Mr. *Needler*, (two very humble, grave, peaceable Divines) Mr. *Rawlinson* (an ancient grave Divine of great Ability,) Mr. *John Jackson*, Mr. *Lie*, Mr. *Cafe*, (an old faithful Servant of God,) Dr. *Drake*, (that wonder of Humility and Sincerity, now with God) Mr. *White*, (such another, now with him,) Mr. *Crofton*, Mr. *Woodcock*, (a Man of great ability, and readiness) Mr. *Hurst*, Mr. *Pledger*, Mr. *Tatnall*, Mr. *Lee*, (known by his Learned Latin Tract on the *Revelation*,) Mr. *Low*, (an ancient grave Divine, whom I have heard at *Ludlow* forty Years ago) Mr. *Church*, (a calm worthy man, lately dead, that had abundance of Children

dren, and almost nothing.) Mr. *Benton*, Mr. *Barham*, Mr. *Wells*, Mr. *Parsons*, Mr. *Stretbill*, Mr. *Dawkes*, with more that I cannot remember. And those called Independents, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Caryll*, Mr. *Griffiths*, Mr. *Greenhill*, Mr. *Brookes*, Mr. *Wood*, Mr. *Rose*, (an humble Godly man) Mr. *Mead*, Mr. *Barker*, and Mr. *Venning*, (two excellent Preachers, and moderate godly, worthy men:) Besides those that are come thither since, Dr. *Tho. Goodwin*, and Dr. *Owen* from *Oxford* (Men better known than my Description could make them) Dr. *Wilkinson* (thence also) Mr. *Collins*, &c. *John Goodwin*, now dead, I need not describe.

§ 205. But because there are some few who by Preaching more openly than the rest, and to greater Numbers, are under more Men's displeasure and censure, I shall say of them truly but what I know. 1. Dr. *Manton* (who lately lay six Months in Prison) is a Man of great Learning, Judgment, and Integrity, and an excellent, most laborious, unwearied Preacher, and of moderate principles.

2. Dr. *Jacomb* is known to be a Man of Gravity, sober and moderate Principles, and hath still held on Preaching, in the House, and under the Protection of the excellent, sincere, humble, godly, faithful Lady, the Countess Dowager of *Exeter*, Daughter to the Earl of *Bridgewater*, to the utmost of her Power a comfort to all suffering, faithful Ministers and People, and in all this excelling those of her Rank and Generation.

3. Dr. *Annesley* is a most sincere, godly, humble Man, totally devoted to God, worthily to be joyned with his two great intimate Friends, Dr. *Drake*, and Mr. *White*, whose Preaching in those two greatest Auditories, *Giles's Cripplegate*, and *Paul's Church*, did very much good till he was silenced.

4. Mr. *Thomas Vincent* is a serious, humble, godly Man, of sober Principles, and great Zeal and Diligence, whose Experience in the Plague time engaged him in the work, as is before declared: His Brother equal to him, and is but lately come out of Prison.

5. Mr. *Jenoway* is a Man of extraordinary devotedness to God, and zeal for the good of Souls, and of great humility, and holiness of Life, and an excellent Preacher.

6. Mr. *Wadsworth* is an able judicious man, devoted wholly to God, and to do good. Before he was cast out, he preached constantly, and zealously taught all his People also House by House, hired another to help in that work; gave Bibles to the poor People of his Parish, and expended not only his time and strength, but his Estate on these Works, with much also which he got from others towards it: Insomuch that when he was turned out, the Peoples Lamentation might have melted a heart that had any Compassion. Since then he preacheth (through the Peoples desire and necessity) at one Congregation there, at *Newington-Butts*, and another at *Theobalds* by turns, and never taketh any maintenance from either. His Assistant, Mr. *Parsons*, I before named.

7. Mr. *Watson* is so well known in *London* for his Ability and Piety that I need not describe him, however, quarrelled with by the debate-maker.

8. Mr. *Thomas Doolittle*, born in *Kidderminster* is a good Schollar, a godly man, of an upright Life, and moderate Principles, and a very profitable, serious Preacher.

9. Mr. *Chester* is a man of a very sober, calm, peaceable Spirit, sound in Doctrine and Life, and a grave and fruitful Preacher.

10. Mr. *Turner* is a man of great Sincerity, and extraordinary humility, and profitable Labours and Industry.

11. Old Mr. *Stubbs*, who joineth with him, is one of a Thousand, sometimes Minister at *Wells*, and last at *Dursley* in *Gloucestershire*, an ancient, grave Divine, wholly given up to the Service of God, who hath gone about from place to place Preaching with unwearied Labour since he was silenced, and with great Success, being a plain, moving, fervent Preacher for the work of converting impenitent Sinners to God: And yet being settled in peaceable Principles by aged Experience, he every where expresseth the Spirit of Cenforiousness, and unjust Separations, and Preacheth up the ancient zeal and sincerity, with a Spirit suitable thereunto.

12. Mr. *Whitaker*, Son to the famous *Jeremy Whitaker*, is a Man of great calmness, Moderation, peaceableness, and Soundness in Doctrine, and in Life.

13. Some

13. Some others there are, Mr. *Grimes*, Mr. *Franklin*, Mr. *Patrick*, Mr. *West*, &c. whom I am not acquainted with.

§ 206. Besides these, there are many in *London* that come out of other Countries. I will name but some few that I can speak of with most assurance. 1. Mr. *John Corbet*, sometimes Preacher in *Gloucester*, and after at *Chichester*, and after at a place in *Hampshire* (200 l. per Annum, which he left to keep the Peace of his Conscience,) liveth privately, and quietly; a Man of extraordinary Judgment, stayedness, moderation, peaceable Principles, and blameless Life, a solid Preacher, well known by his Writings, (the interest of *England*, the History of *Gloucester War*, *Rushworth's Collections*, which were much of his Composure.

2. Mr. *Wilson*, sometime of the *Charter-House*, and since of *Peterborough*, hath such universal Praises follow him from all the Country about *Peterborough*, of his rare Skill, ability, Piety, diligence, and extraordinary success, the multitude of People there that he did good to, that it made my Heart ake to think that our Sins had brought us under such Prelates as think it a Service acceptable to God to deprive Cities and Countries of such Men, and put no better in their places than they have done.

3. Mr. *Stancliff* from *Stanmore* an Excellent Man, of marvellous fullness and accurateness in Prayer, and it's like he is the same in Preaching, though I never heard him.

4. Mr. *Vaughan*, Minister of *Grantham*, where he was laid in Goal for not Conforming, and thence went to *Barmudas* with his Family; and from thence was discouraged by the Quakers, and returned to *England*, and liveth in *London*, obscurely, and in a very low Condition; an able, sober, Godly, Judicious, moderate man, and of great worth.

5. Mr. *Silvester*, from *Nottinghamshire*, (Mr. *Trueman's Friend*) a Man of excellent meekness, temper, sound, and peaceable Principles, godly Life, and great ability in the ministerial Work.

6. Mr. *Hodges*, (living lately with the Lord *Hollis*,) a grave, ancient, Godly, moderate Divine, who answered the Debate-maker.

7. Mr. *Richard Fairclough*, a Man of great sincerity, and soundness of Judgment, moderate Principles, and a godly, upright Life, and of great quickness of parts, and fervency, and diligence, by which at *Mells* in *Somersetshire*, he excelled most Men in excellent Labours and success.

8. His Brother, a very solid, judicious, grave, and worthy Minister, of equal moderation, and peaceableness.

9. Mr. *Tobias Ellis*, a Man of great sincerity and zeal, and desire to do good, and devotedness to God, (who falling into the Life of a private Schoolmaster) doth follow it with almost unimitable diligence, living with very little Sleep, less Food, great Labour, and delight in all, by which he hath been saved better than by all phylick from a Melancholly Inclination.

10. *Richard Morton*, Dr. of Physick, whom I should have named as Minister of *Kinwar*, near *Kidderminster*, Son to my old Friend, Mr. *Robert Morton*, Son-in-Law to Mr. *Whateley* of *Banbury*, minister at *Bewdley*; Dr. *Norton* is a Man of great gravity, calmness, sound Principles, of no Faction, an excellent Preacher, of an upright Life, now practising Physick.

11. Mr. *Button*, though not a Clergy-man (being never ordained, or in the Ministry, yet) is not to be left out: Being put out of his place of Canon of *Christ-church* in *Oxford*, Orator to the University, an Excellent Scholar, but of a greater Excellency, a most humble Man, of a plain, sincere Heart, and blameless, and a great Sufferer, who, besides a great loss in his Estate, was about six Months in Goal for teaching privately two Knights Sons, who persuaded him to it: Many of his Neighbours of *Brentford* being imprisoned with him for serving God privately, by *Ross*, the Scottish Justice, who imprisoned me, which they chearfully endured.

But there are so many more that I must proceed no further.

§ 207. Besides there are many in the Villages round about *London*, and that were thence cast out. As, 1. Mr. *Clarkson* from *Mortclack*, a Divine of extraordinary worth, for solid Judgment, healing, moderate Principles, acquaintance with the Fathers, great Ministerial Abilities, and a Godly, Upright Life.

2. Mr. *Samuel Cradock*, Elder Brother to Dr. *Cradock*, of *Greys-Inn*, who left a place in *Somersetshire* of about 300*l.* per Annum to preserve his Conscience, a Man of great Solidity and Piety, and Ministerial Ability, but extraordinary for meekness, Humility, Moderation, and Peaceableness, known by his useful Writings.

3. Mr. *Pareman* put out at *Harrow* on the *Hill* an ancient, grave, sound, pious, sober, and peaceable Divine.

4. Mr. *Taverner*, put out at *Uxbridge*, an ancient, grave, peaceable Divine, of an unblamed Life.

5. Dr. *Spurston* put out at *Hackney*, an ancient, calm, reverend Minister, one of the Writers of the Book called, *Smectymnus*.

6. Which maketh me remember Dr. *Tuckney*, whom his Widow married; an ancient Learned, Godly Divine, sometime Minister of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, then one of the Assembly, and long *Regius* Professor, called Doctor of the Chair in *Cambridge*, which place he performed with so good acceptance, as that I need not commend his ability any further: Only he was over humble, and backward to disputes, and to put out himself in great appearances, notwithstanding that place of publick Exercise.

I would further mention Dr. *Arthur* of *Clapham*, Mr. *Gilbert* of *Brentford*, Mr. *Perkins*, Mr. *Warrham* of *Henden*, and many more, if I were willing to go beyond my acquaintance, upon reports.

§ 208. And though it cannot be thought that one man that lived so retiredly should know very many, yet I could name you excellent men, known to me either thoroughly, or in some measure, whose Excellencies make their Names very precious to me. For Instance, 1. Mr. *Truman* lately dead.

2. Mr. *John Warren* of *Hatfield Broadoke*, in *Essex*, a man of great Judgment, and ministerial Abilities- moderation, Piety, and Labour: The place whence he was cast out hath had no minister since to this day, though a great Town, and in the Bishop of *London's* Gift, because the means is so small that none will take it: And yet he cannot have leave to preach rather than none: But he gets now and then one by his Interest to Preach occasionally, and he heareth them in publick, and then himself instructeth the People in private as far as he can obtain connivance.

3. Mr. *Peter Ince*, in *Wiltshire*, a solid, grave, pious, worthy, able minister, living with Mr. *Grove*, that excellent, humble, holy, Learned Gentleman, who himself is now driven out of his Country for receiving, and hearing such in his House.

4. Mr. *John How*, minister of *Torrington*, in *Devonshire*, sometime Household-Preacher to *Oliver Cromwell*, and his Son *Richard*, till the Army pulled him down; but not one that meddled in his Wars: He is a very Learned, judicious, godly man, of no Faction, but of Catholick, healing Principles, and of excellent ministerial Abilities, as his excellent Treatise, called, *The Blessedness of the Righteous*, sheweth.

5. Mr. *Iord* of *Exeter*, is a man of great Ability, as his Book called, *The Sinner's Araignment* at his Bar, sheweth; a Reverend Divine, of great esteem for all ministerial worth, with the generality of sober men: And I hear a high Character of Mr. *Clare*, near him, and many more there; but I know not those.

6. Mr. *Hughes* of *Plymouth*, a very Reverend, Learned, Ancient Divine, long ago of *London*, an excellent Expofitor of Scripture, was in his Age laid so long in Prison (for silencing was not suffering enough for so excellent a Man) that he fell by it into the Scurvy, and died soon after. His Treatise of the Sabbath is Printed since his Death.

7. Mr. Berry in *Devonshire*, an extraordinary humble, tender-conscienced, serious, godly, able Minister.

8. Mr. Benj. Woodbridge of *Newbury*, who came out of *New-England* to succeed Dr. Twisse; a Man of great Judgment, Piety, Ability, and moderate Principles, addicted to no Faction, but of a Catholick Spirit.

9. Mr. Simon King, some-time of *Coventry*, since near *Peterborough*, who first Entertain'd me at *Coventry* in the beginning of the Wars, when I was forced to fly from Home; a Man of a solid Judgment, an honest Heart and Life, and addicted to no Extremes, and an able Scholar (long ago chief School-Master at *Bridgnorth*.)

Divers others of my own Acquaintance I could describe, in *Wales*, in *Derby-shire*, *Cheshire*, *York-shire*, and other Counties; but I will end with a few of my old Neighbours that I had forgotten.

10. Old Mr. Samuel Hilderham, about 80 Years old, only Son to the Famous Arthur Hilderham; a Conformist formerly, but resolved enough against the New Conformity: A grave, peaceable, pious, learned Divine, cast out of *Welsh-Felton* in *Shrop-shire*.

11. Mr. Tho. Gilbert, of *Edmond* in *Shropshire*, an Ancient Divine, of extraordinary Acuteness, and Conciseness of Style, and a most piercing Head, as his small *Lat. Tract.* of the necessity of Christ's Satisfaction, sheweth.

12. Mr. Samuel Fisher, an Ancient Reverend Divine; some-time of *Withington*, then of *Shrewsbury*, turned out with Mr. Blake, for not taking the Engagement against King and House of Lords; then lived in *Cheshire*, and thence cast out and Silenced; a very able Preacher, and of a godly Life.

13. My old Friend, Mr. Will. Cook, bred up under Mr. John Ball, a Learned Man, and of a most godly Life, and unwearied Labour. Like the first Preachers, he can go in poor Clothing, live on a little, travel on Foot, Preach and Pray almost all the Week, if he have opportunity, in Season, and out of Season, trampling on this World as dirt, and living a mortified laborious Life. Being an old Nonconformist and Presbyterian, he was greatly offended at the Anabaptists, Separatists, and Sectaries, and Cromwel's Army, for Disloyalty to the King, whom they Beheaded, and this King whom they kept out; and therefore joyned with Sir George Booth, now Lord Delamere, in his Rising to have brought in the King: And being then Minister in *Chester*, persuaded the Citizens to deliver up the City to Him: For which he was brought to *London*, and long Imprisoned: But all this would not procure his Liberty to Preach the Gospel of Christ, without the Oaths, Subscriptions, Declarations, Reordination, and Conformity required.

14. To these I may subjoyn my old Friend Mr. Pigot, chief School-master of *Shrewsbury*.

15. And my old Friend Mr. Swaine, some-time School-master at *Bridgnorth*, and since a godly fervent Preacher in *Radnor-shire*: But I must stop.

§ 209. Let the Reader note, That there is not one of all these that was put out for any Scandal, but meerly not Subscribing, &c. and Conforming; nor one of them all that ever I heard any Person charge, or once suspect of Wantonness, Idleness, Surfetting, Drunkenness, or any scandalous Sin. And of those of the Prelatists that were Sequestred by the Parliament, I knew not one, that I remember, that was not accused upon Oath of Witnesses of Scandal; though doubtless others knew some such. Not including the siding in the Wars, which each side called scandalous in the other; and which yet but a small part of these named by me, medled in, that ever I could learn.

§ 210. Therefore I conclude, That we that know not the Mysteries of God's Judgments, saw not what a Mercy it was that God took to Himself, before they were Silenced, such Excellent Men as Dr. Twiss, Dr. Gouge, Mr. John Ball, Mr. Gataker, Mr. Jer. Whitaker, Dr. Arrow Smith, Dr. Hill, Mr. Strong, Mr. Herbert Palmer, and most of the Assembly, with many more such. Nor yet that God took away such Men as Bishop *Darwent*, Bishop *Hall*, Arch-Bishop *Usher*, Bishop *Morton*, yea, and Dr. *Hammond*, before they were under a Temptation to have a Hand in the casting out of so many excellent worthy Men (which yet I am confident by my

own personal Knowledge of him, that *Usher*, had he lived, would never have done.)

§ 211. This Year the King began the War upon the *Dutch*, in March 167 $\frac{1}{2}$. About the 16 or 17 Day was a hot Sea-fight, while our Ships Assaulted their *Smirna* Fleet of Merchants, and many on both sides were killed, which was most that was done. And about the 18th. Day the King Published a Proclamation for War by Sea and Land: The *French*, the Elector of *Cologne*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, being with dreadful Preparations to invade them by Land.

§ 212. Now came forth a Declaration giving some fuller Exposition (to those that doubted of it) of the Transactions of these Twelve Years last, viz. His Majesty, by Virtue of His Supreme Power in Matters Ecclesiastical, suspendeth all Penal Laws thereabout, and Declareth, That he will grant a convenient number of Publick Meeting-Places to Men of all sorts that Conform not; so be it,

1. The Persons be by Him approved.
2. That they never meet in any Place not approved by Him.
3. And there set open the Doors to all Comers.
4. And Preach not Seditiously.
5. Nor against the Discipline or Government of the Church of *England*, saving that the *Papists* shall have no other publick Places, but their *Houses* (any where, under their own Government,) without Limitation or Restriction, to any number of Places or Persons, or any necessity of getting Approbation; so that they are immediately in possession of a securer and fuller Liberty, than the *Protestant-Nonconformists* hope for; for how, or when they will get Churches built, we know not, till that be done they are more terribly restrained from Meeting than before: And who will build Churches that have no Security to enjoy them one Week, time will shew: And all this is said to be for avoiding the danger of Conventicles in private, &c. when yet the *Papists* are allowed such Conventicles in as many Houses as they please.

§ 213. A Paper sent from one Mr. *Edwards*, a Lawyer of *Kingston*, received from a *Papist*, (Mr. *Langhorn*) as a Challenge, was sent to me as by him, with desires of an Answer; which occasioned my Book, called, *The Certainty of the Protestant Religion without Popery*.

§ 214. When the King's Declaration for Liberty was out, the *London Nonconformable Ministers* were incited to return His Majesty their Thanks. At their Meeting Dr. *Seaman*, and Mr. *Jenkins* (who had been till then most distant from the Court) were for a Thanksgiving in such high applauding Terms, as Dr. *Manton*, and almost all the rest dissented from; and some were for avoiding Terms of Approbation, lest the Parliament should fall upon them; and some because they had far rather have had any tolerable state of Unity with the publick Ministry, than a Toleration; supposing,

1. That the Toleration was not chiefly for their sakes, but for the *Papists*, and that they should hold it no longer than that Interest required it, which is inconsistent with the Interest of the Protestant's Religion and the Church of *England*: And that they had no security of it, but it might be taken from them at any time in a Day.

2. Because they thought that it tended to continue our Divisions, and to weaken the *Protestant Ministry* and Church, and that while the Body of the *Protestant People* were in all places divided, one part was still ready to be used against the other, and many Sins and Calamities kept up. And the present Generation of *Nonconformists* like to be soon worn out, and the Publick Assemblies to be lamentably disadvantaged by young, raw, unqualified Ministers, that were likely to be introduced. They concluded therefore on a cautelous and moderate Thanksgiving for the King's Clemency and their own Liberty: And when they could not come to Agreement about their Form, the Lord *Arlington* Introduced them to a verbal Extemporate Thanksgiving, and so their Difference was ended as to that.

§ 215. This Question, Whether Toleration of us in our different Assemblies, or such an Abatement of Impositions as would restore some Ministers to the *Publick Assemblies* by a Law, were more desirable? was a great Controversie then among the Nonconformists; and greater it had been, but that the hopes of Abatements, called then a *Comprehension* were so low as made them the less concerned in the Agitation of it: But when ever there was a new Session of Parliament, which put them in some little hope of Abatements, the Controversie began to revive, according to the measure of those Hopes: The *Independents*, and all the *Sectaries*, and some few *Presbyterians*, especially in *London*, who had large Congregations, and Liberty and Encouragement, were rather for a Toleration. The rest of the *Presbyterians*, and the *Episcopal Nonconformists*, were for Abatement and Comprehension. The Reasons of the former were,

1. The Parliament will abate so little, as will take in but few.
2. It will tempt the rest to stretch their Consciences.
3. It will divide us.
4. It will leave those that Conform not under greater Contempt and Severities.
5. We shall have much purer Worship and Discipline as we are.
6. What Corruptions are not now removed by this Abatement will be the faster settled, and the Reformation left more hopeless: The grosser are our Church-Corruptions, the more hope of a Reformation.

Some that were of the other Mind on the contrary thus stated their Desires! We would not have *Abatements alone*, but besides that a *Toleration* of all that are *Tolerable*: And when they ask us, *What Abatements will satisfy us, and procure our Union with them?* We will truly tell them in several Degrees, [*So much will satisfy all, and procure a perfect Union: So much less will take in most, or half; and so much less will take in a few: And we must take that measure which you will grant us, in whose power it is.* And their Reasons were such as afore said for this Choice:

1. They said that it is the Religion which obtaineth the Publick Churches, and Maintenance which will be the Religion of the Land, and which the Body of the People will be of.
2. If we are shut out wholly thence, so bad a sort will come in, as will be ready to strike up an Agreement with the *Papists*, and let them in on pretence of Concord or Moderation, when worldly Interest shall require it.
3. If we are shut out of the Publick Churches, we shall still be look'd on as their *Enemies* with Jealousie and ill will, and as Separatists with Reproach.
4. Few of the Rich and Rulers will joyn with us, and so we shall prepare Parliaments and Justices by Alienation to further Severities against us.
5. The work of Conversion will go slowly on; for we shall speak to few but those that are already Religious, and the Conformists, who are very many of them cold and lifeless, must be the Preachers to the Ignorant, and Vicious, and Ungodly: And so the Land will grow worse and worse.
6. We shall keep open a Door for all Sects and Schisms, and the Reproach of them all will be cast on us.
7. We shall be still uncertain of the continuance of our Liberty for one Week: It is easie to find Reasons to cast us out of all, when-ever Interest or Wrath shall require it.
8. We are a hated People to too many of our Superiours; and it is not for our Sakes that Liberty is granted us; we shall hold it no longer than the *Papists* will; for whose sakes we have it, that they also may have theirs: And that they will grant it us no longer than the Interest and Increase of their Religion requireth it:
And

And that which is for the Interest and Increase of their Religion, is contrary to ours.

9. There are already about 500 that are dead, and have Conformed, since our Silencing, and the rest will all be quickly dead: And then all will fall quietly into the Conformists hands, and the Churches be more corrupt than if now we get but a half Reformation.

10. And it shall be no *Division* of us, to have half taken into the Publick Churches: for we must love each other, and promote the Work of Christ in each others hands, as the old Godly Conformists and Nonconformists did, and we now do with the Godly Part of the Conformists: Our Work is not to keep up a Combination against our Superiours, nor to strengthen a Faction, but to Combine for Godliness, and to strengthen our selves in the proper work of the Gospel: which we must do, though some Conform, and some do not.

11. And our Superiours will be the less Jealous of us as to Sedition, when they see us so divided in Point of Conformity, than if they see us strengthened by the Unity of a distinct Party.

12. And especially, the Unity of such as Conform, with the present Conformists will strengthen the Publick Ministry against *Papists*, *Infidels*, and all *Ungodliness*: And our continued Division will be the strength of all these.

13. And it is a weighty Consideration, that the keeping up of the different Parties tempteth all the People of the Land, to continual Censuring, Uncharitableness, and contending, and unavoidably destroyeth Love and Concord; and so keepeth Men in constant Sin.

On all these Reasons they were most for as much Union with the Parish-Ministers, and joyning with them, as the Parliament would allow them.

§ 216. But now they found that there was little hopes of obtaining any such thing: For they that were most for *Toleration* were most against our Comprehension, by Abatement of any of the Impositions; and they were many.

1. All the *Papists*, and their secret Friends, were most opposite to Abatements: For it was their Design from the beginning to get our Pressures to be as sharp as possible, that so we might have as much need as they of a Toleration, and might be forced to Petition for the opening of the Door, by which they might come in, or speed at least no worse than the Nonconformists.

2. Those that were for the Increase of the Regal Power and Interest, did very well know, that the more grievously good People (and so great a number) were used by Parliaments and Laws, the more certainly Nature and Interest would lead them, to fly from them to the King, for ease and refuge: And also, that when Men's Religion and Liberties are in the Power, and at the Mercy of the King, their Estates must be so too: For who will not rather part with his Money than his Liberty and Religion? Yea, and Men's Hearts will be more with him that saveth them, than with those that destinate them to Jayls and Beggery.

3. And the *Independents*, *Separatists*, and all the *Sectaries*, were commonly against a Comprehension, for the Reasons before given. Only the vnable Necessities of the Nation do so strongly work towards it, that doubtless in time, they will prevail with the Wills of those that are for the Protestant Religion, and for Property; but whether Consent and Repentings will come too late, God only knoweth, and time must tell us.

§ 217. In the end of May, 1672. was another Sea-Fight with the *Dutch*, with like Success as the former. The Earl of *Sandwich*, and others of ours lost, and they parted without any notable Victory or Advantage of either Party, but that they had kill'd one another.

§ 218. In *May* and *June* the *French* suddenly took abundance of the *Dutch-Garrisons*.

§ 219. In *July* and *August* the *Dutch-Rabble* tumultuously rose up against their Governours, for the Prince of *Orange*, and murdered *De Wit*, and his Brother.

§ 220. In Answer to a Book of *Dr. Fulwood's*, I now Published a small Book, without my Name, against the *Desertion of our Ministry*, though prohibited, proving it Sacrilege to Alienate Consecrated Persons from the Sacred Office to which they are Devoted.

§ 221. There came out a Posthumous Book of *A. Bishop Bromhall's*, against my Book, called, *The Grotian Religion*: In which, 1. He passeth over the express words of *Grotius*, which I had cited, which undoubtedly prove what I said; yea, though I had since largely *Englisht* them, and recited them in the Second Part of my *Key for Catholics*, with a full Confirmation of my Proofs. 2. And he feigneth me to make him a *Grotian*, and Confederate in his Design; when-as I (not only had no such Word, but) had expressly excepted him by Name, as imputing no such thing to him. And before the Book was a long Preface of *Mr. Parker's*, most vehement against *Dr. Owen*, and some-what against my self. To which *Mr. Andrew Marvel*, a Parliament Man, Burgeiss for *Hull*, did Publish an Answer so exceeding jocular, as thereby procured abundance of Readers, and Pardon to the Author, Because I perceived that the Design of *A. Bishop Bromhall's* Book was for the Uniting of *Christendom* under the old Patriarchs of the *Roman Imperial Church*, and so under the Pope, as the *Western Patriarch*, and *Principium Unitatis*, I had thought the design and this Publication look'd dangerously, and therefore began to write an Answer to it. But *Mr. Simmons*, my Bookseller, came to me, and told me, That *Roger Lestrangle*, the Over-seer of the Printers, sent for him, and told him, That he heard I was Answering *Bishop Bromhall*, and Swore to him most vehemently, that if I did it, he would ruin him and me, and perhaps my Life should be brought in question: And I perceived the Bookseller durst not Print it; and so I was fain to cast it by; which I the easilier did, because the main Scope of all the Book was fully answered long before; in the fore-said Second Part of my *Key for Catholics*.

§ 222. Many Changes in *Ireland* much talk'd of, I pass over.

§ 223. *Dr. Fulwood* wrote a jocular deriding Answer to my Treatise, against Sacrilegious Desertion of the Ministry, and after that Printed an Assize Sermon, against Separating from the Parish-Ministers. Divers called on me to Reply to the first, and I told them I had better Work to do, than Answer every Script against me: But while I demurred, *Dr. Fulwood* wrote me an extraordinary kind Letter, offering to do his best to the Parliament for our Union and Restoration, which ended my Thoughts of that; but I know not of any thing to purpose done.

§ 224. *Mr. Giles Firmin*, a Silenced Minister, writing some-what against my Method and Motions for Heavenly Meditation in my *Saint's Rest*, as too strict, and I having Answered him, he wrote a weak Reply, which I thought not worthy of a Rejoinder.

§ 225. On *Octob. 11.* I fell into a dangerous Fit of Sicknes, which God in his wonted Mercy, did in time so far remove, as to return me to some Capacity of Service.

§ 226. I had till now forbore, for several Reasons, to seek a License for Preaching from the King, upon the Toleration: But when all others had taken theirs, and were settled in *London*, and other places, as they could get opportunity, I delayed no longer, but sent to seek one, on condition I might have it without the Title of *Independent, Presbyterian*, or any other Party, but only as a *Nonconformist*: And before I sent, *Sir Thomas Player*, Chamberlain of *London*, had procured it me so, without my knowledge or endeavour. I sought none so long,

1. Because I was unwilling to be, or seem any Cause of that way of Liberty, if a better might have been had, and therefore would not meddle in it.

2. I Lived ten Miles from *London*, and thought not just to come and set up a Congregation there, till the Ministers had fully settled theirs, who had born the burden there in the times of the raging Plague and Fire, and other Calamities; lest I should draw away any of their Auditors, and hinder their Maintenance.

3. I perceived that no one (that ever I heard of till mine) could get a License, unless he would be intituled in it, a Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, or of some Sect.

The 19th. of *Novemb.* (my Baptism-Day) was the first Day after ten Years Silence, that I preached in a tolerated Publick Assembly (though not yet tolerated in any Consecrated Church) but only (against Law) in my own House.

§ 227. Some Merchants set up a *Tuesday's* Lecture in *London*, to be kept by six Ministers at *Pinner's-Hall*, allowing them 20 s. a piece each Sermon; of whom they chose me to be one. But when I had Preached there but four Sermons, I found the Independents so quarrellsome with what I said, that all the City did ring of their back-bitings and false Accusations: So that had I but preached for Unity and against Division, or unnecessary with-drawing from each other, or against unwarrantable narrowing of Christ's Church, it was cryed abroad, that I preached against the Independents; especially, if I did but say, That Man's Will had a Natural Liberty, though a Moral Thralldom to Vice, and that Men might have Christ and Life, if they were truly willing, though Grace must make them willing; and that Men have power to do better than they do. It was cryed abroad among all the Party, that I Preached up *Arminianism*, and Free-Will, and Man's Power, and O! what an odious Crime was this.

§ 228. *January* 24. 1671. I began a *Friday-Lecture* at Mr. *Turner's* Church in *New-street*, near *Fetter-Lane*, with great Convenience, and God's encouraging Blessing; but I never took a penny of Money for it of any one. And on the Lord's Days I had no Congregation to preach to (but occasionally to any that desire me) being unwilling to set up a Church and become the Pastor of any, or take Maintenance, in this distracted and unsettled way, unless further Changes shall manifest it to be my Duty: Nor did I ever yet give the Sacrament to any one Person, but to my old Flock at *Kidderminster*. I see it offendeth the Conformists, and hath many other Present Inconveniencies, while we have any hope of Restoration and Concord from the Parliament.

§ 229. About this time *Cornet-Castle*, in *Jersey*, was by Lightning strangely torn to pieces, and blown up which was attended with many notable Accidents, an account whereof was published.

230. The Parliament met again in *February*, and voted down the King's Declaration as illegal. And the King promised them that it should not be brought into President. And thereupon they consulted of a Bill for the ease of Non-conformists, or Dissenters, and many of them highly professed their resolution to carry it on: But when they had granted the Tax, they turned it off, and left it undone; destroying our shelter of the King's Declaration, and so leaving us to the Storm of all their severe Laws, which some Country Justices rigorously executed, but the most forbore.

§ 231. On *February* 20. I took my House in *Bloomsbury* in *London*, and removed thither after *Easter* with my Family: God having mercifully given me three years great Peace among quiet Neighbours at *Totteridge*, and much more Health or Ease than I expected, and some opportunity to serve him.

§ 132. The Parliament sat again, and talked as if they would have united us by abatement of some of their Impositions: But when they had voted down the King's Declaration of Toleration as illegal, and he had promised them that it should never be drawn into a Precedent, and that they had granted a large Tax, they frustrated the hopes they had raised in some Credulous Men, and left all as they found it.

§ 133. Many impudent railing, lying Books were published against the Non-conformists about this time: *Sam. Parker* Printed one against Mr. *Marvell*, and therein tells the World, what wicked, intolerable Persons we are to keep up Divisions in the Church about things which we our selves confess to be lawful; and that at *Worcester-House* (before the King, as he was told) we professed that there was nothing in the Liturgy, which we took to be unlawful, but that we pleaded only for tenderness or forbearance towards others.] Whereas, 1. There was no mention of any such thing as *Worcester-House*, or before the King. 2. Our Business before the King at *Worcester-House* was to have the King's Declaration

claration about Ecclesiastical Affairs, read, and both Parties to say what they had against it, and then the King to tell what he would have pass in the draught. And the Lord Chancellor (*Hyde*) had by mistake put something of that, which *Parker* mentioneth in the first Draught, which was privately shewed us by him, and we had told him that he mistook us, we had never said any such thing: We had indeed said, that the Work, which we were called to, was not to tell how much we our selves thought to be Lawful or Unlawful in the Government, Worship, and Ceremonies, but what was the necessary means of uniting all his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, who yet were not of the same Apprehension about each Ceremony among themselves: Whereupon the Lord Chancellor had blotted out that passage which said, [*They were glad to find us approving of the Liturgy, &c.*] and only put in [*of a Liturgy;*] as is yet to be seen in the Declaration Published, and in the first Draught of it, (which I have a Copy of.) And it was after at the *Savoy*, where the Liturgy was treated of; where,

1. We gave in those Exceptions against many things in the Liturgy, which were Printed: And among others, against divers Untruths, [as when divers Weeks after Christ's Nativity-day, *Easter, Whitsunday*, it was to be said in the Collects, that [*On that Day Christ was born, rose, the Holy-Ghost came down, &c.*]
2. We disputed many days against an Imposition of the Liturgy, as Sinful.
3. Being demanded by Bishop *Cousins* (in the Chair) by a Writing, as from some great one, (as he spake) that we should give in an Enumeration of what we took to be flat Sins in the Liturgy, as distinct from meer Inconveniences, I brought in ten Particulars the next Morning, of which my Brethren put out two, meerly for fear of angering them, and the other eight we presented to them, and never had a word of Answer, but an angry rebuke for offering to charge a whole Church with Sin, (as they spake) yet doth this Man tell the World that we professed our selves to take it to be all Lawful.

And what if we had done so? Is the Liturgy all that Nonconformists stick at? Is the Canonical Subscription and Oath of Obedience, and Re-ordination, &c. no more?

And doth not the Nation know that it was only the old Conformity which was then questioned, and that the new was not in being? And that the Act of Uniformity was since made, wherein, besides *Re-ordination*, is the new Declaration, and new Subscription, and since that the new *Oxford Oath*? Such Impudency it was that assaulted, and rendered us odious to the ignorant, contrary to publick notoriety of Fact, yet visible in Print to all the World.

§ 234. Another at that time wrote that I had written, that the *Supreme Tower might be resisted for Religion*: And another, (a Papist, writing for Toleration) that I wrote that *the Authority of any of the Peers might warrant Subjects to take up Arms against the King.*] Things that I never wrote or thought, or any thing like them, but have written very much to the contrary: But it is our Lot to fall into the Hands of such Men, as have banished all Modesty in their Calumnies.

§ 235. About the beginning of *May* in my Walk in the Fields, I met with Dr. *Gunning*, now Bishop of *Chichester*, (with whom I had the contention and fierce Opposition to all the motions of Peace at the *Savoy*,) and at his Invitation went after to his Lodgings, to pursue our begun Discourse: which he vehemently professed that he was sure, that it was not Conscience that kept us from Conformity, but meerly to keep up our Reputation with the People, and we desired alterations for no other ends; and that we lost nothing by our Nonconformity, but were fed as full, and lived as much to the Pleasure of the Flesh in Plenty, as the Conformists did: And let me know what odious thoughts he had of his poor Brethren, upon Grounds so notoriously false, that I had thought few Men that lived in *England* could have been so ignorant of such matters of Fact. But alas, what is there so false and odious which exasperated factious, malicious Minds will not believe and say of others? And what Evidence so notorious which they will not out-face? I told him that he was a stranger to the Men he talked of; that those of my Acquaintance, (whom he confessed to be far more than of his) were generally the most Conscionable Men that

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I could find on Earth: That he might easily know Reputation could not be the thing which made them suffer so much Affliction; because 1. many of them were young men, not pre-engaged in point of Reputation to any side. 2. He knew that we lost, by our Nonconformity, that Worldly Honour, which we were as capable of as he and others: We did not so vilifie the King, Parliament, Lords, Bishops, Knights, and Gentry, who were most against us, as to think it a piece of Worldly Honour to be vilified by them, and called Rogues, and sent to the common Goals among Rogues, and branded to the World, as we are in the *Oxford Act* of Confinement, and banished five Miles from Cities and Corporations: Our Consciences would not allow us to say, that he, and such as he, who were *Clergy-Lords*, and Parliament-Barons did conform out of Pride or Love of Reputation; and which was the liker to a reasonable Conjecture? That he should be moved by Pride who chuseth the way of worldly Wealth and Domination, and Honour, giving Laws to his Brethren, and vilifying them, and trampling on them at his Pleasure, as on a company of contemned, scorned Wretches; or they that chuse the way of this Contempt and Scorn with Poverty and Corporal Distress? Whose honour is it that such Men seek? You account their Followers the refuse of the World as you do them. And if they themselves think better of them, yet they will know that they are mostly of the meaner sort, and that poor Men have little to spare for others; and we are not so sordidly dis-ingenious as not to be sensible that to be beholden to poor Men that want themselves, for our daily Bread, is not the work of Pride, but putteth our *Humility* to it to the utmost. It's foolish Pride, which chuseth the hatred and scorn of the Great Men of the World, instead of Dignities and Honour, and chuseth to suffer Scorn and Imprisonment among poor Men, to whom we must be beholden for a beggerly Sustenance. And as for the *Plenty* and *fullness* which they upbraid us with, it telleth us that there is nothing so immodest and unreasonable which some Mens Malice will not say. Do they not know into what Poverty *London* is brought by the late Fire, and want of Trade? And what Complaints do fill all the Land? And how close-handed almost all Men are that are themselves in want? And Ministers are not so impudent as to turn Beggars without Shame? I had but a few days before had Letters of a worthy Minister, who, with his Wife and six Children, had many Years had seldom other food than brown, Rye Bread and Water, and was then turned out of his House, and had none to go to: And of another that was fain to spin for his Living: And abundance I know that have Families, and nothing, or next to nothing of their own, and live in exceeding want upon the poor Drops of Charity which they stoop to receive from a few mean People. And if there be here and there a rich man that is Charitable, he hath so many to relieve, that each one can have but a small share. Indeed, about a dosen or twenty Ministers about *London*, who stuck to the People in the devouring Plague, or in other times of Distress, and feared no Sufferings, have so many People adhering to them, as keep them from Beggery, or great want; and you judge of all the rest by these, when almost all the rest through *England*, who have not something of their own to live upon, do suffer so much as their Scorners will scarce believe. It is no easie thing to have the Landlord call for Rent, and the Baker, the Brewer, the Butcher, the Taylor, the Draper, the Shoemaker, and many others call for Money, and Wife and Children call for Meat and Drink, and Cloaths, and a Minister to have no Answer for them, but *I have none*. And the Bishop had the less modesty in standing confidently to my Face of his certainty of our *losing nothing by our Non-conformity*, when he himself knew that I was offered a Bishoprick in 1660. and he got not his Bishoprick, (for all his extraordinary way of Merit) till about 1671, or 1672: and I had not a Groat of the Ecclesiastical Maintenance since the King came in; nor, to my best remembrance, ever received more then the four Pound even now mentioned, as a Salary for Preaching these Eleven Years; nor any way for Preaching the Sum of eight Pound in all those Years: Yea, on this occasion, I will not think it vain to say, that all that I remember that ever I received as gifts of Bounty from any whosoever since I was silenced (till after *An. 1672.*) amount not in the whole to 20*l.* besides ten Pound *per Annum* which I received from Serjeant *Fountain* till he died, and when I was in Prison, twenty pieces from Sir *John Bernard*, ten from the Countess of *Exeter*, and five from Alderman *Bard*, and no more, which

just paid the Lawyers, and my Prison Charge (but the expences of removing my Habitation was greater:) And had the Bishop's Family no more than this? In sum, I told the Bishop that he, that cried out so vehemently against *Slavery*, had got the Spirit of a Sectary: and as those that by Prisons and other sufferings were too much exasperated against the Bishops, could hardly think or speak well of them, so his cross Interests had so notoriously spoiled him of his Charity, that he had plainly the same temper with the bitterest of the Sectaries, whom he so much reviled. Our Doctrinal Discourse I overpass.

§ 236. This *May*, a Book was Printed and cried about, describing the horrid Murther of one *Josiah Baxter* in *New-England* by the *Anabaptists*, and how they tore his Flesh, and flead him alive, and persons, and time, and place were named: And when Mr. *Kiffin*, sensible of the Injury to the *Anabaptists*, searcht it out, it proved all a studied Forgery; Printed by a Papist, and the Book Licensed by Dr. *Sam. Parker*, the Arch-bishop's Chaplain, there were no such Persons in being as the Book mentioned, nor any such thing ever done: Mr. *Kiffin* accused Dr. *Parker* to the King and Council: The King made him confess his Fault, and so it ended.

§ 237. In *June* was the second great Fight with the *Dutch*, where again many were killed on both sides; and to this day it is not known which Party had the greater Loss.

§ 238. The Parliament grew into great Jealousies of the prevalency of Popery: There was an Army raised, which lay upon *Black-Heath* encamped, as for Service against the *Dutch*: They said that so many of the Commanders were Papists as made Men fear the design was worse. Men feared not to talk openly that the Papists having no hope of getting the Parliament to set up their Religion by Law, did design to take down Parliaments, and reduce the Government to the *French* Model, and Religion to their State, by a standing Army: These Thoughts put Men into dismal Expectations, and many wish that the Army, at any rate might be disbanded. The Duke of *York* was General: The Parliament made an Act that no man should be in any office of Trust, who would not take the Oaths of Supremacy, and Allegiance, and receive the Sacrament according to Order of the Church of *England*, and renounce Transubstantiation. Many supposed Papists received the Sacrament, and renounced Transubstantiation, and took the Oaths: Some that were known, sold, or laid down their Places: The Duke of *York*, and the new Lord Treasurer, *Clifford*, laid down all: It was said, they did it on supposition that the Act left the King impowered to renew their Commissions when they had laid them down: But the Lord Chancellor told the King that it was not so; and so they were put out by themselves. This settled Men in the full belief that the Duke of *York*, and the Lord *Clifford* were Papists; and the *Londoners* had before a special hatred against the Duke, since the burning of *London*, commonly saying, that divers were taken casting Fire-balls, and brought to his Guards of Soldiers to be secured, and he let them go, and both secured and concealed them.

239. The great Counsellors that were said to do all with the King in all great matters, were the Duke of *York*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Duke of *Lauderdale*, the Lord *Arlington*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord Chancellor (that is, Sr. *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*), and after them the Earl of *Anglesey* (lately Mr. *Annesley*.) Among all these, the Lord Chancellor declared so much Jealousie of Popery, and set himself so openly to secure the Protestant Religion, that it was wondered how he kept in as he did; but whatever were his Principles or Motives, it is certain he did very much plead the Protestant Cause.

§ 240. In *June*, *Mastricht* was taken by the *French*, but with much loss; where the Duke of *Monmouth*, with the *English*, had great Honour for their Valour.

§ 241. In *August*, four of the *Dutch East-India* Ships fell into our Hands, and we had the third great Sea-fight with them, under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, where we again killed each other with equal Loss: But the *Dutch* said they had the Victory now, (and before, and kept days of Thanksgiving for it: Sir *Edward Sprag* was killed, whose death the Papists much lamented, hoping to have got the Sea-power into his Hands. But Prince *Rupert*, (who declared himself openly against Popery, and had got great Interest in the Hearts of

of the Soldiers) complained sharply of the *French* Admiral, as deserting him (to say no worse :) And the success of these Fights was such as hindered the Transportation of the Army against the *Dutch*, and greatly divided the Court-Party, and discouraged the Graudees, and Commanding Papists., &c.

§ 242. In September, I being out of Town, my House was broken by Thieves, who broke open my Study-Doors, Closets, Locks, searcht near 40 Tills and Boxes, and found them all full of nothing but Papers, and mis'd that little Money I had, though very near them: They took only three small pieces of Plate, and medled not (considerably) with any of my Papers, which I would not have lost for many hundred Pounds: Which made me sensible of Divine Protection, and what a Convenience it is to have such a kind of Treasure, as other men have no mind to rob us of, or cannot.

§ 343. The Duke of York was now married to the Duke of *Modena's* Daughter by Proxy, the Earl of *Peterborough* being sent over to that end.

§ 244. The Lady *Clinton* having a Kinswoman (wife to *Edward Wray*, Esq.) who was a Protestant, and her Husband a Papist (thoroughly studied in all their Controversies, and oft provoking his Wife to bring any one to dispute with him) desired me to perform that office of Conference: They differed about the Education of their Children; he had promised her, (as she said) at Marriage, that she should have the Education of them all, and now would not let her have the Education of one, but would make them Papists: I desired that either our Conference might be publick, to avoid mis-reports, or else utterly secret before no one but his Wife, that so we might not seem to strive for the Honour of Victory, nor by dishonour be exasperated, and made less capable of benefit. The latter way was chosen; but the Lady *Clinton*, and Mr. *Goodwin*, the Lady *Worsep's* Chaplain, prevailed to be present by his consent. He began upon the point of Transubstantiation, and in *Veron's* Method would have put me to prove the Words of the Article of the Church of *England*, by express Words of Scripture, without Exposition. I distinguished the two parts of the Controversie, 1. *Whether there be Bread after Consecration?* 2. *Whether there be Christ's Body:* And the first I proved by express Scripture, and I thought gave him enough: And after two or three hours he brake off fairly, but yielding nothing. He after affirmed that a Woman was but a Nurse, and no Governour to her Children, and that if he commanded them to deny Christ, they were bound to obey him; else Families would be Confounded.

§ 245. I had fourteen Years been both a necessary, and voluntary stranger at the Court; but at this time by another's invitation called to attend the Duke of *Lauderdale*, who still professed special kindness to me, and some pious *Scotsmen*, (being under suffering, one absconding, another sequestred and undone) and craving my interposition for them, I went to him, and desired his Pardon and Clemency for them, which he readily granted: And being to reprint my Key for Catholicks, where his Name was in too low a manner in the Epistle (he being then a Prisoner in *Windsoor-Castle*) I told him that to omit it might seem a Neglect, and so to mention him, would be an injurious dishonour, and therefore if he pleased, I would put to it an Epistle Dedicatory, which he consented to, and approved of the Epistle before it was Printed: But being fain to leave out the second part of the Book, and much of the first, that the rest might be licensed, I printed instead of that left out, a new Treatise on the Subject, on which I disputed with Mr. *Wray*, called, *Full and easie Satisfaction, which is the true Religion*: Wherein Popery is brought to sence of the meanest Wit. But some were offended that I prefixed the Duke's Name; as if it tended to honour him at that time when he was decried as a chief Counsellour for absolute Monarchy, for the War with the *Dutch*, and a standing Army; and he was threatened as soon as the Parliament sat; but went into *Scotland* as Commissioner, and called a Parliament there; for my part I never lookt for a Farthing Profit, by any great Man, nor to my remembrance ever received the worth of a farthing from any of them: But I would not in Pride deny any Man his due honour, nor be so uncharitable as to refuse to make use of any Man's favour, for Sufferers in their distress. The matters of their State Counsels are above my reach.

§ 246. In *October* the Lord Clifford (called the chief of the secret Council) having the Summer before been at *Tunbridge Water*, fell into several Distempers, and shortly after died: So near is the fall of the greatest to his Rising, which was a great blow to his Party.

§ 247. Mr. *Falkener*, Minister of *Lin*, a sober, learned Man, wrote a book for Conformity, which that Party greatly boasted of as unanswerable: Indeed he speaketh plausibly to many of the Nonconformists smallest Exceptions, against some particular words in the Liturgy, and some Ceremonies; but as to the great Matters, the Declaration, and the *Oxford Oath*, and Subscription, and Reordination, and the Image of the Cross, as a Symbol of Christianity, and dedicating sign in Baptism, the Ministers denying Baptism to those that scruple the Cross, or to the Children of those that dare not forbear Covenanting for their own Children in Baptism, and lay it all on Godfathers, the rejecting those from the Lord's Supper, that dare not take it kneeling, the Thanksgiving at Burials for the happiness of notorious, impenitent, wicked Men, and other such like, his Defence is so poor and slight, as is fit to satisfy no Judicious Man, that is not prepared for Error by Interest and Will. But, *pro captu Lectoris*, &c.

§ 248. On the 20th. of *October* the Parliament met again, and suddenly voted that the King should be sent to about the Duke of *York's* Marriage with an *Italian* Papist (a-kin to the Pope) and to desire that it might be stopt (he being not yet come over.) And as soon as they had done that, the King, by the Chancellour, prorogued them till *Monday* following, because it is not usual for a Parliament to grant Money twice in one Session.

§ 249. On *Monday*, when they met, the King desired speedy Aid of Money against the *Dutch*, and the Lord Chancellour set forth the Reasons, and the *Dutch* unreasonableness. But the Parliament still stuck to their former resentment of the Duke of *York's* Marriage, and renewed their Message to the King against it; who answered them, that it was debated at the open Council, and resolved that it was too late to stop it.

§ 250. Some one laid in the Parliament-House (they say near the Speaker's Chair) a wooden Shooe, such as the Peasants wear in *France*, with some Beads, and on one end drawn the Arms of *France*, and on the other the Arms of *England*, and written between, *Utrum horum maris accipie*. And *Henry Stubbs* (now Physician, once under Library-Keeper in *Oxford*, who was accounted an Infidel, and wrote against Monarchy for *Sir Henry Vane*, and against me, perswading the Army, and Rump to question me for my Life, and after was drawn by the Court to write against the *Dutch*) now Printed a Half-Sheet called, *The Paris Gazette*, containing many Instances, where Marriage by Proxy had been broken; for which he was sent to the Tower.

§ 251. On *Friday*, *Oct.* 31. The Parliament went so high as to pass a Vote that no more Money should be given till the eighteen Months of the last Tax were expired, unless the *Dutch* proved obstinate, and unless we were secured against the danger of Popery, and Popish Counsellours, and their Grievances were redressed.

252. The Parliament Voted to ask of his Majesty a day of Humiliation, because of the Growth of Popery, and intended solemnly to keep the Powder-Plot, and appointed Dr. *Stillingfleet* to Preach to them (who is most engaged by writing against Popery:) but on the day before, being *Nov.* 4. the King (to their great discontent) prorogued the Parliament to *Jan.* 7.

§ 253. The seventh of *January* the Parliament met again, and voted that their first work should be to prevent Popery, redress Grievances, and be secured against the Instruments, or Counsellours of them. And they shortly after voted the Dukes of *Buckingham*, and *Lauderdale* unfit for trust about the King, and desired their Removal: But when they came to the Lord *Arlington*, and would have accordingly Characterized him without an Impeachment, it was carried against that Attempt: And because the Members who favoured the Nonconformists (for considerable Reasons) were against the rest, and helped off the Lord *Arlington*, the rest were greatly exasperated against him, and reported that they did it because he had furthered the Nonconformists Licenses for tolerated Preaching.

§ 254. Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* (sometimes one of *Oliver's* Privy-Council) having been a great Favourite of the King (for great Service for him) and made Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and Lord Chancellor, and great in the secretest Councils, at last openly set against others on the account of Religion, earnestly declaiming against Popery, and becoming the Head of the Party that were zealous for the Protestant Cause, and awakened the Nation greatly by his Activity: And being quickly put out of his place of Chancellourship, he by his bold and skillful way of speaking, so moved the House of Lords, that they began to speak higher against the danger of Popery than the Commons, and to pass several Votes accordingly. And the Earl of *Shaftsbury* spake so plainly of the Duke of *York*, as much offended, and it was supposed would not long be born. The Earl of *Clare*, the Lord *Hollis*, the Lord *Hallifax*, and others also spake very freely: And among the Bishops only (that I heard of) Sir *Herbert Crofts* (who had sometimes been a Papist) the Bishop of *Hereford*. And now among Lords and Commons, and Citizens, and Clergy, the talk went uncontrolled that the Duke of *York* was certainly a Papist, and that the Army lately raised, and encamped at *Black-heath*, was designed to do their Work, who at once would take down Parliaments and set up Popery. And Sir ----- *Bucknall* told them in the House of such Words that he had overheard of the late Lord Treasurer *Clifford*, to the Lord *Arundell*, as seemed to increase their Satisfaction of the Truth of all; but common observation was the fullest satisfaction. In a word, the offence and boldness of both Houses grew so high, as easily shewed men how the former War began, and silenced many that said it was raised by Nonconformists, and Presbyterians.

§ 255. The third of *February* was a publick Fast (against Popery) the first (as I remember) that (besides the Anniversary Fasts) had ever been since this Parliament sate (which hath now sate longer than that called the long Parliament did before the major part were cast out by *Cromwell* :) But the Preachers, Dr. *Cradock*, and Dr. *Whitcomb*, meddled but little with that Business, and did not please them as Dr. *Stillingsfleet* had done, who greatly animated them, and all the Nation against Popery by his open and diligent endeavours for the Protestant Cause.

§ 256. During this Session the Earl of *Orery* desired me to draw him up in brief, the Terms and Means, which I thought would satisfy the Non-conformists so far as to unite us all against Popery; professing that he met with many Great Men that were much for it, and particularly the New Lord Treasurer, Sir *Thomas Osborn*, and Dr. *Morley*, Bishop of *Winchester*, who vehemently profess'd his desires of it: And Dr. *Fullwood*, and divers others had been with me to the like purpose, testifying the said Bishop's resolution herein. I wisht them all to tell him from me, that he had done so much to the contrary, and never any thing this way since his Professions of that sort, that till his real Endeavours convinced Men, it would not be believed that he was serious. But when I had given the Earl of *Orery* my Papers, he returned them me with Bishop *Morley's* Strictures, or Animadversions (as by his Words and the Hand I had reason to be confident) by which he fully made me see that all his Professions for *Abanement*, and *Concord*, were deceitful Snares, and that he intended no such thing at all. And because I have inserted before so much of such transactions, I will here annex my Propositions, with his Strictures, and my Reply.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Orery.

My Lord,

I Have here drawn up those Terms on which I think Ministers may be restored to the Churches Service, and much union and quietness be procured: But I must tell you, 1. That upon second Thoughts I forbore to distribute them, as I intimated to you, into several Ranks; but only offer what may tend to a Concord of the most, though not of every man. 2. That I have done this only on
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the suppositions that we were fain to go upon in our Consultation with Dr. Wilkins, viz. That no change in the Frame of Church Government will be consented to : Otherwise I should have done as we did in 1660, offered you Arch-bishop *Usher's* Reduction of the Government to the primitive State of Episcopacy ; and have only desired that the Lay-Chancellours have not the Power of the Keys, and that, if not in every Parish, at least in every Rural Deanry, or Market-Town, with the adjacent Villages, the Ministers might have the Pastoral power of the Keys so far as is necessary to guide their own Administrations, and not one Bishop, or Lay-Chancellor's Court to have more to do than Multitudes can well do, and thereby cause almost all true Discipline to be omitted. 3. I have forbore to enumerate the Particulars, which we cannot subscribe, or swear to, or practise, because they are many, and I fear the naming of them, will be displeasing to others, as seeming to accuse them, while we do but say, what a Sin such Conformity would be in our selves : But if it should be useful, and desired, I am ready to do it. But I now only say, that the matters are far from being things doubtful, or indifferent, or little Sins in our Apprehensions ; of which we are ready to render a Reason. But I think that this bare Proposal of the Remedies, is the best, and shortest, and least offensive way : In which I crave your Observation of these two Particulars. 1. That it is the matter granted, if it be even in *our own Words*, that will best do the Cure : For while other men word it, that know not our Scruples or Reasons, they miss our Sence usually, and make it ineffectual. 2. That the Reason why I crave that Ministers may have impunity, who use the greatest part of the Liturgy for the Day ; is, 1. To shorten the Accommodation, that we may not be put to delay our Concord till the Liturgy be altered, to the Satisfaction of Dissenters ; which we have cause to think, will not be done at all. Now this will silently and quietly heal us ; and if a Man omit some one Collect or Sentence without debate or noise, it will not be noted, nor be a matter of offence. 2. And he is unworthy to be a Minister that is not to be trusted so much, as with the using or not using of a few Sentences, or words in all his Ministration. 3. And almost every Minister that I hear all the Year, of the most Conformable, do every day omit some part or other, and yet are not Silenc'd, nor taken notice of as offenders at all : And may not, as much for our Concord be granted to Dissenters in the present case. He that thinks that these Concessions will be more injurious to the Church, and the Souls of Men, than our Uncharitableness and Divisions have been these Eleven Years, and are yet like to be, is not qualified to be at all an Healer.

In Conclusion, I must again intreat you that this Offer may be taken but as the Answer of your desire, for your private use, and that no Copy be given of it, nor the Author made known, unless we have encouragement from our Governours to consult about such a work ; and if so, that more than I may be consulted, and nothing laid on me alone. I am confident, were but Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Tillotson*, or any such moderate Men appointed to consult with two or three of us, on the safe and needful terms of Concord, we should agree in a Week's time, supposing them vacant for the Business.

I Rest,

Your humble Servant,

Decem. 15. 1673.

Richard Baxter.

The means of uniting the Protestant Ministers in *England*, and healing our lamentable Divisions ; supposing Church-Government may not be altered.

1. About Engagements. Let no other Covenant, Promise, Oath, Declaration, or subscription be necessary to Ministers for Ordination, Institution, Induction, Ministration, or Possession of their maintenance, (nor to Scholars at the Universities, except the ancient University Oath) or to School-masters, besides the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the subscribing the Doctrine and Sacraments of the Church of *England*, as expressed in the thirty nine Articles;

Articles, accordingly to the 13th of Queen Elizabeth, and the common Subscription, approving the Doctrine of the Homilies, and this following Declaration against Rebellion, and Sedition.

I, *A. B.* do hold that it is not Lawful for His Majesty's Subjects upon any Pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King, his Person, or Authority, or against any Authorized by his Legal Commission: And that there lyeth no Obligation on me, or any other of his Subjects, from the Oath commonly called, the solemn League and Covenant, to endeavour any Change of the present Government of these his Majesty's Kingdoms; nor to endeavour any Reformation of Church or State, by Rebellion, Sedition, or any other unlawful means.

II. Because the Churches are all supposed to have Incumbents, and the present Non-conformists being devoted to the sacred Ministry, do hold it high Sacrilege to alienate themselves therefrom (to pass by their outward wants;) till by Presentations to vacant Churches they are better provided, let them have liberty to be School-masters, or assistants to Incumbents, or to Preach Lectures in their Churches, so it be by their Consent, whether they be Lectures already endowed with some Maintenance, or such as the People are willing to maintain: And let not the Incumbents be discouraged by the Bishops from receiving them: And let such places, as, being convenient, are already possessed by them for God's Publick Worship be continued to that use, as Chappels, till they can be thus received into Benefices or Lectures.

III. Because the Piety of Families must keep up very much of the Interest of Religion in the World, and Multitudes (especially in the Country) that cannot read, can do little or nothing of it in their own Families, and may be greatly helped by joining with their more understanding, pious Neighbours; let it not be forbidden to any who attend the publick Assemblies at any other hours, to join with their Neighbours (being of the same Parish) who read the Holy Scriptures, and Licensed pious Books, and repeat the publick Sermons, and Pray, and Praise God by singing Psalms, and refuse not the Inspection of their lawful Pastors herein: Nor let it not be unlawful for any stablished Minister to receive his People in such Work, or for the Catechising, and personal instructing of such as shall desire it.

IV. Concerning the Liturgy and publick Communion. 1. Let no Man be punished for omitting the use of the Liturgy, if in the Congregation where he is incumbent, the greatest part of it appointed for that time be sometimes (as once a quarter, or half a Year, as the Canon requireth) used by himself, and every Lord's Day ordinarily (unless when sickness or other Necessity hindreth) either by himself, or by his Curate or Assistant: And let none be forced to read the *Apocrypha* publicly for Lessons.

2. Let no meer Lecturer be forced to read the the Liturgy himself, or to procure another to read it, seeing it is the Incumbent's Charge, and it is supposed it will be done. Or if this may not be granted, let the Lecturer be only obliged once half a Year, (which is the time limited in the Canon) to read the Greatest part of it appointed for that time.

3. Let not Christian Parents be forbidden to dedicate their Children publicly to God, by entering them into the Christian Covenant, professing, and undertaking on their Behalf, that which belongeth to Parents in that Case. And let not the Parents be forced to get such Godfathers, and Godmothers, as are Atheists, Infidels, Hereticks, or grossly ignorant what Baptism and Christianity is, or as, for their wicked Lives are themselves justly kept from the Communion, nor such as they know have no intention to do what they are to undertake. And if any Christian Parent can get no better to undertake that Office (many now scrupling it, and none can be forced to it,) let not his Child be denied Baptism, if he be ready to do the Office of a Parent himself.

4. Seeing some Ministers think that the use of the transient Image of the Cross, as a Sacramental, or dedicating Sign, In the Baptifinal Covenant, and a
Symbol

Symbol of the Christian Profession, is a breach of the second Commandment: Let not such be forced to use it; nor to refuse to baptize the Children of such Persons without it, who are of the same Mind.

5. Let no Minister be forced against his Judgment to baptize any Child, both whose Parents avoid, or are justly denied the Communion of the Church; unless some Person who communiceth with the Church do take the Child as his own, and undertake to Educate it according to the Christian Covenant.

6. Let none be forced to receive the Sacrament, who through Infidelity, Heresie, or Prophaneness, is unwilling, till the hinderance be removed: Nor any who by Conscience, or fear of their unfitness, are like to be driven by force receiving it, into distraction or desperation.

7. Let no Minister be forced to deliver the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, to any who is unbaptized; or who being baptized in Infancy, did never yet personally to the Church, or Minister, own his Baptismal Covenant by an understanding Profession of the Christian Faith, and promise of Obedience to God the Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost; and who also will not yet make such a profession and promise to the Church, or Minister, or else bring a valid Certificate that he hath formerly done it to the Bishop, or some approved Pastor, under whom he lived: Nor to any, who, upon accusation, fame, or just suspicion of Atheism, Infidelity, Heresie, intolerable Ignorance, or gross, and heinous Sin, doth refuse to come speak with the Minister for his satisfaction, and his Justification, or better Information; or who by Proof, or Confession is found guilty of any of the aforesaid scandalous Evils, until he have professed serious Repentance to the said Minister, if the crime be notorious; and if he refuse, till he have moreover amended his former wicked Life.

8. Let no Minister be forced to publish an Excommunication, or Absolution of any against his Conscience, upon the decree or Sentence of a Lay-Chancellor, or any other: But let them, that desire it, cause such to do it whose Conscience is not against it.

9. When there are Presentments or Appeals to the Chancellor's Court, or Bishop's, let not sickly, weak Ministers, or those whose Parishes cannot be so long neglected, be put to travel long Journeys, or neglect their Studies, and Ministerial Work, by oft or long Attendances, in bringing Witnesses against those to whom they only refused on the foresaid Reasons to deliver the Sacrament.

10. Seeing Ministers who live among them, are supposed to be best acquainted with the Penitence, or impenitence of their People, let it be left to their Prudence, whom they will absolve in Sicknes, and privately give the Sacrament to, and let the Sick chuse such Confessors, as they think best for themselves: And let those few words at Burial which import the Justification, and Salvation of the Deceased, be left to the Minister's Discretion, who hath known the Person's Life and Death.

11. Let no Minister be forced to deny Christian Communion to those Persons otherwise found and Godly, who think it unlawful to kneel in taking the Sacramental Bread and Wine, though it may be upon causeless Scruples.

12. Let Ministers have leave to open the meaning of the *Catechism*, and not only to hear the Words themselves (And it is much to be wished that the *Catechism* were amended.) And let him have leave at Baptism and the Eucharist to interpose some few quickning words of Exhortation, lest form alone do cast them into a customary dullness.

13. Let the use of the Surplice be left indifferent in the Parish-Churches, or at least if the Curate frequently use it, let it suffice.

14. If any live under a Minister that is very ignorant, or scandalous, or very unsuitable to the People, or to his Work, let them not be punished for going often to hear and Communicate where they can better profit, in any Neighbour Church of the same Diocese: So be it, they pay the Incumbent his Dues.

V. Let not those who are ordained by Presbyters be put to renounce their Ordination, or be re-ordained; but only upon proof of their fitness for the Ministry, receive by word, or a written Instrument, a *Legal Authority* to exercise their Ministry in any Congregation in his Majesty's Dominions, where they shall be Lawfully called.

VI. We

VI. We desire that no Excommunicate Person, as such, may be imprisoned, and ruined in his Estate, but only such whose Crimes, in themselves considered, deserve it.

VII. As we desire all this Liberty to our selves, so it is our Judgment and Desire, that Christian Lenity be used to all truly Conscientious Dissenters, and also the Tolerable may be Tolerated, under Laws of Peace and Safety: But who shall be judged Tolerable, and what shall be the Laws or Terms of their Toleration, we presume not uncalled to make our selves Counsellours or Judges.

But for avoiding the inconveniences, which the foresaid Concessions to *our selves* may seem to threaten to the Church, we hope it will suffice, if there be a Law made for the Regulation of the Bishops, the Ministers and the Flocks: That People or Ministers uncivilly revile not one another: That no Licens'd Ministers shall Preach against any of the Doctrine of the Church; nor against Episcopacy, Liturgy, or the Established Ceremonies: That all Magistrates be excepted from all open personal Rebukes, or disgraceful Censures, or Excommunications, because (*Ceteris Paribus*) positive Instituted Orders give place to Natural morals, such as the Fifth Commandment containeth: That all negligent or scandalous Ministers be Punished according to the Measure of their Fault: And the omission of Preaching, Liturgy or Sacraments, shall be Punish'd (not presently with forbidding them to do any thing, because they do not enough, but) with the Sequestration of their Church-maintenance, *viz.* That they lose a month's Profit of their Benefice for a month's Omission, and so on proportionably. And that those whose Insufficiency, Heresy or Crimes, are such as that their Ministry doth more hurt than good, be totally cast out: And that the Bishops may not Silence, Suspend, Deprive or Excommunicate any Minister Arbitrarily, but by a known Law, and in case of Injustice, we may have sufficient remedy by Appeals. And that no former Law or Canon, which is contrary to any of this, be therein in force.

1. If Sacraments were but left free to be administred, and received by *none but Volunteers*. 2. And Liberty granted the Ministers to Preach in *those Churches where the Common-Prayer is read by others*, I think it would take in all, or almost all the Independents also. (3. Supposing the Door left open, according to the first Article) These three would unite us almost all. But I have mentioned the rest, because the first of these will not be granted.

The Strictures returned upon these Proposals, with the Answers.

My Lord,

I Return you this Paper with an Answer to the Strictures; not with any hopes of Agreement with the Author: For whoever he is, I have no hope of Peace or Healing by him; or by his consent, according to the Principles and Rigour here expressed.

1. Prop. [*Supposing the Church-Government may not be altered.*] Strict. (a) [*All the particulars following do directly, or indirectly, either overthrow or undermine the Church Government.*

Ans. If by [the Church Government] be meant (as the Propounder did mean) the Constitution containing the Diocesan frame, with Deans, Arch-Deacons, Lay-Chancellours, as Governing by Excommunication and Absolution, there is nothing in these Proposals incompetent with that Frame, nor motioning any alteration of it. (Tho there is that in it, which our Judgments take to be very great sin: For we can quietly live under a Government sinful, while we are not put to sin by our consenting to the sin of others.) But if by [*the Government*] be meant the *whole Exercise* of their Government, according to the Act of Uniformity and the Canons, we confess that every abatement desired by us, is against it: And if we could do all requir'd by the Governours, we were full Conformists, and needed none of this.

P p p p

But

But this Prefatory Prognostick tells us what to expect: For whoever intendeth our Solemnity and suffering, will foretel it by his Accusations; And if a Cross be our intended Lot, no wonder if [*Overthrowers and Underminers of the Government*] be the Title to be written on it.

1. Prop. [*And the Subscribing the Doctrine and Sacraments, &c.*]

Strict. (b) [*So they may not be required to Subscribe either to the Government or Liturgy- or Rites and Ceremonies of our Church.*]

Ans^r. 1. If there were nothing at all in the Diocesan frame in *England*, Lay-Chancellours, Spiritual Government, nor any other part of the Government, and Word in the Liturgy, or any Ceremony which we do not, nor dare not approve and Justify by a Subscription; what need we any of this ado, any more than any Bishops or Conformists; seeing we were Conformable already.

2. We are willing to Swear, Subscribe, and Covenant, Allegiance to the King, who is a Constitutive Essential Part of the Kingdom. But we are not willing accordingly to Swear, Subscribe, or Covenant to every petty Officer in the Kingdom, nor to approve of every Law, Custom or Exercise of Government in it; tho we would live peaceably under what we approve not. And if a Law were made that he shall be Banished as an *Overthrower*, or *Underminer of the Government*, who would not so Covenant or Subscribe, Houses and Lands would be cheaper than they are, and the King have fewer Subjects than he hath: For I am not acquainted with one Conscionable Man, that I think would Subscribe it. And why should all the King's Subjects be bound more strictly to the *Human Part of Church Government*, than of State or Civil Government, and to approve of Lay-Chancellours than of Civil Officers? Or of the matter of *Canons*, than of Civil and Common and Statute Laws?

3. If it be a Crime to know, it is a Crime to Judge, or to use our Reason and Observation. If it be not, it is no Crime for us to know that Clergy-Pride, imposing a multitude of things small and doubtful, on the Churches as the Conditions of Ministry and Communion, and forcing Magistrates, Ministers and People to consent to many unnecessary things in their Humane part of Government; Liturgies and Ceremonies hath been so great an Engin of Schism and Blood and Confusions in the *Roman Church*, as assureth us that it is no desirable thing, that by us any thing like it should be consented to.

4. And it is no Crime in us to be sure, that if Subscribing to all the present Church-Government, Liturgy and Ceremonies, be the thing that shall be necessary to our Ministry, and Union and Communion, our present Dissentions and Divisions will not be healed, unless by Killing or Banishing the Dissenters, and as *Tertullian* speaketh, *Making solitude, and calling it Peace.*

I. Prop. [*His Majesty's*] Subjects---[*Legal*] Commission--- any other [*of his Subjects*].---

Stic. (c) [*Deleatur.*]

Ans^r. 1. We did not think that it had been your meaning that we must make our selves Judges of the Case, not only of all his *Majesty's Subjects*, but of all others in the World. If the Judges will give it us under their Hands, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, for the Subjects of any Prince on Earth to take Arms against any King of *England*, or any Commissioned by him; or that it is not possible for any War against us in any Age, on any pretence whatever, to be Lawful; or else that they are sure that all the Kingdoms on Earth are so Constituted, as that no where any Subjects may on any pretence take Arms against their Kings, we shall accordingly submit to their Judgment. But seeing Papists and Protestants, Lawyers and Divines, even Monarchical and Conformable say the contrary, it were not modesty in us that are ignorant of Matters of Law, to say that they are all mistaken, till we are instructed to know it to be so. For our parts we must profess our selves not acquainted with the Constitution of every Kingdom in the World.

2. If [*Legal*] must be obliterated, we shall our selves quietly submit to the Exercise accordingly; and suffer from any one that saith, he is Commissioned to hurt us, if it be required of us: But we are not skill'd in Law, and therefore cannot say, that all others are bound to do the like. To deal plainly, seeing [*Legal*] must be oblite-

obliterated, we understand not what the word [*Commission*] meaneth : Whether it must have the King's *Broad-seal*, or the *Lesser-seal*, or his *Name* only : Whether the Commission and Seal must be *shewed* to those that are not to resist ; or proved to be Currant, and how ? But that which causeth us to forbear subscribing, is, 1. We have taken the Oath of Allegiance, and think that the King's Subjects are bound to defend his Life, Crown and Dignity ; And we fear lest by this the Lord Chancellor (if not others) may have power at his Pleasure to *Depose the King*, that is, to Seal Commissions to Confederates to take Possession of all his Navy, Forts, Garrisons, Arms, if not his House and Person, and no man must resist them. 2. We are not certain that a Commission can Repeal all that Law of Nature, who obligeth a Man to preserve the Life of his Parents or Children, or Neighbour. We have not indeed any reason to fear that our King should grant such a Commission : But who can deny but that it's possible for some King or other to do it ? And seeing we know not when a Commission is counterfeit, if two or three men come to my House, and say they have a Commission to Kill my Father, Mother, Wife and Children and my self (and shew it) ; or if they Assault me and my Company on the High-way, and shew a Commission to take our Purfes and Kill us, we are not sure that God will excuse us from the Duty of defending the Lives of our Parents, Children and Friends : Or if half a dozen should come to the Parliament, and shew a Commission presently to kill them all, or Burn the City, and Kill all the Citizens, or Kingdom, we are not wise enough to know that neither Parliament, City, nor Kingdom, may resist them. And we find Parliaments so conceited that they have *Propriety in Life and Goods*, and that none may at pleasure take them away, and lay Taxes without their consent ; and that we fear if we should plainly say, that whatever Taxes are laid, or Estates or Goods or Persons seiz'd on, or Decrees of Judges rejected by such Execution, it were unlawful for the Sheriff, or any others to resist, they would trouble us for so saying. And if an Admiral, General, or Lieutenant should be made by Act of Parliament, *Durante Vita*, and Authorized to resist any that would dispossess him, we are not so Wise as to know whether he may not resist one to whom the Chancellour Sealeth a Commission to dispossess him : And though we are confident that the Person of the King is inviolable, yet if King *John* did deliver up his Kingdom to the Pope, we are not sure that the Kingdom might not have resisted any of the Pope's, (or any Foreign Prince's) Agents, if they had been Commissioned by the King to seize upon the Kingdom : Or that no Subjects of any Foreign Prince may be resisted, if they should come against us, by such a Commission. Had we the Judgment of the Judges in this Case, we should submit as far as any reason could require us. But tho we justify not *Barclay*, *Grotius*, *Bishop Bilson* and others, of the contrary mind, we must confess our selves not wise enough to Condemn them.

1. Prop. [*Nor by any other [unlawful] means* (to endeavour Reformation).

Stric. (d) [*Deleatur [Unlawful].*]

Ans. 1. Here we may see how many minds the Conformists are of ; or how unjustly all that I have debated the Case of Subscription with do affirm, That by [*not endeavouring*] any Alteration, is meant only *not endeavouring by unlawful meanst* which is here contradicted by a *Deleatur [unlawful].*

2. I crave an Answer to these Questions.

1. Can you certainly say, That the Church-Government is so purely Divine and Perfect, as that no Reformation is either *necessary* or lawful ? Is all the Diocesan Frame such, and the Lay-Chancellors Power of the Keys also ?

2. If there be need of any Reformation, is it not a Covenant against Repentance and Obedience to God, to covenant never to endeavour it at all ?

3. What if the King should by Commission require some Alterations, or command us to endeavour it, are you sure that we are all bound to disobey him ?

4. What if a Parliament-man make a Speech, or pass a Vote for it, are you sure that he sinneth ?

5. Are you sure that the King may not lawfully endeavour any Reformation ? Or was his Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs a sin ?

6. What if any humbly petition the King and Parliament for any such Reformation (as that Laymen may not have the Power of the Keys over a whole Diocese, and all the Parochial Pastors be denied it) ; is it certainly a sin ?

7. If a man Vow (though sinfully) to do a thing which he may lawfully do, if he had not vowed it, are you sure it is a sin (and not Duty) to keep that Vow in *Materia Licita* (which he thinketh *Necessaria*)? I put the Question as *de futuro*, if I and Millions should make such a Vow (*culpably*, without and against the Will of my Superiours) for the time to come, are you sure that it bindeth no man of them all? I believe, that no private arbitrary Vow can forestall my due Obedience to my Governours: But *antecedent Duty* so made by God (as *Reforming by lawful means of Endeavour*), it is supposed they do not forbid: For every Member of the Church is in his place obliged to promote the Common Good by lawful means: as they might forbid us all to exhort or admonish any sinner, or to pray, or preach, or dispute against sin, as well as to petition against it. 2. And 'tis supposed that every Bishop, or Parliament-man, or Fuler, is not forbidden all such lawful Endeavours; and so that a Prohibition rendereth it not (*to them at least*) unlawful. For I speak of no other Case.

But how sad a Case is that Nation in, where the *Clergy* would have all men take them for so infallible and perfect, without the smallest Fault or Errour in their Government, as that neither Parliament-man, Clergy-man, nor any one of the People, may by *lawful means* endeavour the least Reformation of them: when even the Roman Bishop of Gloucester, *Godfrey Goodman*, writeth so sharply against the Lay-Chancellor's Power of the Keys?

2. Prop. The *Nonconformists* hold it high Sacrilege [*to alienate themselves.*]

Strict. (e) But what if they be suspended, or silenced by Authority?

Ans. 1. When it is by true Authority, doing it either justly, or else unjustly, in case their preaching be unnecessary, or less necessary than Obedience to the unjust prohibition, we will surcease, and take it as a sickness or disablement. But if it be done by *Usurpers*, like Papal Prelates, or by our Governours unlawfully, in case that our preaching remain more necessary to the Publick Good, than obedient forbearance; we will exercise our Ministry till Death, Prison, or other Force disable us. If you ask, *Who shall be Judge?* I answer, 1. The Magistrate, by publick Decision, in Order to his own Execution, and if he do it unjustly, God is the Avenger. 2. And the Minister by a private Rational Judgment of Discretion, discerning Duty from Sin; and if he were, God and Man, will punish him; if not, God will reward him.

2. I also ask, Were not *Constantius* and *Valens* (tho Erroneous) Lawful Princes? And did not the holy Bishops of the *East*, refuse to surcease their Ministration when they prohibited them? And do not Papists, and other Protestants, as well as Bp. *Bilson* and *Andrews*, agree, That we must do the like upon such unjust Prohibitions? And hath our Diocesan more power to silence us than the King! Or were we Consecrated to the Ministry in our Ordination, on that Condition, to preach till forbidden unjustly? And did not the Apostles and all Pastors, for 300 Years, Exercise their Ministry against the Wills of Lawful Magistrates (tho Heathens.)

2. Prop. [To preach Lectures with the Incumbent's Consent.]

Strict. (f) [And with the Allowance of the Bishop.]

Ans. And that is, Let King and Parliament by Law allow us to preach Christ's Gospel, if the Bishop will allow us so to do; and let the Law leave it to his power to forbid us: And what Good will Laws then do us for our Ministry, when these Eleven Years have already told us what we must trust to from the Bishops (some at least.) Provide such supply for the Subjects Souls, as their Numbers and Necessities require, that the meaning may not be [Let men be saved, if the Bishop consent], and for my part, I'll joyfully be silent. But I will not so far deny my Sense and Reason (and the Sense of the Countrey also) as to believe this is done, if another will but confidently say it's done, or say that we do more harm than good; no more than I will believe there are no *Englishmen* in England.

2. Prop. Let not the Incumbent be discouraged by the Bishop from receiving them-----]

Strict. (g) So they will conform.]

Ans. So they will conform as far as aforesaid, or as in the Proposals: But otherwise, if it be present, full Conformity, that must still be necessary, what are we speaking for? This was written in order to our Concord, by the means of some Alterations or Abatements of Conformity, because it was told abroad that some Bishops

were

were willing of such a thing: And is it meant that *if we Conform*, they will abate us some Conformity.

3. Prop. Let it be forbidden, &c. [about joyning in Family Worship--]

Strict. (b) [That is, let Conventicles be allowed in all places.]

Ans. Yes, if needful and orderly Worshipping God, and helping each other towards Heaven be Conventicling; the Heathens so called the Christian Assemblies. This Stricture more mortifyeth our hopes of healing, than any of the rest: For we see here that the Silencing and Imprisoning, and Undoing of the Ministers, will not satisfy; the People also must have their Cross and *Conventicles* must be Written on it. One would think the Limitations here put should have satisfied any man that is for Faith, Hope and Charity. 1. We moved it for none but those that attend the Publick Assemblies. 2. And so it be not at the Hours of Publick Worship. 3. And but for Neighbours of the same Parish (because many cannot Read, nor remember what they have Read, nor help their own Families, nor understand themselves the Christian Faith.) 4. We desired this Liberty in no Exercises, but reading the Scriptures, or Licens'd Pious Books, and repeating the Publick Sermons of their Pastors, and Praying and Singing Psalms. 5. We motioned this much for none but those that herein refuse not the Inspection of their Lawful Pastors, to prevent all ill Effects. 6. And for the Minister himself to repeat his Sermon, or Catechize, or Instruct his People that will come to him. And is this the *intolerable Evil*, worthy to be avoided at the rate of all our Calamities? Are all our Divisions better than the enduring of this? If any Limitations necessary had been omitted, I might have expected to have found them named, which I do not. But, 1. No Man's denial can make us ignorant of it, that too great a Part of the People in most places know not what Baptism, Christianity, or the Catechism are; and many hundred thousands cannot Read. 2. And that few Ministers so personally instruct them as their need requireth (nor can do for so many): or by their Instruction they have not cured them. 3. That to go to their Neighbours on the Lord's Day, to hear again the Sermon, which they had forgotten, and to Praise God, and hear the Scripture, or a good Book that is *Licens'd*, read, hath done great good to many Souls. 4. That otherwise such Ignorant Persons as we speak of, except at Church-time, cannot spend the Lord's Day to any Edification of themselves or Families. 5. Men are not hinder'd from Feasting, Drinking, Playing together frequently, and in greater Numbers. Why then (by Bishops) from reading the Scripture, or a *Licens'd* Book or Sermon? 6. That God hath Commanded *Provoke one another to Love and to good works: And exhort one another daily, while it is called to day, lest any be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin*; Heb. 10. 24. and 3. 13. And *Cornelius* had his Friends with him in his House for God's Services, *Acts* 10. and *Acts* 12. 12. *In Mary's House many were gathered together praying.* And we find not that even the Jews were ever forbidden it by the Pharisees themselves: And he that seeth his Brother have (bodily) need, and shutteth up the Bowels of his Compassion from him, how dwelleth the Love of God in him? And the need of Souls is more common, and to be Compassionated. Rules may *Regulate Charity* in both cases; but may forbid it, or the necessary Exercises of it in neither. He shall Perish as guilty of Murder that lets the Poor Die for want of his Relief, tho he be forbidden to relieve them, unless when the hurt would be greater than the good. Love and Mercy are too great duties for a Bishop to null or dispense with: We put no private Man on Ministerial Actions, but in his own place to shew mercy to Souls. To say, that on this pretence *Schismatical Meetings will be held*, is no more to the people than to say, that all Errours and Wickedness may be kept up by Pretences of *Reason, Truth, Piety, Scripture, Honesty, &c.* But we must not therefore say, Away with Reason, Truth, &c. But I hope God's Servants will Die rather than desert their Master's Work.

4. Prop. 1. [The greatest part of it]---[once a Quarter]---(of Reading the Liturgy by Lectures.)

Strict. (i) [Why not all as well as the greatest part? Why not always as well as once a Quarter?]

Ans. 1. I know that here and there a word may be scrupled (as the reading of *Bell* and the *Dragon*, or such like) which silently pass by, maketh no disturbance; And I think the Scrupling of such a word, deserveth not that all the Peoples Souls be Punished for it, with the loss of all their Teachers Labours.

2. I never hear one Conformist that *saith it all*: And why may not *one* be for-born as well as *another*?

3. All the Liturgy for the day will be work too long and great, that weak Men that have no Curates cannot Read all, and Preach or Catechize also. If you say that Preaching and Catechizing then may be omitted; I answer, They are God's Ordinances, and needful to Men's Souls: And seeing Prayer and Preaching are both Duties, proportion is to be observed, that neither may be shut out: If you account the Liturgy better than Preaching, yet *every parcel* of it intirely is not sure of so great worth, as to *cast out Preaching* for it. Rich parsons, that have Curates, may, between them, do both; but so cannot poor Countrey Ministers that are alone, and are sickly.

And as to the [*Always*,] 1. The Canon limiteth some but to once in *half a year*, (which is less.)

2. The Conformable City-Preachers, that have Curates, very rarely Read it.

3. Else what should Men do with Curates, if they must always Read themselves?

4. A weak Man may do both once a Quarter, that is not able to do it every day.

4. Prop. 2.---It is supposed it will be done.] ---

"Strict. (k) Yes, once a Quarter, for you would have no Man obliged to do it oftner; nor all of it then neither.

Ans. Read and believe as you can. The words were [*If in the Congregation where he is Incumbent, the greatest part of it appointed for that time, be sometimes (as once a Quarter) used by himself, and every Lord's-day ordinarily (unless Sickness, &c.) either by himself, or by his Curate or Assistant:] Is every Lord's-day but once a Quarter? Or can it be every day done, and no one obliged to do it?*

4. Prop. 3. Let not Christian Parents be forbidden to dedicate their Children publicly, &c.

"Strict. (l) Christian Parents are not forbidden to present their Children to be Baptized: But the Church in favour to the Infants, appoints others (in case the Parents should die, or neglect their duty) to have a Paternal care of them, in order to their Education, for the performance of their Baptismal Covenant: That which follows is not worth the Animadverting, being nothing else but an Uncharitable and Scandalous Insinuation.

Ans. 1. Read and believe what is forbidden. [*Then shall the Priest speak to the Godfathers and Godmothers on this wise; Dearly Beloved---This Infant must also faithfully promise by you that are his Sureties (---That he will renounce the Devil, &c.) ---I demand therefore, Dost thou in the name of this Child renounce, &c.] The Godfathers and Godmothers must say, I renounce them all. Dost thou believe, &c. Ans. All this I stedfastly believe. Quest. Wilt thou be Baptized in this Faith?] Ans. That is my desire. Q. Wilt thou obediently keep, &c. Ans. I will. ---They are after to Name the Child. After the Priest shall say to the Godfathers and Godmothers ---Forasmuch as this Child hath promised by you that are his Sureties to renounce--- ---to believe in God, and to serve him--- It is your parts and duties to see that this Infant be taught so soon as he shall be able to learn, what a Solemn Vow, Promise and Profession he hath here made by you, &c.] See the rest.*

So that here, All the Covenanting Action on the Infant's part, is made the proper work of his Sureties, called Godfathers and Godmothers, without one word of the Parents doing it, or any part of it: And then cometh the Canon, and farther saith, (Can. 29.) [*No Parent shall be urged to be present, nor be admitted to answer as Godfather for his own Child; nor any Godfather or Godmother shall be suffered to make any other Answer or Speech, than by the Book of Common Prayer is prescribed in that behalf.] The Answering forbidden, is the Covenanting in the Child's Name. This is expressly forbidden the Parent (whole and part,) and lest it should be thought that he is one Agent with the Sureties, as he is not to speak, so not to be urged to be present. Yet he is not forbidden to be present; but he is forbidden to speak any Covenanting Promise or Word. And this was it that I mentioned; in stead of which, you say, he may [*Present the Child*] ---Whatever you call *Presenting*, I know not, but I talk only of *Covenanting*.*

2. And why say you it is [*In case the Parents die, or neglect their Duty,*] when the Parents are forbidden (though they have Sureties with them) so much as to promise it as any of *their Duty*, or to speak as Promising-Parties in it.

3. Whether this use be [*an Uncharitable and scandalous Insinuation*] is all a Case about Matter of Fact; And the Question is, whether the Author or I be the truer Historian: My Narrative which I stand to is this.

1. God's Law and Man's requires Parents to offer Children to be Baptized; and the Rubrick before Private Baptisme forbids deferring it longer than the first or second Sunday.

2. They may not be Baptized without Godfathers as aforesaid.

3. No Parent can force any to be a Godfather against his Will.

4. Multitudes take it for a sin to be Sureties on the Terms of the Liturgy, and therefore will and do refuse it.

5. Many Thousands know not what Christianity, or the Baptismal Covenant is, as we know by Personal Conference with our Flocks and others, where we have lived. So common is gross Ignorance among the Vulgar.

6. Many of the Learned fort dispute with us frequently, that indeed Baptism is not to Contain any Covenant, or Vow at all.

7. So rare is it for Sureties to take the Child *for their own*, or intend to do all in his *Education* which they are to promise, that, to my best knowledge, I never knew one in all my life that ever seriously signified to the Parents such an Intent. But they usually think that they are but *Witnesses*, and are at most but to give the Parents *Counsel* to do what they promise to do *themselves*.

8. Were but all People told, that they must take the Child *for their own*, as far as this Animadverter mentioneth, and solemnly before God to undertake to do all that themselves for the Child, which they Promise (by the Book) I seriously profess, that I cannot say, that ever I knew one Surety that feared God, that I had cause to believe had undertaken it, unless those, that indeed took home the Child of dead Parents (or an exposed one) as their own. The Rich never intend to give away their Children, nor that the Sureties Educate them. And few would be Sureties for the Children of the Poor, if they must take them so for their own, because of the Charge of keeping them. So that I am fully perswaded, that were the Vow and Undertaking thus understood, not one of Forty, where-ever I have lived, could have any Godfathers for their Children, unless they will take such as know not what they do, or make no Conscience of it, and of whom the Parents cannot reasonably believe that they intend any such thing.

And, *de jure*, its plain, that it is not lawful to draw any Many, in so great and holy a Work, to do that which he *understandeth not at all*, and to Promise and Undertake that before God and the Church, which our Consciences tell us, he never intendeth to perform, nor do the Parents intend to cast it on him.

I pass by the Difficulty of three several persons Educating the same Child.

And now consider, whether it be a *Scandalous Insinuation*, for a Man to beseech the Bishop, that his Child may not be refused, and be Unbaptized (and so denied Christian burial if he die; and worse than that, according to the Liturgy) and himself punished because he brings not Sureties; if the Man will there profess that he could procure no Sureties, who understood what they are to do, and express to them any *Serious Purpose to perform it*? Is this an Odious or Scandalous Request?

4. Prop. n. 4. Of the Image of the Cross, as used in Baptisme.

" *Strict. (m)* If any think the Sign of the Cross in (or rather after) Baptism, to be a Sacramental Sign; they may as well think so of the same Sign, in flags, or ships, or banners; for we ascribe no more efficacy to one than to the other: whereas it is the *formalis ratio* of a Sacrament to be a Means not only to signify, but to confer Grace *non ponentibus obicem*, which our Church doth not ascribe to this, or any other Ceremony of Humane Institution; Or that the Sign of the Cross is any Sacramental, but a Teaching Sign only, as the Surplice is; And such Teaching Signs Mr. Baxter grants may be lawfully appointed by the Magistrate, and made use of in the Service of God, though not as an Essential part thereof.

Ans. 1. You will say (*after Baptism* :) For you make it not part of Baptism, but a third Sacrament, as I think.

2. As to your Description of a Sacrament, the Church taketh the word from the old Common use, where (as *Martinus* noteth) *Sacramentum* was an Oath or Covenant, *Quod eo Sacratum homo ad rem certam, ut ad Militiam: ut Fest. de rebus sagittaribus*: He is bound by a Sacrament, *Qui Sacratum fide interposita; ac tum Sacramento dicitur interrogari quidam*: See the Military Sacrament there described. And the Soldiers had their *Stigmata*, which our Cross doth imitate; though transiently. Without this Sacrament they were no Soldiers, and might not fight against the Enemy: And *Tertullian* dissuadeth, *Ne humanum Sacramentum Divino Superinducant*, opening the Analogue of one to the other. In the laxer and more borrowed Senses it concerneth us not (as *Sacramentum* is *ipsa res Sacrata, vel ipse Miles vel persona*, nor as it is *Quodvis juramentum*, or *Sancta (obligatio)* nor yet in the largest Ecclesiastical Sense, as it is the Translation of *μυστήριον*, and signifieth a Sacred Mysterious Doctrine, or Action. But in the Special Church-use, it signifieth either more largely a Solemn Signal Investiture in any Sacred Relation; and so we may grant the *Romanists* that Ordination is a Sacrament, and Matrimony, as Sanctified, &c. Or most strictly for the Sacramental Solemnizing of the Covenant of God, which is our present Sense. And to this it is necessary, That 1. it be a sign used for the solemn signification of *Mutual Consent*; that is, of *Man's professed Consent*, as *dedicated to Christ*, and of *Christ's acceptance*, and *Collation of the Covenant-benefits*; 2. And that hereupon it be the *Tessera*, or *Symbol* of our *Christianity*. But that it operate a qualitative change on the Receiver's mind or heart, is not necessary to the being of a Sacrament, nor yet that it be instituted to do so, by Contact, or Physical Operation, *per modum Naturæ*, without *Intellectual Consideration*, and *Moral Operation*.

The First will be granted (that the effecting of such Qualities is not necessary to it.) And as to the 2d, Observe that we grant as followeth; 1. That Sacraments, by Investiture, or Delivery of Right, as Instruments, convey all that *Relative Grace*, which the Covenant of God doth give immediately to *Consenters*. 2. That it *Morally* worketh also Holy Qualifications by *Man's Considering-Improvement*. 3. And that *with the use* of it, though not by the *Instrumentality* of it, God may *Physically*, or *Miraculously*, without any *second cause*, give *qualitative grace* to *Infants*, or whom he please, in a way to us unknown. But that this last is not Essential to a Sacrament, I am now to prove.

1. All that is essential to a Sacrament is found in the Sacrament as used by the Adult. (Yea, they are the *more notable*, and *Excellent Subjects*, to whom it was first administered; and the Case of Infants is more *obscure*, and *non notum per ignotius, sed ignotius per notius probandum est*.) But the Sacrament as administered to (or used by) the adult, doth necessarily contain no more than, 1. *mutual covenanting*, 2. The *Instrumental Conveyance*, or *Confirmation* of the *Relative Grace* of the Covenant (or *Jus*) 3. *Moral Aptitude* to work holy Qualities. 4. And that it be *Symbolum Ordinis*, id est, *Christianismi*.

1. This is proved as to the Baptism of the Adult. 1. They make their solemn signal Profession of Federation, Consent, Reception, &c. 2. God by his Minister doth invest the Receiver in his *Right of special relation* to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and in his right to Pardon, Reconciliation, Justification and Adoption, and Right to Glory: 3. It is a Means adapted to work *Morally* on the Will, by the just Considerations of the Understanding. 4. It is the Symbol of Christianity, called, Our Christening.

2. The same I say of the *Lord's Supper*; and therefore crave leave not to repeat them.

1. That Sacraments are acts of Solemn, Mutual Covenanting, none deny, that know what Christianity is: The Uninterrupted Form of Baptizing, in all Ages proveth it.

2. That God, by their Instrumentality, delivereth the Adult, their *Jus*, or *Relative Grace*, or right to present Pardon, &c. is not denied.

3. That they are Moral Instruments of Holy Acts, and so of Habits in the Adult, neither *Papists*, *Arminians*, *Lutherans* or *Calvinists* deny. And, above all, the *Arminians* should not deny it, who, I think, acknowledge no means but Moral, if any other Operations on Man's soul.

4. And that they are *Tesserae vel Symbola Christianæ Religionis*, none, that I know of, do deny.

But

But that they are instituted to operate on the *Adult* any any otherwise than *Morally* and this *Essential* to them; I deny upon three Reasons: 1. There is no Scripture that asserteth it: *Et quod Scriptum non est, Credendum non est*, about such Matters. 2. Else not only the *Armenians* but the greatest part of *Christians* should deny the Sacraments, who deny such use and operations of them: And specially all those Protestants who dealing with the Papists *opus Operatum*, largely write to prove that Sacraments work but *Morally*. 3. And the Nature of the thing sheweth it impossible without a Miracle. For the Grace to be conveyed is the *Act* or *Habit* or *Disposition* of Love to God (and the Conjunct Graces) with that Antecedent Light of knowledge and faith which must excite it: And how but *Miraculously Water* in Baptism should be an Instrument of conveying *holy Love* or *Knowledge*, no Man conceive. For 1. Our Love of God is not put into the Water. 2. If it were, the Water doth not touch the Soul. 3. If it did; Corporal Contact, or attingencie would not cause Love. The same is said of the *Eucharist*. And the truth is many Papists are by Protestants mistaken in their Doctrine *de Opere Operato*, who speak but as distinguishing it *ab Opere Operantis*. And when they have puzzled themselves to tell what the *Indelible Character* given by *Ordination* is, they can satisfactorily carry it no higher than with *Durandus* to say, it is a *Relation*; that is, *a fixed Relation to the Undertaken Work, and a power, right and obligation to it*. And they that tell us as *Joseph Anger*, &c.) that *Ordination* is a true Sacrament (though *sinfully used*) when given to an *Infant* and a *Bedlam*, and that none but *Durandus* denieth it, (a false Doctrine no doubt *quia deest dispositio recipientis*;) yet can tell us of no more that it doth convey to the *Infant* or *Bedlam-Priest*, or *Bishop*, but a *Relation*. Nor can they, that say [Receive the Holy Ghost] assure us that any more is given by *Ordination*. And so of Baptism.

And if they say that [If the Water be not the Instrument of given-grace to the Adult, yet it may be to me other means, let them tell us if they can what they mean; and what means besides a *Moral* means it can be.

If they say that if God give not grace (*qualitative* or *Active*) by it as a means, yet he giveth grace with it, without any second cause, I answer, God can do so no doubt: He can give grace while we are hearing, though inconsiderately, without any use of the Word heard; And so in the time of baptizing, without any causality of Baptism: But he, that will assert as in any *Miracles* and *Immediate Operations*, as *Sacraments*, must bring very clear proof of his assertion.

Sure we are that *Faith* and *Repentance* are prerequisite in the *Adult*, and therefore the Sacrament is not so much as the *Time* of first-giving them (by Institution:) And we are all agreed that in the Sacraments, *Sacred truth* and *Goodness*, *Christ* and his *Gracious benefits* are *objectively* set before us, as *Moral* means of our Information, Excitation and increase of faith and hope and love. And when we are sure that the *Word* and *Sacraments* are instituted for *one way* of giving gracious Acts or Qualities, he that will add *another* must prove it,

4. And the case being thus with the *Adult*, the instance of *Infants* will not prove the Sacraments, no Sacraments to the *Adult*, the Noblest Subjects. And though God may immediatly or *Miraculously* at the same time give holy Habits or Acts to *Infants*; yet it is past Man's Conception how *Water* or *Words* should be any Cause of them, any more on them; than on the *Adult*, as aforesaid: And he that will say that yet so it is though We know not how, as the Papists do about *Transubstantiation*, must first prove that it is so indeed. We grant that the Parents are to use it *Morally* in dedicating their Children to God, and believing and Covenanting for them: And that God useth it as his *investing* or *delivering sign*, morally to give the *Infant* all the *Relative* Grace, which the Covenant as the *Principal Instrument* giveth, that is, *Right* and *Relation* to the Father, Saviour and Sanctifier, and *Right* to pardon and Adoption and the *Heavenly Inheritance*, which, set together, are *Relative Regeneration*, as *Judicious Bishop Davenant de Bapt. Infant.* well openeth it: And that it is the *badge* of his *Christianity*; and an *apt objective means* of moral Operations on him as he cometh to the use of Reason. When you have told us what more it doth, and proved it, and proved that, without that, it is no Sacrament, you have done something.

Your *non ponenti Obicem* is no Scripture Notion, ambiguous if not unsound. If you mean it as the Words sound, of *some positive Act*, which is *ponere obicem*, it is certainly false as to the *Adult* (to whom the Sacraments are true Sacraments.) For God hath made their *positive Consideration*, *perception*, *Faith* and *Repentance*; a

necessary Condition of their Reception of the benefit: So that if an *adult* person, as to Baptism or the Lord's Supper, should carelessly be *asleep*, or not think what he is about, or merely *not-know, not-believe, not-repent*, you can shew no promise of your miraculous grace to him. And the Sacrament to an Infant is the same *thing*, though the Act of believing be not required of *himself*, but of *another* for him.

But if by *ponere obicem* you mean a *privation*, that is, *non-prestare conditionem*, not to believe, repent, &c. then it's *true*, but an ambiguous deceitful phrase. To believe is more than *not to resist*: And so to be the *Seed of the Faithful* is.

And I suppose (by your new Rubrick) you will say, that every Infant in the world, of Cannibals, Heathens or Infidels that is baptized (*jure vel injuria*, though taken by Soldiers violently by thousands against the Parent's Wills) are certainly Sanctified, and do not *ponere obicem* themselves, and that the Sacrament to them is not null; It would be needful to our satisfaction that you tell us what *internal Actual, or habitual* Grace it is that all these have; and prove it; and prove that else it were no Sacrament. But enough of this.

Q. Now let us see what you ascribe to the Cross.

The Matter of it is an *Image*, though Transient; of which God's Jealousy, expressed in the Second Commandment hath made us Jealous, in his Worship: As to the Form and Use. 1. It is the Covenant of Christianity it self, that it is about: And it is no less than our *Solemn Engaging, Professing and Obliging Sign*, that we are *Resolved Christians*, and will keep that Covenant; even the same Covenant that is solemnized also by Baptism. All the Duties of the Covenant on our parts, we thus solemnly bind our selves to perform valiantly to the Death, in Terms like the *Sacramentum Militare*. The Canon 30. let us know that it is used [*to dedicate Children by that Badg to his service, whose benefits bestowed on them in Baptism the Name of the Cross doth represent*:] And [*It's an Honourable badg whereby the Infant is Dedicated to the Service of him that Died on the Cross.*] So that on the Receiver's part it wants nothing of a Sacrament.

2. That it is also used as God's Means of Delivering us the *Relative Grace* of the Covenant, I conceive for these Reasons.

1. The *Adult* is not to *Sign himself*, but the Minister who is *Christ's Agent* (not so much as asking, wilt thou be signed?) doth *sign him with the Sign of the Cross*, in tokens that he shall not be ashamed to confess the Faith of *Christ Crucified*, and manfully to Fight under his Banner, against Sin, the World and the Devil, and to continue *Christ's faithful Servant and Soldier* to their *Love's end*. Amen.

2. The Cross and the Benefits, with *Christ Crucified*, are hereby Represented.

3. The Churches Publick Profession, that this is their Dedication of the Child, importeth plainly God's Acceptance of him that is Dedicated: For who dare offer that to God which he supposeth not that God Accepteth, as offered: And God's acceptance of the dedicated person into the State, relation and benefits of Christianity, is the *very grace on God's part*, which is essential to a Divine Sacrament strictly taken. And is this no grant of *federal Grace*?

3. And that to the *Adult* the Cross is a *Moral means of internal and Qualitative Grace* I think you will not deny A Moral means operateth objectively, by Teaching the Intellect: by representing the moving-object, and by Excitation of the Will: And how eminently is all this here intended? In General the Liturg. (of Ceremony) saith [They are such as are apt to stir up the dull mind of Man to the remembrance of his Duty to God by some notable and special signification by which he may be edified.] And is this no Gracious Work? And it is *Christ Crucified*, and his benefits that by the Cross are represented to this use. And is not that to operate morally on mind and will accordingly? And the Words tell us particularly that it is to stir us up and oblige us to the Actual Manful fighting under *Christ's Banner*, against sin, &c. and not be ashamed to confess him. And is not this a moral gracious Operation? When as the Gospel worketh by the Ear, so the Cross by the Eye and Thought: It is not Grace that the Gospel is to work? And is it not a means of working it, as well as the Sacraments; Yea and in the same sort of Causality? Doubtless then here is the Grace of the Covenant to be wrought, as well as the Duty of it promised.

4. And lastly that it is the Symbol and Badge of our Christianity the Canon twice professeth.

So that I think here is an *intire third Sacrament* of the Covenant of Grace; inventitious and humane, and not of God's making. And if you could prove (as you never

never can) that some Miraculous sort of Operation, not common to the Gospel or the Covenant it self, is essential to a Sacrament for new Acts or Qualities on Infants or others, I would ask when you thus cross the Child, Do you look that God should do any more for his Soul thereon, than if you did it not, or no? If you *do* (as they did that used the Cross of old, and the Papists now) then you expect God's inward Grace upon the use of the Cross. If you look not that the Child's soul be ever the better for it, it's pity Baptism should be denyed them that dare not use it; or so many Ministers be silenced about it.

But had it but *some great and notable sacramental uses* (as the fore-named) though *no*: all, I durst not presume on such an inventitious sacramental sign. I have oft said; I doubt whether the King would not think his Prerogative invaded, if any should presume to institute a new Badg, besides his Garter and *Star*, of the Order of the Knights of the Garter; much more a Symbol or Badg for all his Subjects; and deny them the Knighthood or *Jus Subditi* who refuse it. But too long of this.

4. Prop. About compelling the Unfit to receive the Lord's Supper.

Strict. The Church doth not compel any to receive the Sacrament that is unfit: but punisheth them that are unfit, and neglect the making of themselves fit for it, by breaking off their Sins by Repentance.

Ans. Alas! poor Souls, that must have such a Cure! It seems by this that this Church supposeth. 1. That all Men can Cure all their Unfitness: 2. And that a Prison is the way to make them willing. We Nonconformists contrarily think, That, 1. A Willing person may be Uncured of some unfitnesses. 2. And that a Prison is no fit cure for such; nor for some others. We think that a Melancholly or Timorous Person is unfit, who would be like to be *distracted* by the fear of unworthy Receiving: We are sure that all that we can say will not Cure such Fears in very many: If Conformists can do it, and will not, they are to blame: We know that the Person himself, though willing, cannot do it. We will not believe that Christ would have them laid in Goal to cure them. But if the Bishops, *Sadducees*, and *Socinians* unfit, if not the Papists: And they offer their Protestations that they cannot change their Judgments: We think a Goal unapt to change them; but rather with meekness to instruct Opposers, if God perhaps will give them Repentance to the acknowlegment of the Truth, *2 Tim. 2. 25*. Yea, though after the Chancellour's admonition (or better means) they be erroneous still. Verily if your way were thoroughly practised, and such Church-Laws executed, and all dwelt in Goals, that are unfit for the Sacrament (after your teaching, and admonition, and Excommunication) the Landlords would find a great diminution of their Tenants, and the Goalers would have more Tenants than many Lords, and it were necessary to have a Goal in every Parish. This is your way of comforting the timorous; but who should there maintain them all, I know not. But if Goalers be the most effectual Converters of Souls, I think more Clergy-Men than Non-conformists need their help, that obtain it not: And they may possibly put in for the Tythes and Church-Revenues.

Strict. Is any Minister required to give the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood to any unbaptized Person? Is not this a groundless, and slanderous insinuation? Nay, is any Minister forced or required to give the Sacrament to any notoriously wicked, or prophane Person? See the Rubrick before the Communion. That which follows seems to aim at an introducing of Auricular Confession, or the setting up an Independent, Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction in every Minister over his own Parish.

Ans. 1. Your Charge is causeless: I find in the Canons and Rubrick, that every Parishioner must receive: And those unbaptized (as many born of Anabaptists are) I find not described or named, as excepted in the Canon or Rubrick, nor that any at age are forced to be Baptized, and yet are forced by Penalty to Communicate: So that I confess I am so ignorant as not to know whether I should be punished by the Bishop, if I refused an un-baptized Parishioner:

oner: But yet I verily think, that the meaning of the Makers of the Liturgy, and Canon was otherwise; and I intended no more but to enumerate them whom we would have Power not to give the Sacrament to; *q. d.* Not only the unbaptized (plainly to be named) but also the rest following.

2. If by *notoriously wicked*, you mean those that the Bishop or Chancellour hath Excommunicated, we may keep them away: Or if the Congregation will say, that they are offended by their Crimes, then they may be admonished to forbear; but if they will not forbear upon the Admonition, or at least will every time say, that they are fully purposed to amend (as most wicked Men will do) I find not by the Rubrick, that we can refuse them; except it be one that is obstinate in Malice, when (at that time) desired to be reconciled; but the Canon seemeth to give more Power.

3. Our Case is this: We know that many are professed Infidels, and many understand not what Baptism, or Christianity, or the Lord's Supper are, in the very Essentials (in many Places I doubt the greater part of the Parish:) A great number live in heinous Sins, (Drunkennels, Fornication, Swearing, Slandering, &c.) The ignorant, and Infidels, the Minister would instruct, but they will not come to him, nor speak to him, but refuse to give him any account or answer. Almost all are Baptized in Infancy, and at Age come to Church and never owned, that the Minister knoweth of, their Baptifinal Covenant any otherwise. We know not that we have Power to exclude the grossly ignorant: If we had, it must be, if any will witness that his Neighbours are so Ignorant as to be incapable (which what private Man can and will do?) or else if they will come and say before others, I am so Ignorant; which few if any ever will, till God do humble them: And who will come and offend the scandalous, by witnessing against them, unconstrained, though they will openly report it to one another. How few of the Infidels, *Socinians*, gross Ignorants, or scandalous here in *London*, are by the Witnesses accused to the Ministers as such? If we have the most credible Report that half our Country Parishioners, or a quarter, (more or less) are grossly Ignorant of the Essentials of Christianity, and we find it true by so many of the suspected as will talk with us; we must receive all the rest, with all the Infidels, and wicked Livers, that none will become Accusers of, though we know much our selves to confirm report. And if they tell us, we will have nothing to do with you out of the Pulpit, we will give you no account of our knowledge or Faith; nay, we take you not for any of our Pastors; yet must we do the office of a Pastor to them, and give them the Sacrament, and we are setting up *Auricular Confession*, if we do but, as their Teachers, require on just Suspicion any account of their Knowledge, or Faith, or upon our Knowledge, offer first personally to instruct them. And if we desire else but to suspend our own Act, tho they have their Appeal, we arrogate *Independent Power*. No wonder if under such Overseers, our Parishes be but what they are.

4. *Prop. n. 8.* [To publish Excommunications---- against his Conscience.

" *Strict.* [Against his, viz. the Minister's Conscience. Is not this to make every Minister an Independent, Ecclesiastical Judge? And that not only exclusively to Lay-Chancellours, but to Bishops themselves also; as appears by the words, [or any other.]

Answ. 1. No, let the Indifferent judge. An Ecclesiastick Judge is *Judex publicus*; but here is nothing but *Judicium discretionis privatum*, suspending my own Act, and meddling with no Man's else. Doth he judge Ecclesiastically, who speaketh not a word, nor medleth with the Cause any more than any one in the Congregation?

2. How is he an *Independent* Judge where he is *no Judge*? Yea, and where the Bishop, and Chancellour are the Judges, and none resisteth or controulleth them? He had not been *Independent*, had he *made himself Judge*, allowing an *Appeal*.

3. Seriously, do you take it to be each Minister's Duty to pronounce all Excommunications, and absolutions which are sent them, without exception, or not? If yea, then if Bishops again Excommunicate their own Kings (as often they

they have done) we must obey, which I will not do. Or if an *Arrian* Excommunicate the Orthodox; or a *Papist* a Protestant as such; or any Bishop in Malice or on false Accusations Excommunicate the Faithfullest of the Flock, yea, or all the Parish, must we obey? For my part, (call me as you please) if you Excommunicate the wisest, and most Religious, and (otherwise) most obedient of my Flock, for Covenanting in Baptism for his own Child, for refusing the Cross, for not kneeling at the reception of the Sacrament, for reading a Chapter, or repeating a Sermon to his Family, while his Neighbours hear him, I will bear your silencing and Prisons, rather than pronounce that Excommunication.

But if you allow any Exceptions, our Consciences must be the discerning Judges, whether it be that excepted Case or not. Else it is no Exception.

But O what Groans beseech poor Ministers, if this be indeed their Case, that just, or unjust, whatever Conscience say against it, we must pronounce all Excommunications and Absolutions (and consequently do all such other things) as a Lay-Chancellour, or Bishop shall command us; unless they could prove to us that God will justify our absolute Obedience, how heinous soever the action be! This is not to be the Ministers of Christ, no, nor of Men, but their absolute Slaves, though to our Damnation, and our Brethren's wrong. If you have any tenderness for our Consciences, when you have enow more at hand to pronounce your Sentence, would you not set one to do it that doth not scruple it, and spare a Minister, that protesteth he dare not do it for fear of Damnation?

4 *Prop. n. 9.* [To travel long Journeys, or neglect their Studies. ---

“*Strict.* They need not, for they may appear by Proctors.] ---

Ans. There is some Comfort in that: But if I have a Parish of five Thousand, or ten Thousand Souls (more or less) and it prove that the tenth part of the Parish be either grossly ignorant of the Essentials of Christianity, or Infidels, Papists, Hereticks, Schismatics, Drunkards, Swearers, Ribalds, Railers, or otherwise scandalous, such as the Canon forbiddeth me to give the Sacrament to, and I present each of these to the Chancellour's Court, or half of them, I doubt Proctor's Fees, in the Prosecution, will take up more than all the Tythes come to, and leave me neither Cloaths nor Bread. If you say, it is not so with others, I answer, I know what Men are among whom I have lived, in all places, and I know what the Canon bids me do; but why other Men do it not, and save themselves, I am not bound to give an account, nor yet to imitate them.

And whether these Proctors will save me harmless, and plead my Cause as the Case requireth, I cannot tell.

4 *Prop. n. 10.* Let it be left to their Prudence whom they will absolve in Sickness, and give the Sacrament to in private.] ---

“*Strict.* 1. I know no Law that enjoyns the contrary.

Ans. *Rubr.* [After which Confession the Priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort ----] And if he will but say these Words, [I humbly and heartily desire it] the Minister hath not Power to forbear an absolute absolution.

“*Strict.* 2. I am glad they allow the giving of the Sacrament to the Sick: but that the Sick should chuse what Confessors they please, and consequently exclude their own Ministers from the exercise of the most proper, and most important Acts of his Ministerial Function; besides that it seems to interfere with what is said in the first word of this Paragraph, *viz.* That their own Minister is best acquainted with the Penitence or Impenitence of his People; besides this, I say, It seems to be a trick to draw all Confessions to themselves, as the Fryars have done in the Church of *Rome*, from the Secular Clergy, or Parish-Priest in that Church.

Ans. 1?

Ans. 1. The mistake had no Cause in the Words: There was no exclusion of any Parish-Minister mentioned, who is willing; no, nor any Excuse of any that is unwilling, from any other Office in Visitation; but only that the unwilling may not be forced to absolve any in those absolute Words [I absolve thee from all thy Sins] when he believeth verily that the Person is Impenitent. But I had no thought, or word of excluding any Priest, as is here suspected.

2. But as the Church of *Rome* alloweth Men to confess to what Priest they please, I know not how you can hinder any dying Man from doing it, without setting a Guard upon his Doors, or forbidding any, save the Parish-Priest, to visit him, which is inhumane. This day, while I was writing this, a Parish-Minister came to me to lament his Sin, and told me that he had lived idly, and wickedly at the University, and ever since, and had taken the Ministry on him, without any regard to his own Soul, and the People's, and had no Learning, or Knowledge scarce of the Catechism; and that he had not read any Divinity, in *Latin* or *English*, but only out of two or three *English* Books, patched up some Sermons; not understanding a *Latin* Author, nor having read others: I asked him how he got ordained: He said, that was easie by Friends, &c. And that he was going to put himself into a Playhouse, because his Living was but forty Pound *per Annum*, but God convinced him by the way. Now I would know, If I lie dying in such a Parish, must I confess my Sin to no Man but such an one as this? Why make you not the same Laws about Physicians, that no Man must take any other than such a Sot, if it be his Lot to be appointed him? Why may not I confess my Sins to more than one? Yea, to my Friend that is no Priest?

Prop. id. Let the words at Burial which import the Justification and Salvation of the Deceased be left to the Minister's discretion, who hath known the Person's Life and Death.

"*Strict.* As to leaving the Omission, or use of these Words, (which they point to) in the Burial of the Dead to the discretion of the Minister, what is it but to give him Power of Sainting, or Damning whom he pleaseth?]

Ans. They are not only Christ's Ministers, but yours, if not your Cryers, or Slaves, if they may not be trusted with the speaking, or not speaking of a Word, in so weighty a Case. There are, I still see, greater matters than Ceremonies that we differ in. The Case is this--- [There swarm among us now many open professed Infidels, that openly deride Christ and the the Scripture, and plead against the Immortality of the Soul, and many against the Being of God: There are many Papists, Hereticks, Schismaticks, common Adulterers, openly owning it, Fornicators, Drunkards, Blasphemers; many have been Condemned for Treason, Murder, Theft, &c. The Conformists themselves Preach, and write that such cannot be saved without true converting Repentance: We are commanded at the Burial of all Men to say these Words [*Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, of his great Mercy, to take unto himself the Soul of our dear Brother here departed*] and [*we give thee hearty Thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our Brother out of, &c. and [that we may rest in him, as our Hope is, this our brother doth:]*] These words import the Person's Justification, and Salvation. We are to except no Person from this form of Burial, except, 1. Those that die unbaptized (though the Children of true Believers:) 2. The Excommunicate (though for not paying fees, or not conforming against Conscience.) 3. And those that have laid violent Hands on themselves, (though true Believers in a Fever, Frenzy, or Distraction.) Some die in the act of Drunkenness, some murder each other in Duels, and that in Drunkenness (as lately was done near my Door,) some scorn the Minister and the Gospel to the death: Now we must openly pronounce all these Saved, for fear of having Power to *Saint*, and *Damn* whom we will: But we appeal to humanity it self.

Quest. 1. Whether I damn any Traytor, or Murderer, or impenitent Infidel, merely by saying nothing of his Case, or not pronouncing him to be saved: And whether I Saint those that I bury in their own prescribed words, any otherwise than they Saint all Men?

Quest. 2. Whether we expose not our Ministry to the scorn of every Infidel, and Heretick, and Adulterer, when they can say to us, [What False Deceivers are you, to Preach and Write Damnation against us, and proclaim us all saved when we die.]

Quest. 3. Whether any thing can more probably debauch the World, and keep Men from Repentance, and so fill Hell, and damn the people, than to perswade all Men, that every ignorant person, that never knew what Christianity was, every-impenitent Infidel, Adulterer, or wicked person, is saved when they die. Doth not this give the Lie to all our Preaching the contrary to them in the Pulpit? Do we not Teach them not to believe us? Or else it disableth us from telling them, that there is any Hell for them hereafter. If you say, we presume that they Repent; I Answer, If it be presumed that all Men repent at last, and are saved, even they that make no profession of any Repentance, but justify their Infidelity, or Heresie, or Schism, or die in the Act, or in utter Ignorance, as a Heathen, then why may we not presume the like of all the World, and so lay by the Gospel, and all our talk of future punishment?

Quest. 4. And is he worthy to be trusted with the Care of Souls, as a Minister of Christ, that may not be trusted (I say not, to *speak*, but) to *suspend* one word at any time, which is thus Written for him to say? Judge, by this (with the Offices of Baptism, Confirmation, Communion and Absolution) what is a Priest's Office under such Bishops, and whether he have the Pastoral Power, either independently, or dependently at all.

4. *Prop.* n. 11. Let no Minister be forced to deny the Communion to godly persons, that think it unlawful to kneel.

Strict. [Why may not our Church forbid the giving of it to those that will not kneel, as well as the *Presbyterians* here and in *Holland*, forbid the giving of it to those that will not sit?]]

Ans. 1. I never knew one *Presbyterian* here that did so: And their *Directory* did not so. And if any one should do so, I am sure it is a rare Person. And the Author of these words is no liker to know them than I. This therefore was not well said.

2. Whether they in *Holland* do so, I know not: But if they do, Do you think it well? I think otherwise, and all Nonconformists that I converse with. We take not a gesture to be crime enough to cut off Men from Communion with the Church. And if you think otherwise, or durst Excommunicate a Man for being Lame, or having the Gout in his knees, Why must we all needs *practise* as you judge, and execute so cruel a Sentence, any more than kill men when-ever you bid us? The Canon hath no Exception, Can. 27. [No Minister, when he celebrateth the Communion, shall wittingly administer the same to any but to such as kneel, under pain of Suspension.]]

4. *Prop.* n. 12. Let Ministers have leave to open the meaning of the Catechism--- (It is much to be wish'd that it were amended.)

Strict. 1. I know no Law which forbids them to do so.]]

Ans. 1. That it is good news: some think so: And others think, that the Rubrick and Canon, Commanding them to Teach persons the Catechism, meaneth, that we must only teach them the words: And I remember the Articles in Parliament, against Bishop *Pierce*, contained, that among other things, that he forbade Ministers Expounding the Catechisme in the Afternoon, saying, it was as bad as Preaching. And the Sence, as to us, will be, what please the Bishop.

Strict. 2. I know no need it hath of mending, nor who are wise enough to amend it.

Ans. I am sorry for it; but cannot help it.

4. *Prop.* id. [---Some few quickening words of Exhortation---]

Strict. 3. The words prescribed both in Baptism and the Eucharist, are quickening enough, and more edifying perhaps and safe, than an Extemporary fancy can add unto them.]]

Ans. 1. You

Ans. 1. You know not what is most quickening and edifying to all other men, so well, as some know what is so to themselves.

2. All that know Humane Nature, know, that Customariness dulleth, and the use of words many hundred times over usually affect less than when there is some variation; though it were to be wisht it were not so.

3. Why must an *Extemporary* fancy needs be the Author? May not a man premeditate a few sentences as well as a sermon? Or if it were *ex tempore*, is he fit to be a Preacher that cannot speak a few sentences on so great a subject, with safe and edifying words?

4. Is it unsafer to give a Preacher leave to utter a few Sentences of the Sacrament at the Delivery, than to Preach a whole Sermon of it? And is he not equally responsible for both? But we insist not on this, as if we could not Administer without it.

Prop. 4. n. 13.] The Surplice indifferent in the Parish Churches---

Strict. I had rather that, or any other of the Ceremonies should be taken away quite, than left indifferent: for that would be to establish Schism by a Law, and to bring it into the Church in stead of excluding it out of the Church; which, of two Evils is much the lesser.]

Ans. I think not: for we see things left indifferent make no Schism: One useth the Surplice in the Pulpit, and another not: One Prayeth before Sermon, And another only bids them Pray: One Prayeth after Sermon, and another not: One at the Singing of Psalms doth sit, another stand; and it maketh no Schism. And the Convocation, 1640, Commend Indifferency about Bowing towards the Altar: Therefore that Convocation was not of your mind. But either way will serve us.

Prop. 5. ---[Not [to renounce their Ordination] or be Re-ordain'd---]

Strict. They are not: Neither doth their *Re-ordaining* imply that they are: "but only that they are not sufficiently qualified to Officiate in our Church.]"

Ans. What Qualification is it that that they want? Generals here decides not the Case. If it be only the Qualification of *Legal Authority*, or *License*, Why will not the giving of that qualifie them? Or what necessity is there of Re-ordination? But when you, as well as we, profess, that *Re-ordination*, when real, is unlawful, and yet you require their *Ordination de Nova*, which they call *Re-ordination*, Doth not this tell the World that you take the first for null?

6. *Prop.* [No Excommunicate Person, as such, to be Imprison'd and Undone, but such whose Crimes deserve it.]

Strict. Contempt of Authority is one of the greatest Crimes, and for that it is that men are Excommunicated first, and afterwards Imprison'd. Why doth not this Exception lie against such as are Outlawed in the Chancery, as well as against those that are Excommunicated?

Ans. Because the Cause differeth. *E. g.* I believe I have had multitudes with me Conformable as well as others, who being of timorous, or melancholy Constitutions, and under Temptations and Trouble of Mind, dare not receive the Sacrament, for fear of doing it unworthily, and of eating and drinking Damnation, and the Devil entering into them, (according to the words of the Liturgy, which affright them:) and they never Communicated in their Lives (at above 30 years of Age,) and have oft been going, and never durst venture: One of them was with me within this hour: Some that have ventured have fallen Distracted, and some near it by Terror and Temptations: You can tell them reason against all this: And so can I, and have done it as like as oft as most of your Curates: and yet they are Uncured. And I must not say how little is done in too many places to cure their Ignorance, or Timorousness, which is the cause. And are you sure that all these poor troubled timorous Souls are worthy of utter ruine as Contemners of Authority? For not Communicating they must be Excommunicated, and after Imprison'd, and undone in the World, even during life, unless they can be changed by you. Every Man deserveth not utter ruin, who doth not all the good that he can do. But can such a person change their own minds and fears, because you give them reason for it? I know they cannot. And when Christ tenderly carrieth his Lambs in his Arms, and will not break a bruised Reed; Shall I, in his Name, as his Minister, Excommunicate them, and deliver them

them up (if not to the Devil) to the Magistrate, to be Beggered, and perpetually Imprisoned? Let me rather bear the wrath of all the Prelates on earth, and all that they can say or do against me.

Prop. 7. But who shall be judged tolerable----- it doth not become us, &c.---]

“Strict. As it doth not become you to be Judges of what is, or what is not tolerable in the case of others; so it doth much less become you to be Judges of what is, or what is not to be granted in your own case.]

Ans. We never arrogated any of your Power over our Brethren: We have formerly, in our Folly, hoped that we might presume to be *Petitioners*, though not *Judges* what is to be granted us. We are not ashamed to confess, that we did desire leave to Preach Christ's Gospel; But we become not *Judges* in the Case of our Superiours Acts. But by (or without) your leave, we must be *discerning Judges* of our own *Duty* or *Sin*, whatever it cost us. And, I think, no sober Christian will give the contrary, under his hand, as his Judgment.

Prop. id. [That no *Licensed Ministers* shall Preach against any of the Doctrine, &c..]

“Strict. It seems *Unlicensed Ministers* may be allowed to speak for or against what they list.

Ans. Our Case is hard with you. I put in [*Licensed*, or *Unlicensed*;] And the first Honourable and Learned Person that saw it, thought [*Unlicensed*] should be put out, because it was unmeet for us to tell His Majesty whom he should tolerate, or how far; but to meddle only with our own Case, who desired *Licenses*: And now for blotting out that word, and not meddling with any others, we are censured, as motioning, that the *Unlicensed* may say what they list: Thus all our Peace-making motions have been long interpreted by some.

Prop. id. [That all *Magistrates* be excepted from all open Personal Rebukes, and disgraceful Censures, or Excommunications, because, &c.]

“Strict. We take Excommunication to be an Ordinance of God, from which *Magistrates* are not to be exempted.

Ans. 1. God never ordained that a *Lay-Chancellor* should Excommunicate them.

2. God never gave power to any to excommunicate a King, Prince, or other Ruler (if any at all) but that particular Pastor to whom by voluntary Consent he committeth the Charge of his Soul. The Independents that think as you, are yet more modest in this, in that they subject the Ruler to none but the chosen Pastor of that particular Congregation which he voluntarily joyneth himself to.

3. Is not the World much abused when they are told that it is the Presbyterians, that are for excommunicating Princes, and not the Episcopal? For my part I am fully of the mind of Bishop *Bilson*, and *Andrews* (in *ortura Torti*) in this; that to an Impenitent wicked Ruler, I would suspend my own Act of giving him the Sacrament, with *Chrysostom's* resolution rather to suffer: But my Judgment is that no Bishop nor Minister (especially one that is not his proper Pastor) may lawfully use any open personal rebukes, or disgraceful censures or Excommunications against Kings, Judges or Honourable Magistrates: And my Reason, no Papist, Prelate, Presbyterian, or Independent, is able to refel, viz. from the *fifth Commandment*. The established perpetual Law of God Commandeth us to honour them. Disgraceful Excommunication is not accidentally, but *purposely* a dishonouring them: For Men are excommunicated that they may be shamed. The after-positive Institution of Excommunication nulleth not this antecedent Moral Law: but must give place to it, and bindeth not against it. I farther prove that, 1. Because all Men confess that this last is but a Law of Order, and that Order is for the sake of the end and thing Ordered, and that it oft obligeth not when it ceaseth to be a means to that end, or would destroy it; And that *E.g.* If you knew that an Excommunication of a King or Judge would prove the Dissolution of that Church, it were not Lawful: Therefore neither when it exposeth the Magistrate to the reproach or Contempt of the Subjects, and so shaketh the very frame of the Kingdom, or Government. The Magistrate's honour for the good of the Kingdom is more

necessary than his Dishonour and shame can be to the Order of that particular Church.

2. And a suspending of the Pastor's Act of delivering him the Sacrament, with an humble admonition, may better attain the Lawful end.

3. Christ himself hath oft taught us this Exposition of his Law. When he did eat with Publicans and sinners, he preferred their repentance, before the positive Order of not being familiar with such, as being never intended in such a Case. When the Disciples pluck't the Ears of Corn, and himself cured the sick on the Sabbath day, he proveth that the positive Law of Rest was intended to give place to the Moral Law of Necessity and Charity, and proveth it by the instance of *David* and the Officiating Priests; and twice sendeth the contrary minded Pharisees to learn what that meaneth, *I will have mercy* (a Natural Duty) and not (at that time) *sacrifice* (a positive institution :) And they, that will pretend a *positive Law of Order* for a *Congregation*, to the dishonouring of *Kings* and *Judges*, and *Magistrates*, and making them contemptible, and so unable to govern, do Pharisaically set up Positives against natural moral Duties. By which means Popes and Patriarchs and other Prelates, have wronged Princes, and troubled the world too much already. Do you not better justify the Common slander, how much the Non-conformists are against the honour of Magistrates in comparison of the Church of *England*. I know some Non-conformists think as you: but others do not. See the old Non-conformists judgment against excommunicating Kings in a Latin Treat, *De vera & Genuina Christi. Relig. Authore Ministro Anglo*, An. 1618. pag. 280.

4. Moreover, the execution of the sentence of Excommunication on Princes and Rulers, will less consist with the honour that is due to them, than the sentence it self: For to *avoid them that they may be ashamed, to turn away from*, not to be familiar with them, to keep them out of the Church at all God's special Church-worship, are things that we cannot do, without neglect of much of our duty to them; We must attend them and obey them with honour: I know a General Council hath forbidden Bishops to carry themselves with *Lowliness* at the tables and in the presence of Princes and great men; And I know that some think that Excommunicate Princes have forfeited their honour and it is lawful to dishonour them, yea and all wicked Princes who deserve Excommunication; and I know Mr. *Hooker* in his *Ecclesi. Polit.* saith, that *it is supposed* that a Prince that is the Head of a Christian Church be himself a Christian: But all these are Errors tending to the subversion of Order and Government; And the Higher Powers whom God's Spirit commandeth us to honour and be subject to, were *Nero* and the Roman Senate, and other Enemies of Christianity; even Idolatrous Heathens. And if these must be honoured, much more a Christian King or Judge, who were he a private man, might deserve an Excommunication. At least I hope that the Writ *de Excommunicato Capiendo* shall not be issued out against the King or his Judges, (though the Canon 65. command that every six months in Cathedrals and Parish-Churches the Excommunications be declared, of those that obstinately refuse to frequent the Divine Service established by publick Authority, and those (especially of the better sort and Condition) who for notorious contumacy, or other notable Crimes stand Excommunicate, &c.]) Though the *Better sort* are singled out especially for the sentence and shame, yet if it should be Judges and Sheriff, who shall Judge and apprehend them?

Prop. id. [Not silence, suspend, &c. Arbitrary, but by a known Law.]

"*Strict.* No Bishops do or can do so; Neither is there any Law or Canon to that purpose that I know of.

Ans. I am loth to Name Instances lest it provoke: Mr. *Potter* is dead: Dr. *Willes* of *Kingslon* now Chaplain to the King (they say,) I am sure hath complained much of his suspension at *Shadwell*: I remember Bishop *Reignolds* was so sensible of the necessity of this Provision, that at the *Savoy Treaty*, he was most earnest to have it inserted and insisted on. It may be it is Minister's ignorance in the Law, that maketh them when suspended not know where to seek for a remedy (unless in vain or to their undoing.)

Postscript. If Sacraments were left free, &c. It would take in the Independents, &c.]

"*Strict.* If Independents may be taken in by us now, why did not you take them
" in

“in when you were in power? but preach and write so much as you did against Toleration of them? But you that would have us dispenſe to all things now, would your ſelves diſpenſe with nothing then.]

Anſw. It's pity that matters of publick fact ſhould be ſo much unknown, and that when ſuch inference follow! 1. I was never in power: Nay my Lot never fell out to be of any ſide that was *Uppermoſt* in Church matters, nor in State-Uſurped power, but I always was of the under ſide.

2. It was the *Toleration of all Sects unlimitedly* that I wrote and preacht againſt, and not (that I remember) of meer Independents.

3. Thoſe that did oppoſe the Toleration of Independents, of my acquaintance, did not deny them the liberty of Independency, but oppoſed *ſeparation*, or their *Gathering* other Churches out of Pariſh-Churches that had faithful Miniſters: If they would have taken Pariſh-Churches on Independent Principles, without ſeparation, neither I nor my acquaintance did oppoſe them, no nor their Endeavours to reform ſuch Churches.

4. The Caſe greatly differed: For an Independent to reſuſe Pariſh-Churches, when no Ceremony, no Liturgie, no Oath or Subscription is required of him, which he ſcrupleth, is not like his reſuſing Oaths, Subſcriptions, Liturgie, Ceremonies, &c.

5. But in a Word, *Grant us but as much, and take us but in, as we granted to, and took in the Independents, and we are content.* Make this agreement and all is ended; we deſire no more of you. We never denied the Independents the liberty of preaching Lectures, as often as they would: Nor yet the liberty of taking Pariſh-Churches: They commonly had Preſentations, and the publick Maintenance; And no Subscription, Declaration, Liturgie, or Ceremony, was impoſed on them. Again I ſay, I aſk you no more Liberty than was given the Independents by their brethren called Presbyterians. Let your Grant now agree but with your intimations.

6. And how then ſay you, we would *diſpenſe with nothing*? For my part and thoſe of my mind, we never impoſed, nor endeavoured to impoſe any thing on any man, as neceſſary to Ordination, Miniſtry, or Communion, but [*The Owning of the Scripture Generally, and the Creeds, Lord's Prayer, and Decalogue and Sacraments particularly, with that meaſure of underſtanding them, and ability to teach them, which is neceſſary to a Miniſter, and fidelity therein.*] I never ſpoke for liberty herein for Episcopall, Independents yea and Anabaptiſts that only deny Infant Baptiſm, I wrote that hindring men's Miniſtry for their being againſt the Parliament: And I think I kept many and many thouſands from taking the Covenant.

7. At leaſt do you deny Liberty to none but thoſe that denied it to others, and we ſhall thankfully acquieſce.

“*Strict.* I cannot think the maker of theſe Propoſals could imagin that any, much leſs all of them would or could be agreed to.]

Anſw. 1. You ſpeak truly, if you mean [by thoſe men, of whom upon former tryal, he had ſo great Experience:] It were great weakneſs in him to have expected it. But yet he is ſo charitable as to be confident (though not certain) that if theſe Propoſals were made to the Conformable London Miniſters, (ſuch as Dr. *Whitchcot*, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Mr. *Gifford*, Dr. *Tillotſon*, Dr. *Cradock*; Dr. *Outram*, Dr. *Ford*, and many more ſuch Learned worthy peaceable men, in this City) they would either grant all that is here deſired, or abate ſo little as ſhould be no hindrance to our preſent Concord: And though I have no great acquaintance with any of them, yet my knowledge of them by fame and hearing them preach, doth render me ſo fully perſuaded, that if we could get the Caſe but referred to their Judgment and Counſel, inſtead of the Interreſſed Biſhops who brought us to the ſtate that we are in I make no doubt but we ſhould be all healed in a few weeks time. And that you may not think my confidence vain take this proof: Biſhop *Wilkins* was no fool nor fanatick: Theſe men are much of his ſpirit and judgment, (who was a Lover of Mankind, and of honeſty, peace and Impartiality and Juſtice.) And we agreed with him upon Terms like theſe, (upon the Lord Keeper *Bridgman's* Invitation) ſo far, that by mutual Conſent the Agreement was drawn up into the form of an Act, to have been offered to the houſe, ſo that as much as lay in him and us, we were all agreed and healed. And why ſhould I ſuſpect that any of theſe worthy perſons are leſs peaceable?

2. But by this Conclusion, those many persons, who have talk'd so loud how ready some great Clergy-men are to Condescend, agree and abate all Unnecessary things to Unite us and prevent Popery, may now see, past all doubt, the very truth of the Case. This Animadverter you see, would not grant [any] one of all these Proposals no not our forbearance of an Oath, or Subscription to *Ceremony*, or any piece of their imposed formalities, nor the leaving out of a word of the Liturgie, &c. What is it then that they would abate? such Dealing will make men see at last.

"*Strict.* ---Or that if the Non-conformists were, upon such Terms as these, permitted to exercise their Ministry, and made capable of Pastoral charges and other Preferments in our Church, this would be a means to heal our lamentable Divisions that are now among us: unless he will say that the best expedient to suppress Schism, is to embrace and cherish and to reward Schismatics, still professing and resolving to be so. Or that it is better and safer for the Church to have a fire within her bowels than without her doors; or contraries by being mingled together would thereby become less contrary or destructive to one another: No certainly: And therefore if they will still continue Non-conformists it is better and safer for the Church they should be still kept out than taken into it.

Ans. 1. But 'tis our Opinion (pardon our folly) that if the Law had not been made which forbad *Daniel* to pray to God, or commanded the worshiping of the Golden Image, they had been no Inconformists that kept not such a Law. And that if the Law were repeated which requireth Corporations to declare (that no man is bound by the solemn vow (no not to repent, nor against Popery, Schism, or Prophaness) they would be no Inconformists that did not so declare: And that if the Laws commanded us not to swear, subscribe, declare, Cross, &c. We were no Inconformists or Schismatics if we did them not. But the name of Schismatics is by such Godfathers as *Ithacius*, *Idacius*, and the rest of the Council of Bishops (from whom *Ambrose* dissended) put upon such as *St. Martin*, who separated from them to the death, for their Church-Tyranny and wicked Lives, and bringing Godly people into the suspicion and reproach of Priscillianism, if they did but meet for mutual edification and live Religiously. As *Grotius* saith that by a Papist he meaneth one that approveth of all that any Pope shall say or do (and I hope there are few such;) so with some men, a Schismatick is one that approveth not of all that a Pope or Prelate will prescribe. And if all the present Non-conformists were commanded to Preach with horns on their heads, to signify the conquering power of the Church, or Word, they were Schismatics, by such men's nomination, if they disobeyed. But I will now only ask, 1. Q. Were all the Apostles, and the Churches in their time and long after Schismatics, who knew not our Oaths, Declarations, Subscriptions, Liturgie, Ceremonies, &c.

Q. 2. Did they not take as wise a course for the Church's concord and the avoiding of Schism, as either the *English* or *Roman* Bishops take?

Q. 3. Had not the Omission of the *Romish* Canons about Transubstantiation, Tradition, and such like, been a better way to prevent heresie, than the obeying them? And may it not be so in our case? Would any be Schismatics for dissenting from Lay men's power of the Keys, from Crossing, &c. if there were no such Laws? And did not *Peter* and *Paul* please God as well without them as you do with them? And did not *Peter* and *Paul* go as safe a way to Heaven as you? And is he that consenteth to go the same way to heaven as they did, and to do all that the Universal Church imposed for an hundred, two hundred years after them (at least) yet worthier of the Name of a Schismatick, than the New Lords, that by new Laws do make and call all Schismatics that live as the Apostles did, or did command them, and no more?

2. You have tryed your *Better* and *safer* way (by silencing 1800 Ministers of Christ) by which the Flocks are scattered and divided, and we are as *Guelphes* and *Gibelines* in Contention; And if yet it seem best to you, a few years (by Death's interposition,) will help you to be of another mind. But, alas, must the souls of Millions and the Nation pay so dear for your mistake, while you are preparing for the too late Convictions of sad Experience?

"*Strict.* The only certain and safe way of healing these Divisions (as I conceive) is,

“ is, for all, that are taken into the Church, to submit to one and the same Rule,
 “ as well in *Agendis* as *Credendis*, as well in circumstantial and ceremonials, as
 “ in Substantial and Essentials; as well in the manner, as the matter of Religious
 “ Worship.

Ans. 1. And who shall make that Rule? The Bishops! And who shall be Bishops? You! And so the Sum is, The only certain, and safe way of Healing, is, for no Man to differ from our Judgment or Will in our *Agendis*, or *Credendis*, Circumstance or Substance, manner or matter of Worship, nor say a Word to God in publick, but what we write down for him, or allow him. What Sectary would not be such a Healer?

2. But I am sorry that any Christian, much more Pastors, can believe that ever all the Church will be such Idolizers of Man, as to stretch their Consciences to own all that for matter, and manner, substance, or Circumstance he shall prescribe; or else will all be so ripe in Knowledge, as all to know which are the right Modes and Circumstances, and so come to be of one mind. The Church of *Rome* had not needed Inquisitions, Flames, and Racks, nor lost so many Kingdoms, if this could have been done. But if ever the Church be heated by Men of your Opinion, by this which you account the only way, neither God nor Reason have herein spoken by me. Wonderful! that near one Thousand three Hundred Years Experience of the Churches doth not convince you, and teach you better.

“ *Strict* For though an Agreement in the Essentials only be enough to make
 “ any Man a Member of the Catholick, or universal Church, yet is it not enough
 “ to make a Man a Member of this or that particular National Church:
 “ For all the Reformed Churches agree (as appears by the *Corpus Confessionum*)
 “ in the Essentials of Faith and Worship; and therefore in that respect they
 “ are all Members of the Church-Catholick; but they do not agree, either in
 “ the same form of Government, or in the same outward form of Worship,
 “ or in the same Ecclesiastical Discipline, or in the same Rites and Ceremonies:
 “ And it is the Agreement in such things as these, as well as in Essentials,
 “ which constitutes, and giveth Denomination to the several National Churches;
 “ which, all of them taken together, do make up the Church Catholick:
 “ Thus to make up one Member of the *French*, *Dutch*, or any other Reformed
 “ Churches, it is not enough to be a Catholick, no nor a Protestant-Catholick
 “ neither; but he must subscribe, and conform, not only in point of
 “ Judgment to their Confession of Faith, but in point of Practice also to all
 “ their Rules, Orders, and Usages, in Preaching, Praying, Administration of
 “ the Sacraments, and all External Rites, and Ceremonies prescribed by publick
 “ Authority, to be used in the publick Worship of God, for the more solemn,
 “ more unanimous, more decent, and more edifying performance of the
 “ same; which, if any Man, upon any pretence whatsoever, refuse to do, he cannot
 “ be of such or such a National Church, where a Conformity to all such
 “ things is indispensably required of all that will be of, or continue in the
 “ foresaid respective Churches. And is it not as Lawful and reasonable for our
 “ Church to prescribe Conditions of her Communion, to those that will be of
 “ it, and continue in it, as it is for any other of the Reformed Churches to
 “ prescribe to those that are of theirs?

Ans. 1. It's well that Christ is more merciful than Men: His easie Yoke and light Burden, *Mat.* 11. 29. and the necessary things, *Act.* 15. is enough to make Men Members of him, and his Body the Church Catholick, that they may be saved: But he that will be of a National Church must bear and do no Man knows what!

2. But how will this stand with Christ's Catholick Laws? A true Catholick Christian shall be saved: But he that is *no more*, with you, is guilty of one of the greatest Crimes, *viz.* Contempt of your Authority; and can he then be Saved? Christ's Catholick Members must love, honour, and cherish each other: But with you, he that obeyeth you not in every Word, Mode, and circumstance, or ceremony, is to be silenced, and persecuted. Christ's Laws are, that he that

is weak even in the Faith, be received, but not to doubtful disputations, and that for smaller difference we neither despise nor judge each other, but receive one another as Christ received us, and that so far as we have attained, we walk by the same Rule, and mind the same things, and if in any thing we be otherwise minded, God will reveal even this unto us: And that we must love one another with a pure Heart, fervently, and by this be known to all Men to be Christ's Disciples: But your *National* Process carrieth it beyond this Line; you will first break this Catholick Law (as if your National Church were not part of the Universal) and make Laws for judging the foresaid Dissenters, and then plead *yours* against *Christ's Laws*, and say, he meant not those that are under a Law, (while he forbad such Laws.) And so you may Excommunicate, reproach, avoid, imprison, undo, and silence those that Christ commanded you tenderly to Love, and say they are Schismatics, for they obey us not in every Circumstance O! how much easier is Christ's Yoke than yours?

3. But what is this *National Church* which is so contrary to Christ's Catholick Church? If it be all the Churches and Christians that are under one Christian Prince, we own it as such: But this needs no such conditions as you name: And it is not true that the Catholick Church consisteth only of such; for the Subjects of the *Turks* and Heathens are part of the Catholick Church: If it be all the Churches of a Kingdom as *voluntarily associated* for Communion or Concord, I repeat the same as aforesaid. But if you mean all the Churches of a Kingdom, as under *one Constitutive Ecclesiastical Head*, and *Pastor*, few Protestants will say that it is of *God's* Institution; (*Bilson* and others usually say Patriarchs, Metropolitans, &c. are humane Creatures:) And verily I had rather be no Member of a Church of Man's making (till I better know the Maker's Authority) than renounce all that mutual Love, and Brotherly concord and forbearance, and kindness, and all Christ's Promises of Salvation to such, which he hath settled upon his Catholick Members. And if what you say be true, who would not rather far be a meer Catholick Christian, out of all National Churches, than be in them? But I yet hold, that though your particular Canon bind not the Church universal, yet Christ's universal Laws bind all particular Churches and Christians.

4. And that which maketh me dissent is, that I am not able to discern how all Men can obey such Laws as you mention, and live in any concord with you, without renouncing all Conscience, Christianity, and Religion. Not that I indge all to do so that agree with you: For those that agree in *Judgment*, may agree in *Practice*. But you must make me mad, or unacquainted with Mankind, before you make me believe that a whole Kingdom will ever be so perfect in Judgment, or so much of the same temper, Education, condition, converse, &c. as to be all of one Mind in every word, circumstance, ceremony, and mode of Worship, and Discipline, upon Christian, conscientious terms. Either they must absolutely believe as the Rulers bid them, or not. If yea, then most *Turks*, Heathens, Papists are in the right, that be of the Religion of their Rulers. If not, some bounds and Rules must shew them the difference, how far Obedience is to be given: And the Subjects must be the *Discerners*, whether the Case falls under those Qualification or not: As *e. g.* whether it be Sin against God. And when all the Men and Women in a Kingdom have a Multitude of Words, circumstances, and ceremonies, and modes to try by such Rules, they will never be of one Mind about them, who would be of one Mind in a few plain things. And then you come and make their Disobedience to be one of the *greatest Crimes*, deserving Excommunication, Imprisonment, and ruin; so that you make such a National Church to be a trap for Men's undoing and Damnation.

5. As for what you say of the Foreign Churches, their Country-men say, that it is not all one to impose the necessary Discharge of Men's plain, undeniable Duty, and to impose the Humane Work, which you can describe. But I am a stranger to them, and am bound to receive nothing against another, till I hear both Parties speak; nor am I concerned in the Case, as not being bound to justify them any more than you. If it be as you say, no wonder if they have the distractions and calamities, and Divisions, which render them the objects of compassion. The Serpent, that beguiled *Eve*, hath long ago tempted almost all the Churches from the *Ancient Christian Simplicity*, in Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship, which is the only way of common Concord.

6. But yet besides the Catholick Church, we hold *particular Churches* being Christian Assemblies, to be of Christ's Institution. And it is impossible there to worship God without the determination of many Circumstances and Modes: Some Translation, some Metre of Psalms, some Tune, some Time and Place, some Pastor, some Utensils, must be chosen: And he, that will herein depart from the Common chosen Circumstance, departeth therein himself, from their Communion: But yet such may serve God acceptably in another Assembly, and may live in Christian Love and Peace, though they Sing not in the same Tune or Gesture; or use not every Ceremony alike. And this is nothing to the making of new Symbols, Oaths, Subscriptions, or other things, not necessary *in genere*, and that by the Officers of a National Humane Church, and this not only to be *done*, and quietly born, but *approved*: Your Way is the most proper Engine to tear in pieces all the Churches in the World, or reduce them to a *Spanish* Humane Obedience. For if a particular Parish-Church did not so much as tye Men to a Ceremony, but mere Determinations, which must some way be made; If the Priest stood at the Church door, and said, You shall not enter, unless you will Subscribe, or Say, or Swear, that we are infallible in all that we do; or that there is no Sin, no Fault, nothing contrary to God's Will and Word; nothing but what you Assent, and Consent to, in all our Translations of Scripture, in all our Versions, Tunes, Words, Gestures, Circumstances, I would never enter into that Church; though I will gladly and peaceably joyn with them, if they will let me alone without such Obligations to justify all they do. One would think this should have been past Controversie before this day, among the Prudent Pastors of the Churches.

"*Strict.* Still supposing, that neither they, nor we, require any thing that may not be submitted to without sin.

Ans. Upon that Supposition we have no Controversie with you; Then what need any of this ado? But who shall be the Judge? If you must, and that absolutely; then it is all one to us whether it be sin or no sin: for, to us, it will be none, if we do as you bid us: But then why do Protestants condemn Papists, who do as they are bidden? And why do our Articles condemn them, that say, All Men may be saved in the Religion they are bred in; when they all do as they are bidden, even they that desie Christ. But, if you hold not to this, what shall we do? Are we our selves the discerning Judges? Then we protest before God and Men, that we take the things that we deny Conformity to, to be sins, and very heinous sins, and very far from things indifferent: If you say, that we must obey you till we are past doubt, and certain that 'tis sin; I Answer, 1. It's too few things that Man's Understanding reacheth to a certainty in: What if I verily think, that I see reason to take that which a Bishop or Church Com-manded, to be Blasphemy, Perjury, Treason, Murder, Heresie, &c. but I am not certain and past doubt: Must I then do it? Then a Man that can be but *sufficiently ignorant*, or *doubtful*, may stick at no Com-manded Wickedness. Some other Rule therefore than this must be found out. If you say, *That we have no reason to take any thing commanded for sin; and you think you confute all our Objections*; I Answer, 1. So all Imposers think, or most: And so we are as confident that our Reason is good, and that we see the gross Errors of your Answers: And all this is but to say, that no Man is to be Tolerated in your Church, that is not in every thing in the Right (and that in your Judgments.) Suppose you were In-fallible, so are not all the Subjects: And if their Reason be bad, and yours good, all that is no more than to say, That *They Err*, or are Mistaken: And if no Man shall be Tolerated with you that *Err*eth, and that in as great a Mat-ter as a Circumstance, or Ceremony; no two Men in the World must hold Com-munion on such Terms. I am confident I study as hard as you: I am confident I am as impartial and willing to know the Truth: I have far less than you to tempt me to the contrary. And yet I verily think Conformity to me would be a heinous Sin: Nay, I am past doubt of it, if that will serve. Give us but leave to publish our Reasons freely, and you shall see whether we have any Reason. But if yet I be mistaken, Shall your National-Church have never a Member To-lerated that is as ignorant and bad as I? Hold to that, and try the Issue, whe-ther your Church will be as numerous as you are.

"*Strict.* And

"*Strict.* And Churches abroad both have been and will be our Compurgators, and
 "I wish the *Presbyterians of England and Scotland* would be content to stand to the
 "Judgment of all the *Presbyterian Churches* abroad, whether they may not with-
 "out sin conform to all that (by our Church) is required of them. Nay, whether
 "they can refuse to Conform without sin.

Ans. Content: I and all of my mind profess, that we will accept your offer:
 But we wish as sincerely that you would stand to it. Not that we take any Men for
 the Lords of our Faith: but let them hear us speak, and if they say, that it is lawful
 (or not a heinous sin in us) to Conform, we will acquiesce and never more accuse
 you as Persecutors, but silently undergo all the Accusation of Schism. But then by
 the *Churches*, you must not mean any odd persons, but the Churches indeed.

"*Strict.* Especially in this Conjunction of time, when we have so great reason to
 "fear the prevailing of the Common Enemy against us both; and consequently, not
 "only the Endangering, but the utter ruining of the Protestant Religion, and that
 "not only here, but perhaps in all the World besides; the guilt whereof will lie e-
 "specially at our Doors if we do not agree.

Ans. 1. What is the great reason you have to fear the prevailing of the Common
 Enemy, and utter ruin of the Protestant Religion. Is it from our State at home?
 Or from abroad? If the later, we understand it not, nor who is the Cause. If the
 former, Where lyeth the danger? Is it in the increase of Papists, as to *Quality*
 or *Number* of persons? Did not you cause the Silencing of 1800 Ministers, and there-
 by (and otherwise) the disaffecting of many Hundred thousand people (I think)
 who would have loved and Served you? Did not you help to Banish them Five
 Miles from (not the Court only) but all Cities and Corporations, and Places of
 their former Ministry? Did you not undertake all the Ministerial Work, without
 them; And say, you could do it better without them than with them, as being suffi-
 cient your selves. Did not one of you tell me, that you thought any Congregation
 was better to have none, then such as I? Do you not still here conclude, that unless
 we will conform to every Oath, Subscription, Word, &c. It's better that we be out-
 of your Church than in it? And do you, after all your Undertakings and Sufficiency,
 now bring us so sad an account of your success? Have you been bringing our Reli-
 gion to no better a pass? Have high and low been no better instructed and prefer-
 red by you? Hath Popery been no better resisted by you in those Places whence
 you Banished us? Do you now come and tell us, that we have great reason to fear
 the utter ruin of the Protestant Religion? Is this your account of your underta-
 ken Stewardship? What hands then is the Church fallen into, if it be so used?

2. O let us all hear and fear what Man may come to: Would our Agreement
 do any thing to prevent this terrible danger which you describe; And will you still
 tell all the World, That rather than we shall not be compelled against our Consci-
 ences (to our Damnation if we obey) to Declare, that we assent and consent to eve-
 ry word, yea, and use every word in all your Liturgy, to Declare, That Millions
 whom we know not, if they Vow in their Places and Calling, to endeavour a Refor-
 mation of the Church (were it but in Lay-Men's power of the Keys) are not obli-
 gged by that Vow: rather than we shall be suffered not to Swear Obedience to the
 Bishops (though we are responsible to the Law for any Disobedience;) rather
 than we shall be Suffered to forbear the Image of the Cross in Baptism, or to forbear
 to pronounce every wicked Man saved that we Bury, or to suffer a Parent to Cove-
 nant in Baptism for his own Child; or rather than we shall be endured to forbear
 turning Godly People that dare not kneel, from Church-Communion, and pro-
 nouncing them Excommunicate every six Months if the Chancellor or Bishop bid
 us; Rather than this shall be granted us, we shall have no Agreement, the Com-
 mon Enemy shall prevail, the Protestant Religion shall not only be endangered,
 but utterly ruin'd here, and throughout the World! And is it so indeed? And
 yet would you make us believe that you are against the ruin of it; who will not
 prevent it at so easie a rate? What good doth it do you for me to subscribe as *ex*
Animo, that there is not a word in your Liturgy or Ordination, contrary to the
 Word of God, and that I assent and consent to all that is in it? When I am
 without this responsible for all Omission, or Opposition to it. We offer, if ne-
 cessary, to take our Oaths, as in the presence of God, the Judge of all, that
 we would agree with you, and obey you too in any thing, except that which we
 judge to be forbidden of God: We offer our Reasons, which perswade us, that
 you

your Impositions obeyed would be our sin, and heinous sin: We are past doubt, that your Answers to them are frivolous. You dare not allow us to bring all into the Light, and to Print our Case and Reasons, that the World may Judge of them: We that pay so dear for our Dissent, are as likely to be Unbiased, as you that have the Wealth and Honours of the World! And were it not liker to be moved by our Reputation with the poorer sort, than you by your Reputation with the Great and Honourable, if not the most. And if yet we be mistaken, so is all the World in as great a Matter, as most things now in Question. You call them Indifferent: We think them not so: And yet shall Protestant Religion be ruin'd in all the World, rather than you should not have your will in our obedience to you, in every prescribed Word, Ceremony, Covenant or Oath, after all this?

“*Strict.* And at Ours indeed of the Church-party, if we require what cannot be consented to without sin.]

Ans. Ex ore tuo — What you required of old we debated 1660, and you never gave us an Answer to what we largely offered you, in Confutation of your Defence: And how then did you think we should know we Erred? Not by what you kept secret in your thoughts. And, as to the New Conformity, we never had leave to give our Reasons against it, by Word or Writing. Grant us but that leave, and if we do not openly prove, that to Conform would be our sin, and very heinous sin (not meddling with any Men's Conscience but our own) call us Schismatics, and go on to use us as you have done. Which, I say, as to my self, who offer to assume that suffering, as the penalty of my Error, if I err; but not to justify you, if it were so, who are no more allowed by Christ to shut all that err out of the Church, than to Un-church every person in the World.

“*Strict.* But at theirs that refuse to come in to us, if they may, without sin, submit to all that their acknowledged Superiours require of them.

Ans. Which they are most confident they cannot do: And if *Quoad Materiam*, they should mistake, I think yet St. Paul mistook not, in saying, *He that doubteth is condemned if he eat, because he eateth not in Faith* — And him that is weak in the Faith receive, &c. And therefore I would deny your Consequence comparatively: There are various degrees of Guilt: If you made a Canon, that all the present Conformists should take the Pope, with Bishop *Bramhall*, to be Patriarch of the West, and *Principium Unitatis* to the Universal Church, or should own the Church of *Rome*, the Council of *Trent*, and the rest, as far as *Grotius* did; or should subscribe, that the Septuagint is to be preferred before the Hebrew Text; Or if it were but *these*, and not *those* of all the various Readings are the right; or that there is not a word faulty in our Old Translation (or New) or in any Book that ever the Convocation approved of (as well as the Liturgy, &c.) If all this should prove lawful (as it never will) and they should turn Nonconformists to your Canon, and hereupon they should all be silenced, and Popery thereupon come in, Who were guilty of all this? They, with that degree of guilt, which all Men have, in that they are imperfect: Or you, with that more heinous Guilt, which is incomparably greater. If you said, All Ministers shall be Silenced, and People Excommunicated that have any Error and Sin; Their Error and Sin is some Culpable Cause of the Consequent ruin of the Church; but nothing in comparison of Yours, who are the Grand Cause.

“*Strict.* And for this, if they refuse to stand to the Judgment of Foreign Churches, I refer them to Mr. *Baxter*, one of the most Eminent Divines of their own party, who, in the 2d. Chapter of the last of his 5 *Disputations*, having enumerated the Controverted Ceremonies (*viz.* the Surplice, Kneeling at the Lord's Supper, the Rails, and the Cross in Baptism) though he finds fault with the imposing of them (which the Governours are to answer for) yet, that they may be obeyed without sin (which are all that Subjects are concerned in) he concludes of all, but the Cross in Baptism only; which he would not have excepted neither, if it were used (as we say it is) as a Teaching, or a Professing Sign only; and not as a Sacramental, as he mistaketh it to be: for we do not use it as a means to confer Grace, which is the *formalis ratio* of a Sacramental-Sign; but to signify, and put us in mind of Grace only. The like he concludes

"cludes concerning the use of the Liturgy: And as for the Government; the Proposer doth not propose the Alteration of it, and consequently implyeth, it may be submitted to as it is, without sin.

Ans. 1. You speak all this against your self, to tell the World how narrow your Church, and how strait your Charity is; whilst he, that you say, is so much of your Mind, is judged unworthy to be permitted to Preach the Gospel of Christ, and worthier to lye in a Common Gaol among Thieves and Rogues; yea, that it is better for any Congregation to have no Minister than such. All this Compliance with you is as good as none, to procure him but leave to Preach Repentance: For he offered you to Preach only on the Creed, and Catechism, and could not prevail, though responsible for any thing said amiss. And he challengeth you to name any one of all the Complying Principles of that Book which he hath ever receded from, or contradicted.

2. They refuse not to stand to the Judgment of other Protestant Churches, that shall hear themselves speak for themselves.

3. Did Mr. Baxter in that Book, or any where else say, That it is Lawful to Subscribe according to the Canon, as *ex Animo*, that there is *nothing in all your Liturgy, or Book of Ordination, contrary to the Word of God?* Or that the English Diocesan Frame may be Sworn to for Obedience? Or, that King or Parliament have not power to make, or Endeavour any alteration of your Church-Government, if they had sworn it? no nor a Lay-Chancellor's Spiritual Power; Nor any subject to Petition, or any way endeavour the same, if he had sworn it, &c. Did he ever say that it was lawful to Excommunicate as many of Christ's faithful Members, either by Pronunciation, or Rejecting them from Communion, as the Bishops or Chancellor will command him? Or to deny Baptism to the Children of all that Scruple Crossing them, or that insist on their duty of Covenanting in their Children's Name themselves? Did he ever say, that your New Subscription, Declaration, Oath, or Re-ordination are Lawful? I think not.

4. He that can submit to your Government, that is, peaceably obey you without sin, cannot therefore Subscribe, that you stand by a Divine Right, or that all is faultless, and nothing alterable in your Government. He would have lived peaceably in *Israel* when the Priesthood was Corrupted, and the High-Places not taken down, or in the *Greek Church*, where are many faults, or among the *Armenians*, or *Abassines*; but he would have lain in Gaol rather than make a Covenant (Contrary to part of his Baptismal Vow) never to obey God in endeavouring any reformation of these in his place and Calling, telling all others, that none of them are bound to do it, no not if they had Vowed it; Or rather than he would have Subscribed his Approbation and Consent to all, and Covenanted to live and die impenitently herein: He taketh not these for things indifferent. But we find that you will not let men live under you quietly on Terms of patient submission, unless they be fully of your mind.

You say the Proposer proposeth not the alteration of the Government; Therefore it may be submitted to without sin.] He proposeth it not because he knoweth you would not consent: Bishop *Usher's Primitive Episcopacy* was the Government desired in vain, for our Healing, 1660. But again, I say, All, that may be submitted to, may not, by Subscriptions, Covenants, or Oaths, be justified and approved.

5. Lastly, As to the Cross, he then thought, and thinks still, that it is forbidden by the Second Commandment, and that as an Image and Symbol of Christianity, and a New Humane Sacrament, of which before.

If possibly *Light* may have any Acceptance, I will adjoyn these Questions for the Opponent whosoever.

Qu. 1. Do you not believe in your Conscience, that Agreement would be more easie and common on our Terms of *Meer Christianity*, and Things *Necessary*, than on Yours, by adding many things doubted of, and needless? Will not more agree in the *Creed*, than in *Aquinas's Sums*, if it were all true?

Q. 2. Doth not the knowledge of Humane Darknes, and Variety of Educations, Tempers, Interests, Converse, &c. and the Paucity of very knowing Men convince you, that Concord must be in few, and great, and evident things?

Q. 3. Do

Q. 3. Doth not the Experience of all Ages prove it past doubt ?

Q. 4. Doth not the Conscience of your own Frailty, and imperfect Knowledge moderate you ? Dare you say, That you are not ignorant of plainer and greater things than we suffer about ?

Q. 5. Do you not hold, That God must be first obeyed, and none against him ? And should not a desire to obey God first be cherished ? And do you cherish it, by saying to us, [*Though you think it a heinous sin to conform, yet do it, or Suffer for your Dissent ?*

Q. 6. Was it not an Act of Christ's Wisdom, Mercy and Sovereignty, to make the Baptismal Covenant (which the Church explained by the Creed) to be the Stablished Universal Test and Badge of his Disciples and Church-Members ? And did it not seem good to the Holy Ghost, and the Apostles, *Acts 15.* to impose *only necessary things* ? And is it not a Condemning, or Contradicting God needlessly, to take a *Contrary Course* ?

Q. 7. Is not Christ's way, and the first Churches, most likely to save the People's Souls, and yours to damn them ? For you will confess, that Christ's few evident necessary Conditions of Christianity would save Men, if Bishops and Rulers added no more. But if a multitude more (which you count Lawful) are added, then the Nonconformists to them are in danger of Damnation, for the Crime of Contempt of your Authority : So that *consequently* you make all your Impositions needful to Salvation, and so make it far harder to be saved, than otherwise it would have been.

Q. 8. What hindereth any debauched Conscience from entering into your Ministry, who dare Say, or Swear any thing ; while he that feareth an Oath, or a Lie, may be kept out ? And against which of these should you more carefully shut the Door ?

Q. 9. If Agreement be desirable, Which side may more easily, and at a cheaper rate yield and alter, you or we ? If you forbear Imposing an Oath, Subscription, Declaration, or Ceremony, it would not do you a Farthing's-worth of hurt : If we Swear, Subscribe, Declare, Conform, we take our selves to be heinous and wilful sinners against God : You call that Indifferent, which we believe is Sin.

Q. 10. Do you not confess, that you are not Infallible ? yea, and subscribe, that General-councils are not ; even in matters of Faith ? And yet must we subscribe our Assent to every word in these Books, or else be Silenced, or Suffer ? Do these well consist ?

Q. 11. Dare you deny, that many of your Silenced Brethren Study as hard as you to know the Truth, and have as good Capacity ? And are they not as like to be Impartial, who suffer as much by their Judgment, as you gain by yours ? Judge but by your selves. Doth their kind of Interest tempt *you* more than your own to partiality ?

Q. 12. Is it not gross Uncharitableness, and Usurpation of God's Prerogative, to say, That they do it not out of Conscience, when you have no more from the nature of their Cause, Motives, or Conversation, to warrant such a Censure ? And they are ready to take their Oaths, as before God, that were it not for fear of sinning, they would Conform.

Q. 13. Do your Consciences never startle, when you think of Silencing 1800 such Ministers ? and depriving so many Thousand Souls of their Ministry ?
1 *Thesi.* 2. 15, 16.

Q. 14. Can you hope to make us believe while we dwell in *England*, that the People's Ignorance and Vice is so far Cured, or the *Conformists*, for Number and
S f f f 2 Quality,

Quality, are so sufficient, without the Nonconformists, that they should rest Silent, on supposition, their Labours are unnecessary?

Q. 15. Is not the loss of a Faithful Teacher, where, through *Paucity*, or Unqualifiedness of the Conformable, he is necessary, a very great Affliction to the People? And, Do the Innocent Flocks deserve to suffer in their Souls for our Nonconformity?

Q. 16. Could not Men of your great Knowledge find out some other Punishment for us (such as Drunkards, Swearers, Fornicators have) which may not hurt the People's Souls, nor hinder the Preaching of Christ's Gospel?

Q. 17. Seeing at Ordination, we profess, that all things necessary to Salvation are in (or provable by) the Scripture, Do you not confess, that your *Inventiunculae* are not necessary to Salvation? And is the Nonconformist's Ministry no more necessary?

Q. 18. How say you, That only Christianity is necessary to a Member of the Universal Church, and so much more be necessary to the Members of particular Churches, and the Universal consist of them?

Q. 19. Did any National Church impose any one Liturgy, or Subscription besides the Creed, or any Oath of Obedience to the Bishops, for 300, 400, 500 years after Christ's Nativity?

Q. 20. Can you Read *Rom.* 14. and 15, and not believe that it bindeth the Church-Rulers as well as the People?

Q. 21. Did the Ancient Discipline, not enforced by the Sword for 300 years, do less good than yours? Or was any Man Imprison'd or Punish'd by the Sword *eo nomine*, because Excommunicate, as a Contemner of Church-power in not repenting, for many Hundred years after there were Christian Magistrates?

Q. 22. Hath not the making false Conditions of Communion, and making Unnecessary things necessary thereto, been the way, by which the Papists have Schismatically divided Christians?

Q. 23. Should not Bishops be the most skilful and forward to heal, and the most backward to divide or persecute?

Q. 24. Could you do more to extirpate Episcopacy, than to make it hateful to the People, by making it hurtful?

Q. 25. Would you do as you do, if you loved your Neighbour as your selves, and loved not Superiority?

Q. 26. Were not those, that *Gildas* called no Ministers, such, as too many now, obtruded on the People? And was not the Case of the Bishops that *St. Martin* separated from to the Death, like yours, or much fairer?

§. 257. A little after some Great Men of the House of Commons drew up a Bill, as tending to our Healing, to take off our Oaths, Subscriptions and Declarations, except the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance, and Subscriptions to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, according to the 13th. of *Elix.* But shewing it to the said Bishop of *Winchester*, he caused them to forbear, and broke it: And instead of it he furthered an Act only to take of *Assent and Consent*, and the *Renunciation* of the *Government*; which would have been but a Cunning Snare to make us more remediless and do no good; seeing that the same things with the repeated Clauses would be still by other continued Obligations required, as may be seen in the Canon for Subscription, Act, 2. and in the *Oxford-Act*, for the Oath, and confining Refusers. And it's credibly averred, that when most of the other Bishops were against even this ensnaring shew of abatement, he told them in the House

House [that had it been but to abate us a Ceremony, he would not have spoken in it : But he knew that we were bound to the same things still, by other Clauses or Obligations, if these were Repealed.]

§. 258. But on Feb. 24. all these things were Suddenly ended, the King early, suddenly, and unexpectedly Proroguing the Parliament till *November*. Whereby the Minds of both Houses were much troubled, and Multitudes greatly exasperated, and alienated from the Court : Of whom many now saw that the Leading Bishops had been the great Causes of our Divisions ; but others hating the Nonconformists more ; were still as hot for Prelacy and their Violence as ever.

§. 259. All this while the aspiring sort of Conformists, that looked for Preferment, and the Chaplains that lived in fullness ; and other Malignant Factioned Clergymen, did Write and Preach to stir up King, Parliament, and others, to Violence and Cruelty, against the Liberty, and blood of the Nonconformists, who lived quietly by them in Labour and Poverty, and medled not with them, (besides their necessary Dissent. (Some railed at them as the most intolerable Villains in the World ; especially *S. Parker* (jocularly confuted and detected by *Mr. Marvel* a Parliament Man,) and one *Hickeringhill*, and others, came near him in their malignity ; And Papists, taking the advantage, set in and did the like. One Wrote, [a Sober Enquiry of the Reasons why the Nonconformable Ministers were still so valued by the People,] (which was their grievous vexation,) And pretended many Causes, I know not whether more malignantly or foolishly, which none could believe but Strangers, and those that were blinded by the Faction, Malignity, or False Reports. One *Dr. Asheton*, Chaplain to the Duke of *Ormond*, Wrote a Book, 1. To perswade those to Subscribe who held it lawful, and forbore it only for fear of offending others ; falsely insinuating, that this was the Nonconformists Case ; when I never knew one Man such among them all to this day. 2. To stir up Rulers to Violence, to Ruine us, perswading them that it is no Persecution : And the Man was not afraid to profess to the World [*That as he was going to meet us at the Bar of God, the Reason why so many Subscribed not, was Reputation and Interest, Pride and Covetousness ;*] And that he might not seem Stark Mad with Malice, in charging Men with Covetousness, that I lost all, and lived so poorly upon the Charity of others (mostly poor themselves,) he giveth you 2 proofs of their covetousness. 1. That by Non-conformity they got Living for their conformable Sons. 2. That they lost nothing by their Non-conformity (as Bishop *Gunning* also vehemently told me :) words which tell the world that History is no more credible to Posterity, than either the Consent of all Parties, or the notoreity of fact, or the honesty of the Writer, can make it so, by being known as it's evidence : Words which tell you that it's hard to devise words, so false and impudent, befitting the Devil himself were the speaker, which Carnal Clergy-men may not be drawn with great confidence to utter. For 1. of the 1000, or 2000. Ministers that were Silenced, I have not yet heard of thirty in all, nor of twenty, or twelve yet living, that have Conformable Sons in the Ministry. And of those I know not of one that Conformed by his father's consent, And why should not the father's Conformity be the liker to help his son to a Living than his Non-conformity, when the far greatest part of the Presenters or Patrons are Conformists ? And would not covetousness rather make both *father* and *son* Conform, that both might have Livings, than the son alone ? And do a thousand or 1600 Ministers, that have no Conformable sons in the Ministry, refuse Conformity, that 20, or 40 of other Minister's sons may have Livings ? Did I not consider that, among *Strangers* and *Malignants*, any thing may be believed that is bad, I should think the Devil a fool for playing his game so unskilfully. 2. And that they lose nothing, by losing all their Church maintenance now above eleven years together, is a thing hardly to be believed by their poor families, or neighbours, who know that many go in rags and want bread, and even in *London*, more than one have lately died of Colds and Diseases, contracted by poverty and want of the necessary Comforts of Life. And it is a wonder of God's mercy, and the honour of charitable People, especially in *London*, that it is not so with a very great number of them.

§ 260. This Malignity inviteth me once more to recite my own case : I have lost not only the Bishoprick which they offered me by Non-conformity, but all Ministerial maintenance these eleven years now near 24. years in 1684. I have these eleven years Preached for nothing : I know not to my remembrance that I have
received

received a groat, as for Preaching these eleven years, but what I have returned (unless I may call about the sum of ten pounds which some persons gave me on particular occasions, and 35 lb. which three gave me in the Jail to defray my Prison-charges, by that name, or ten pounds *per Ann.* which Sergeant *Fountain* gave me till he dyed, to whom I never Preached, nor was it on that account) only four pounds I received for Preaching the Merchant's Lecture, and 6 lb. more was offered me as my due, and some offered me somewhat after a year's Preaching at Mr. *Turner's* Church : but I sent it every penny back to them, and resolved (while it is as it is) to take no money for my Preaching. 1. Because I preach but in other men's Churches, to people that maintain other Ministers already, 2. Because I want not, but have to give, when multitudes are in great necessity. 3. Because I will be under no temptation by dependence or obligation which may hinder me from dealing plainly with Dissenters and Offenders. 4. Because I perceive that, when men's purses are fought to, it tempteth many to question whether we sincerely seek the good of their Souls. On all which Accounts & not (I think) from proud disdain, I have so long refused money for preaching. And whereas they say how much I receive for my printed books, I again at this year 1674. profess that having printed about 70. Books, no one Lord, Knight, or any person to whom (as it's called) any of them were Dedicated or inscribed, ever offered me a groat, save the City of *Coventry* and the Lady *Kous*, each a piece of Plate of about 4 lb. value: And whereas the fifteenth Book printed is my due from the Bookseller, which I use, for almost all of them, to give my friends, which amounteth to many thousands, I remember not that every one person, noble or ignoble offered me one groat to this day, for any book I gave them. And I mention all this, because I am not capable of confuting the malicious calumniators by distant instances so well as by my own case; But yet that the Readers may partly conjecture, at the case of many of my Brethren, by my own: who yet never received a groat from my Inheritance or Patrimony (my poor kindred having much more than all :) Were not malice impudent, these Apologies were needless, for men, that the world seeth are turned out of all. Yea we our selves pay constantly to the maintenance of the Conformable Ministers, though we have no part our selves.

And I can truly say that I have offered money to my old acquaintance, who live silenced in a very poor and hard condition, who have stiffly refused it because they thought it unlawful while they had Bread and Drink, to take money while many of their Brethren were in greater need.

And at the same time while these envious Preachers cried out against our Preaching, and perswaded men how fully we were maintained, they laboured for Laws to increase their settled maintenance, and some of them in my hearing Preached how miserable a case the Clergy were in, were they left to the people's kindness and bounty: And yet proclaim our fulness, who are left to the kindness of those few (who also pay fully their Tythes to the Parish Ministers) who, these Envyers say, are but the smaller and poorer sort in the Land; which comparatively is true, (though by this time I think the far greatest part are grown into dislike with the present Prelates, who yet cleave to their Church.) And if their noble, rich, and numerous followers would leave them in want, were they left to their Charity, it seems they take their Church to consist of men much more covetous, and less Religious and liberal than our few poor men.

§. 261. The Lord's day, before the Parliament was dissolved, one of these Prelatists Preached to them to perswade them that we are obstinate, and not to be tolerated, nor cured by any means, but *Vengeance*, urging them to set Fire to the Fagot, and teach us by Scourges or Scorpions, and open our eyes with Gall. Yet none of these men will procure us leave to publish, or offer to Authority the Reasons of our Non-conformity. But this is not the first proof that a carnal, worldly, proud, ungodly Clergie, who never were serious in their own professed belief, nor felt the power of what they Preach, have been, in most Ages of the Church, its greatest plague, and the greatest hinderers of Holiness and Concord by making their formalities and Ceremonies the test of Holiness, and their Worldly Interest and Domination the only cement of Concord: And O how much hath Satan done against Christ's Kingdom in the World, by setting up Pastors and Rulers over the Churches, to fight against Christ in his own name and livery, and to destroy piety and peace, by a pretence of promoting them!

§. 262. This foresaid Preacher brings to my remembrance a Silenced Minister who

who heard the Sermon, Mr. *John Humphrey*, a man not strait and factious in Doctrine, Government or Worship, as his Books shew for the middle way, about Election, Justification, &c. and his former Writings, for giving the Lord's Supper to the Ungodly to convert them, and his own Reordination, and writing for Reordination: The former Sessions of Parliament he printed a sheet for Concord, by restoring some silenced Ministers, and tolerating others, for which he was Imprisoned (as was Dr. *Ludovicus Molineus* M. D. Son to old *Peter* for writing his *Patronus* against the Prelatists: but delivered by the Common Act of Pardon. And this Session the said Mr. *Humphrey* again printed another sheet, and put it into the hands of many Parliament men; which though slighted, and frustrate by the Prorogation of the House, yet I think hath so much reason in it, that I shall here annex it, though it speak not at all to the righteousness of our Cause, and the Reasons of our Non-conformity, that the Reader may see upon what Terms we stood: But the truth is, when we were once contrived into the Parliament's Inquisition and persecution, it was resolved that we should be saved by the King or not at all; and that Parliaments and Laws should be our Tormenters, and not our Deliverers any more.

Mr. John Humphrey's Papers given to the Parliament-Men.

Comprehension with Indulgence.

Nil est jam dictum quod non fuit dictum prius. Terence.

IT hath pleased his Majesty by several gracious Overtures to commend a Union of his Protestant Subjects to the consideration of a Parliament. A design full of all Princely Wisdom, Honesty, and Goodness. In this Achievement there is a double Interest (I apprehend) to be distinguished and weighed; that of Religion it self, and that of the Nation. The advance of Religion doth consist much in the Unity of its Professors, both in Opinion and Practice, to be of one Mind, and one Heart, and one way (in Discipline and Worship) so far as may be according to the Scriptures. The advance of the Nation does lie in the freedom and flourishing of Trade, and uniting the whole Body in the common Benefit, and dependence on the Government. The one of these bespeaks an Established Order and Accommodation; the other bespeaks Indulgence, Liberty of Conscience, or toleration. For while People are in danger about Religion, we dare not launch out into Trade (say they) but we must keep our Moneys, being we know not into what Straits we shall be driven; and when, in reference to their Party, they are held under severity, it is easie for those, who are designing Heads, to mould them into Wrath and Faction; which, without that occasion, will melt, and dissolve it self into bare Dissent of Opinion, peaceably rejoycing under the Enjoyment of Protection.

The King we know is concerned, as *Supreme Governour*, and as a *Christian, Protestant Governour*. As he is *King*, he is to seek the welfare of the Nation, as he is a *Christian* the Flourishing of Religion; and the Protestant Religion particularly is his Interest, as this Kingdom doth lie in Ballance (he being the chief Party) with its Neighbour Nations.

The Judgment now of some is for a *Comprehending Act*, which may take in those who are for our Parochial Churches, that severity then might be used for reclaiming all whosoever separate from them: The Judgment of some others is, for a free and equal *Act of Grace* to all indifferently (the Papists with most excepted) whether Separatists or others, abhorring *Comprehension*, as more dangerous to them, upon that Account mentioned, than all the Acts that have passed. Neither of these Judge up to the full interest of the King and Kingdom, as is proposed. It becomes not the *Presbyterian*, if his Principles will admit him to own our Parochial Churches, and enjoy a Living, to be willing to have his Brethren, the *Independents*, given up to Persecution: And it becomes not the *Separatist*, if he may but enjoy his Conscience, to Repine, or envy at the *Presbyterian* for reaping any further Emolument, seeing

seeing both of them (supposing the later may do so) have as much at the bottom as can be, in their Capacities, desired of either. It is an Act therefore of a mixt Complexion, providing both *Comprehension* and *Indulgence* for the different Parties, must serve our Purpose.

And to this end (as we may humbly hope) there is a *Bill* at present in the House, *A Bill for the ease of the Protestant Dissenter in the business of Religion*. Which that (upon this present Prorogation) it may be cast into this Model, I must present the same, yet in a little farther Explication.

There are two sorts (we all know) of the *Protestant Dissenters*, one that own the Established Ministry, and our Parish Congregations, and are in Capacity of Union upon that account, desiring it heartily upon condescension to them in some small matters: The other, that own not our Churches, and so are incapable of a Conjunction, who do not, and cannot desire it, or seek it.

For the *One*, that which we propose is a farther Latitude in the present Constituted Order, that such may be received, and this we call *Comprehension*, or *Accommodation*. Let us suppose that nothing else were required of a Man, to be a Minister of a Parish than there is to the Parishioner to be a Member of a Parish Church, as part of the National: If a person Baptised will come to Church, and hear Common-Prayer, and receive the Sacrament, and does nothing worthy of Excommunication, he is, he may, he must be received for a Parochial Member: In like manner, If a Minister first ordained (and so *Episcopally*, or *Classically* approved for his Abilities for that function) will but read the book of Liturgy, and Administer the Sacraments according to it, and does nothing which deserves suspension (we appeal to all this indifferently sober) why should not this suffice a Man, for the enjoying his Living, and exercising the Office unto which he is called?

For the *other*, there is indeed nothing can be done to bring those in, and joyn them with us in Parochial Union; yet is there this to be proposed, that you bear with them, and not let any be *persecuted* meerly for their Consciences; and that we call *Indulgence* or *Toleration*. If the *Presbyterian* now may be *comprehended*, he will be satisfied, to act at his Ministry without endeavouring any *Alteration* otherwise of *Episcopacy*: If the *Congregationalist* be *indulged*, he will be satisfied tho he be not *Comprehended*, for that he cannot submit unto, and so shall there be no Disobligation put on any, but all be pleased, and enjoy the *ease* of this *Bill*. Let but the Grounds of *Comprehension* be laid wide enough to take in all who can own, and come into the publick Liturgy (which we suppose as yet to be the greater weight of the Nation), and when the Countenance of Authority, and all State-Emoluments are cast into one Scale, and others let alone to come of it, without persecution to inflame them, or preferment to encourage them (especially if one Expedient be used, which shall not pass unmentioned in the close, that such as came in may find it really better to them, to be a Priest to a Tribe, than a Levite to a Family) we need not doubt but time the Mistress of the Wise and Unwise, will discover the peaceable Issue of such Counsels.

And here let me pause a little; for methinks I see what *Isaiahs* hang on the Feves of the *Parliament-House* at this Motion, what prejudices, I mean, and Impressions have been laid on the Members by former Acts. There was a speech delivered by the then Chancellour in *Christ-Church Hall* in *Oxford*, to the Parliament there, and the Schollars assembled, Wherein the Glory of contriving the *Oxford-Oath*, and Consequently of the like former Impositions, was most *magnificently*, as well as *spitefully* enough arrogated to its proper Author. It was, it seems, the designed Policy of that Great Man, to root those Principles out of Men's minds upon which the late Wars (as he supposed) were builded, and he would do it by this Invention, to wit, the Imposing upon them new *Declarations*, *Oaths* and *Subscriptions*, of a strain framed contrary to those Principles. I do remember now the sentence of *Esdra*s to the Apologue of the Angel, where the *Woods* and the *Seas* would encounter one another. *Verily* (says he) *it was a foolish purpose*; for the trees could not come down from the hills, nor the Waves get up from the shoars. I must say the same of this Policy. It was really a great vanity to think that folk should be made to swear away their thoughts and beliefs. Whatsoever it is we think or believe, we do think it, we must think it, we do believe it, we must believe it, notwithstanding any of these outward Impositions. The honest Man indeed will refuse an Injunction against his Conscience, the knave will swallow it, but both retain their *Principles*; which the last will be the likeliest to put any villanous *Practice* on. On the Contrary, there is
nothing

nothing could be advised more certain, to keep the Covenant, and such Principles alive in Mens hearts, and memories than this perpetual injoyning the *Renunciation* of it. Nor may you wonder, if that Lesson sink deep into Men's flesh which you will teach them with *Briars* and *Thorns*, as *Gideon* taught the Men of *Succoth*. Besides, it is the most impolitick thing that ever could have been, for such Contents, as are of that dangerous Consequence to Majesty and the Government to have them once disputed, or brought into question, to be put into these Declarations, Oaths and Subscriptions, which necessitates the Examination of them to so many. It was the wisdom of the Ancient Church, instead of Contention about the Jewish Ceremonies, to take care they might have an honourable burial: And I dare say if that great Lord Chancellor had but put off his Cap to the Covenant, and bidden it a fair Adieu only, he should have done more towards its Extirpation, than by all this iterated trouble to Men's Consciences. And if it shall therefore please the succeeding *Ministers* of our State, instead of going to root out the Principles of *Innovation* which are got into people, by this means (which is no means to do it, but the means to rivet them more in us), to endeavour rather to root out the *Causes* from us, which make men willing to entertain such Principles, and desire Change: I suppose their Policy will prove the sounder. The way to establish the Throne of the King is this, to make it appear, that all those *Grievances*, and all those *Good things* which the People in the late times expected to be removed, or to be obtained, by a *Common Wealth*, or a Change of the Government, may be more effectually accomplished by a King in the Acts of his Parliament.

I am sensible how my Threm riseth upon me, and that I begin to shoot wide; I take my Aim therefore again, and two things, in earnest, I would expect from this *Bill*, as the summ of what is necessary to the end of it, our *Ease*, if it be made to serve the turn. The one is, that Bishop *Laud* be confined to his Cathedrals: and the other, that Chancellour *Hide* be totally expelled our Acts of Parliament. By the *first*, I mean, that the Ceremonies in the ordinary Parish Churches be left to the Liberty of the Minister, to use, or use them not, according to his Conscience, and Prudence toward his own Congregation: And by the *latter*, that all these new devised *Oaths*, *Subscriptions* and *Declarations* together with the *Canonical Oath*, and the *Subscription* in the Canons be suspended for the time to come. If that be too much I shall content my self with a modester motion, that whatsoever these *Declarations* be, that are required to be made, subscribed or sworn, they may be imposed only as to the *Matter* and *End*, leaving the Takers but free to the use of their own Expressions. And this Expedient I gather from my Lord *Cook*, who hath providently, as it were, against such a season, laid in this observation: *The form of the Subscription set down in the Canons, ratified by King James, was not expressed in the Act of the 13th of Elizabeth*. Instit. p. 4. c. 74. And Consequently if the Clergy injoyed this freedom untill then, in reference to the particulars therein contained, what hinders why they might not have the same restored, in reference also to others?

It is true, that it may seem hard to many in the Parliament, to undo any thing themselves have done: But tho this be no Rule for *Christians*, who are sometimes to repent as well as believe, if they be loth to repent any thing, what if they shall only Interpret or Explain? Let us suppose then some Clause in this Bill, or some new Act, for *Explanations*. If any Nonconformist cannot come up to the full meaning and intent of these Injunctions rightly Explained, let him remain *in statu quo*, under the state only of *Indulgence*, without benefit of *Comprehension*; for so long as those, who are not *Comprehended*, may yet injoy that ease, as to be indulged in some equal measure answerable to his Majestie's Declaration, whether *Comprehension* be large or narrow, such Terms as we obtain are pure Advantage, and such as we obtain not, are no loss: But if any does, and can honestly agree to the whole sense the Parliament intends in such Impositions, why should there be any Obstruction for such a Man, tho he delivers himself in his own words, to be received into the Established order with others? Unless men will look on these Injunctions only to be contrived for *Engines of Battery*, to destroy the Nonconformist: And not as *Instruments of Unity*, to edify the Church of God.

I will not leave our *Congregational Brethren* neither, so long as I have something more that may be said for them, not ordinarily considered by any. It is this, that tho indeed they are not, and cannot seek to be of our Churches as they are *Parochial*, under the *Diocefs* or *Superintendency* of the Bishops; yet do they not refuse, but seek to be comprehended within the Church as *National* under his Majesty. I will

explain my self. The Church may be considered as *Universal*, and so Christ alone is the head of it, and we receive our Laws from him; Or as *Particular*, and so the Pastors are Heads, Guides, or Bishops over their respective flocks, who are commanded therefore to *obey them in the Lord*: Or as *National*, which is an accidental and external respect to the Church of God, wherein the King is to be acknowledged the supreme Head of it, and as I judge no otherwise: For thus also runs the statute, *That our Sovereign Lord shall be taken and reputed the only supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England, called Ecclesia Anglicana*. Now if it should please the King and Parliament, to allow and approve these *Separate Meetings*, and *Stated Places for Worship*, by a Law, as His Majesty did by his Declaration, I must profess that, as such Assemblies by this means must be constituted immediately *integral parts* of the Church as National, no less than our Parish Congregations: So would the Congregate Churches (at least those that understand themselves) own the King for Head over them, in the same sense as we own him Head over ours, that is as much as to say, for the supreme *coercive* Governour of all (in this accidental regard) both to keep every several Congregation to that Gospel-order themselves profess; and to supervise their Constitutions in things indifferent, that nothing be done but in subordination to the peace of the Kingdom.

Well, Let us suppose then a liberty for these separate Assemblies under the visitation of his Majesty and his Justices, and not the Bishops; I would fain know what were the Evil you can find in them. If it lie in any thing, it must be in that you call *Schism*. Separation then let us know, in it self simply considered, is nothing, neither good, nor Evil. There may be reason to *divide* or *separate* some Christians from others out of prudence, as the *Catechumens* of old, from the *fully instructed*, for their greater Edification; and as a Chappel or two is added to a Parish-Church when the people else were too big a Congregation. It is not all *Division* then or *Separation* that is Schism; but *sinful Division*. Now the supreme Authority as National Head, having appointed the Parochial Meetings, and required all the Subjects of the Land to frequent them, and them alone, for the Acknowledging, Glorifying, or National serving and worshiping the only true God, and his Son, whom we have generally received: And this Worship or Service, in the nature of it being intrinsically good, and the external Order (such as that of time and place, and the like Circumstances) being properly under his Jurisdiction, it hath seemed to me hitherto, that unless there was something in that order or way prescribed which is sinful, and that required too as a Condition of that Communion, there is no Man could refuse his attendance on these Parochial Assemblies, without the sin of Disobedience, and consequently his separation thereby becoming sinful, proves *Schism*: But if the Scene be altered and these separate Assemblies made *Legal*, the Schism, in reference to the National Church, upon the same account, does vanish. Schism is a separation from that Church whereof we ought or are bound to be Members: if the supreme Authority then loose our obligation to the Parish-Meeting, so that we are bound no longer, the *iniquity* (I say, upon this account) is *not to be found*, and the Schism gone. Lo here, a way opened for the Parliament (if they please) to rid the Trouble and Scruple of Schism (at once) out of the Land. If they please not, yet is there something to be thought on for the Separatist in a way of *forbearance*, that the innocent Christian, at least, as it was in the time of *Trajan*, may not be *sought out unto Punishment*: Especially when such a *toleration* only is desired, as is consistent with the *Articles of Faith*, a *Good Life*, and the *Government of the Nation*.

And now I turn me to the Houses. My Lords and Gentlemen! I will suppose you honest persons, that would do as you would be done unto; that would not wrong any; or if you did, would make them recompence. There hath been very hard Acts passed, which when the Bills were brought in, might haply look smooth and fair to you; but you saw not the Covert Art, secret Machination, and purposefully contrived snares against one whole Party. If such a form of words would not, another should do their business. By this means, you in the first place, your selves, some of you were overstript: Multitudes dispossessed of their Livings: The Vineyard Let out to others: The Lord Jesus, the Master of it, deprived of many of his *faithful* Labourers: And the poor sheep (what had they done?) bereft of their accustomed spiritual food, to the hazard of their Eternal Souls. Among many Arguments therefore for Liberty in other Papers, from *Policy*, *Convenience*, *Reason of State*, and *Reason of Religion*, I have this one to offer you of a more binding Nature, an Argument from *Justice*, *Righteousness*, and *Restitution* to the Displaced. It is true, that the

the Places they once had, are filled, and disposed: but there are others enough. There are many of those, who possess *theirs*, do also keep their *own*, and keep *more*. There are many who are *Canons*, *Deans*, *Prebendaries*, that are also *Parsons*, *Rectors*, *Vicars*; who have Benefices and Honours by heaps, and by the bushel. If it shall please you therefore in this *Bill* on the Anvil, or in another, to take Cognizance of *Pluralities*, that, for the preventing an Idle, Scandalous, Covetously overgrown, unprofitable Ministry, every Man who hath more than one Cure of Souls, or one Dignity, shall give them up into a publick stock, or to a general Distribution, you shall do the Church right, and the Ejected right, you shall give such Drones their Due, and God his Due, and strew the way by this means for the making your *Grace* intended in this *Bill*, of signification. In the Name of God, Sirs, let me move you to this, if it were only *Hac vice*, for a present needful Conjunction of us at this season. We see the jaws of Popery, and the Sectary opening upon us, if the sober Protestant Interest be not united, we perish. I know who will be ready to stamp here and throw dust in the Air, for it is these *Sons of the Horse-Leech*, whose voice is still *Give Give*, that will never be contented with a *single portion*. A *Dignity* therefore with a *Living* let them be allowed: but one *Dignity* and one *Cure* of Souls should be all, tho they cut themselves with *Lances*. It is this damn'd hard objection at the bottom, the Priests Covetousness and Corruption, rather than their Dispute about things indifferent, that really hinders the Church's peace and prosperity.

To Conclude. According to what every Man's mind is most upon (the Publick Interest, or his own) such is his value more or less.

§ 263. About this time was a great change of Affairs in *Scotland*; their Parliament concurring with this of *England*, in distasting the present Councils and Proceedings (but not so much Proclaiming the danger of Popery, as Aggravating the Burdens and Grievances of the People, against the great Commissioner the Duke of *Lauderdale*:) So that Duke *Hamilton* became the Head of the Opposition, and most of the Nobility and Commons adhered to him, and were against D. of *Lauderdale*: And the Parliament went so high that D. *Lauderdale* was fain to Adjourn them: Whereupon D. *Hamilton* came to *England* with their Grievances to the King (with some of the Nobility). But the King, tho he gave him fair respect, sharply rebuked him and their Proceedings, and stuck close to D. *Lauderdale* against all opposition.

§ 264. At last D. *Lauderdale* found the way to turn their own Engin against themselves, and whereas many of their Grievances had been settled by themselves by Act of Parliament (while they were ruled by him), he acquainteth the King how heavy and unsufferable they were, and so the King, by a Letter, releaseth them: And among their burdens was a great income settled upon D. *Hamilton* for some service, Loss or Loan to the King, by his Predecessors, which he that had complained of Grievances was now to lose by the King removing the Grievances: Whereupon he professed that he had been still ready to remit those Revenues; but he could not do it in this way of a Letter against a Law, lest by the same way another Letter should take away the rest of his Estate: And he got the hands of Lawyers to testify it was against Law, and sent it to the King, who in displeasure rejected his Narrative, and so the Dissention in *Scotland* increased.

§ 265. At this time (*April 1674.*) God hath so much increased my Languishing, and laid me so low, by an incessant inflation of my head, and translation of my great flatulency thither to the Nerves and Members, increasing these ten or twelve weeks to greater pains, that I have reason to think that my time on Earth will not be long: And O how Good hath the Will of God proved hitherto to me? And will it not be best at last? Experience causeth me to say to his praise, Great peace have they that love his Law, and nothing shall offend them; And tho my flesh and heart do fail, God is the Rock of my heart and my portion for ever.

§ 266. At this time came out my Book called, *The poor Man's Family Book*; which the remembrance of the great use of Mr. *Dent's Plain Man's path way to Heaven* (now laid by) occasioned me to write, for poor Countrey Families who cannot buy or read many Books.

§ 267. I will not here pass by the Commemoration of one among many of the worthy silenced Ministers of *London*, that such Examples may provoke more to some imitation, viz. Mr. *Thomas Gouge*: He is the eldest Son of old Dr. *William Gouge* Deceased: He was Pastor to that great Parish called *Sepulchres*; whence he

was ejected, with the rest of his brethren at the time when the restored Prelate acted like themselves. I never heard any one person, of what rank, sort or sect so ever, speak one word to his Dishonour, or Name any fault that ever they charged on his Life or Doctrine, no not the Prelatists themselves, save only that he conformed not to their Impositions, and that he did so much good with so great Industry. God blessed him with a good Estate, and he liberally used it in works of Charity. When the fire consumed much of it, and when he had settled his Children, and his wife was taken from him by Death; of an hundred and fifty pound a year that he had left, he gave an hundred of it to charitable uses. His daily work is to do all the good he can, with as great diligence and constancy as other Men labour at their Trades: He visiteth the poor, and seeketh after them: He writeth books to stir up the rich, to devote (at least) the tenth part of their Estates to works of Charity: He goeth to the rich to perswade and urge them; He collecteth moneys of all that he can prevail with, and travelleth himself (tho between 60 and 70 years old) into *Wales*, Winter and Summer, and disperfeth the money to the poor labouring persecuted Ministers: He hath settled himself in the chief Towns of *Wales* a great number of Schools, for Women to teach Children to read, having himself undertaken to pay them for many hundred Children: He printeth many thousands of his own practical Books, and giveth them freely throughout *Wales*, (at his own charge): And when I do something of the like by mine, he undertaketh the Distribution of them: He preacheth in *Wales* himself till they drive him from place to place by persecution; when he returneth home, he visiteth the Prisoners, and helpeth them to books, and preacheth repentance to them: The poor and the ignorant are those that he liveth for, doing good to Soul and Body daily, save that he Soliciteth the Rich to contribute to such uses. The reading of Mr. *Jos. Allen's* Life hath raised his Resolution and Activity to such a Course of Life, which was far higher than other Mens before.

§ 268. Mr. *Sherlock's* book before mentioned making a great noise, and he and the Author of the sober Inquiry, and others of them, when they reproached other Nonconformists being pleased to put in some Exceptions of me by Name, I thought my self the more obliged to disown their Miscarriages. And I first in Discourse sought to convince Mr. *Sherlock*; and lest he should not either understand or report me aright (Writings being surer Vindications than Memory) I sent him some Animadversions, which have since been Printed.

§ 269. My old friend Dr. *Thomas Good* now published a book called, *Dubitantius* and *Firmianus*, against Atheism, Infidelity, Popery, and then Presbytery, Independency, and Anabaptistry; very superficial: He was formerly indeed a professed Prelatist, but moderate, and himself never hindered from his Ministerial work and maintenance, and joyned with us in our Disputations at *Kedermister*, and our Concord in *Worcestershire* among the dissenting parties. Yet being Canon of *Hereford*, and Mr. of *Baliol Colledge* in *Oxford* (tho old, waiting for more) he asserted in his Book, that they were confessed things indifferent that we refused Conformity for, and that all the Nonconformists (without Exception) had a hand in the late King's Death, one way or other, by Consent, &c. The Impudency of which assertion moved me to write the Contradiction here adjoined.

To my Reverend Friend Dr. *Good*, Mr. of *Baliol Colledge*
in *Oxford*.

Reverend and Worthy Sir,

IT is now about a Month since I received a Letter from you for the furthering of a good work, which I sent to Mr. *Foley* by his Son Mr. *Paul F.* not having opportunity my self to see him: I have stayed so long for an Answer, not hearing yet from him, that I think it not meet any longer to forbear to acquaint you with the Reasons of the delay: He liveth quite at the other end of *London* from me, and my weakness and business keep me much within Doors, and it's hard to find him within except at those hours when I am constrained to be in bed. But I have reason to

Con-

Conjecture that his Answer will be 1. That the Rich men whose Judgments are for Conformity, are far more Numerous than those of another mind, and therefore fitter to promote that work : And there are so very few that do any thing for the ejected Ministers, that some of them live on brown bread and water, which hindereth these Gentlemen from other kind of Charitable works. 2. And I must crave your patience (being confident, by your ancient kindness, of your friendly Interpretation) while I tell you, that this day I heard one say, we can expect that Dr. Good do make his Scholars no better than himself : And what reason have we to maintain and breed up Men, to use us as he hath done in his late Treatise. I got the book, and was glad to find much good, and several moderate passages in it (And I knew you so well, that I could not but expect moderation) : But when I perused the passages referred to, I could say no more for them, but that I would write to you, to hear your Answer about them. For I confess they surprized me---Tho at the same time I received many new books of a sanguine Complexion from other hands without Admiration.

I. The first passage referred to was pag. 104. [*Which are confessedly things indifferent*]. This is spoken indefinitely of the Presbyterians : Where have I lived ? I know not one Presbyterian living that divideth from you for any thing which he confesseth indifferent : I crave your Answer containing the proof of this ; At least to name someone of them that we may reprove him. We take conformity to be so far from indifferent, that we forbear to tell the World the greatness of the Sin which we think to be in it, lest Men cannot bear it, and lest it should disaffect the people to the Ministry of the Conformists.

II. Your pag. 156. I pass by : The main matter is pag. 160. 161. that tho [*All the Nonconformists were not in Actual Arms against the King---nor did they all as natural Agents cut off his head ; but morally, that is, very sinfully and wickedly, they had their band stained with that Royal blood : For whosoever did Abet these Sons of Belial in their Rebellions, Treasons, Murders of their King and fellow Subjects, either by consenting to their Villanies, praying for their Prosperity, praising God for their Successes, &c.* The Charge is high : If it be not true. 1. They are almost as deeply wronged as you can wrong them. 2. Our Rulers are wronged by being so provoked to abhor them, Silence and Destroy them. 3. Posterity is wronged by a misinforming History.

I. You are too old to be ignorant, that it was an Episcopal and Erastian Parliament of Conformists, that first took up those Arms in *England* against the King : The Members yet living profess that at that time they knew but one Presbyterian in the House of Commons : Interest forced or led them to call in the Scots, and Presbytery came in with them. If you doubt of it, see the Propositions to the King at *Nottingham*, where a Limited Episcopacy is one.

II. The Lord *Lieutenants* that seized on the *Militia* were far most Conformists, and scarce any Presbyterians at all.

III. The General Officers and Colonels of the Earl of *Essex* Army were ten to one Conformists, and few, if any Presbyterians, save after, deoboist, Mercenary Scots, if they were such, which I know not : And the General Episcopal himself.

IV. The Major Generals of the *Militia*, in the several Countries were mostly Conformists and Scarce any Prebyterians.

V. The assembly at *Westminster*, when they went thither were all Conformists, save about 8 or 9 and the Scots Commissioners.

VI. One of the two Arch-Bishops was a General in the Parliament's Army.

VII. Many of the present Conformable Ministers were in Arms against the King, and some wrote for his Death, and many of them took the Covenant and Engagement.

VIII. The most of the conformable Gentry of my acquaintance that were put upon it, took the Engagement against the King and House of Lords.

IX. The Non-conformable Ministers of *Gloucestershire* (Mr. *Geery*, Mr. *Capell*, Mr. *Marshall*, &c.) were against the Parliament's War, though the Parliament's Garrison was over them. Mr. *Bampfild* (who hath lain 6, or 7 years in the common Jail for Preaching) with his Brother (sometimes Speaker of the House of Commons) were so much against the Parliament's Cause, that to this day (even while he lay in Jail) he most zealously made his followers renounce it: Many Non-conformists in many Counties were of the same mind.

X. Many of the Non-conformists lived in the King's Quarters, and never were drawn the other way; as Dr. *Conant* (lately one of them) and others in *Oxford*, and so in other parts.

XI. Some of the Non-conformists were in the King's Army: Poor *Martin of Weeden* lost an Arm in his Army, and yet the other Arm lay long with him in *Warwick* Jail for Preaching.

XII. Almost all the Non-conformists of my acquaintance in *England*, save Independents and Sectaries, refused the Engagement, and took *Cromwell* and the Common-wealth-Parliament for Usurpers, and never approved what they did, nor ever kept their daies of Fasting or Thanksgiving. (To tell you of the *London* Ministers printed Declarations against the intended Death of the King, you will say is unsatisfactory, because too late.)

XIII. Most of the Non-conformable Ministers, of my acquaintance, were either boys at School, or in the University, in the Wars, or never meddled with it: so that I must profess that setting them altogether, I do not think that one in ten throughout the Kingdom can be proved to have done any of these things that you name, against the King.

XIV. We have oft with great men put it to this trial. Let them give leave but to so many to Preach the Gospel, as cannot be proved ever to have had any hand in the Wars against the King, and we will thankfully acquiesce, and bear the Silence of the rest: make but this Match for us, and we will joyfully give you thanks.

XV. Who knoweth not that the greatest Prelatists were the Masters of the Principles that the War was raised on, (*Bilson*, *Jewel*, &c.) (and *Hooker* quite beyond them all?)

XVI. But because all proof must be of individuals, I intreat you as to our own Countrey where you were acquainted, tell me if you can, I say it seriously if you can, what ever was done or said against the King, by Mr. *Ambrose Sparre*, Mr. *Kimberley*, Mr. *Lowell*, Mr. *Comper*, Mr. *Reignalds*, Mr. *Hickman*, Mr. *Trusham*, Mr. *Baldwin*, senior, Mr. *Baldwin*, junior, Mr. *Sergeant*, Mr. *Waldern* (dead,) Mr. *Jos. Baker*, (dead,) Mr. *Wilsby*, Mr. *Brian*, Mr. *Stephen Baxter*, Mr. *Badland*, Mr. *Bulcher*, Mr. *Eccleshall*, Mr. *Read*, Mr. *Rock*, Mr. *Fincher*, of *Wedbury*, Mr. *Wills* of *Breisham*, Mr. *Paston*, &c. I pass by many more. And in *Shropshire* by old Mr. *Sam. Hilderham*, old Mr. *Sam. Fisher*, Mr. *Talents*, Mr. *Brian* of *Shreusbury*, Mr. *Barnet*, Mr. *Keeling*, Mr. *Berry*, Mr. *Malden* of *Newport*, Mr. *Tho. Wright* (dead,) Mr. *Taylor*, &c.---These were your Neighbours and mine: I never heard to my remembrance of any one of them that had any thing to do with Wars against the King. It is true (except Mr. *Fisher*, and some few) they were not ejected, but enjoyed their places; And did not you as well as they? If I can name you so many of your Neighbours that were innocent, will you tell the King and Parliament, and the Papists, and Popularity, that all the Non-conformists (without any exception) had their hands stained with the Royal blood? What! Mr. *Cooke* of *Chester*, and Mr. *Birch*, &c. that were imprisoned and persecuted for the King! What! Mr. *Geery* that died at the news of the King's Death? What! Sir *Francis Netherfole*, and Mr. *Bell* his Pastor) who wrote so much against the Parliament, and was their prisoner at

at *Kensworth* Castle almost all the Wars. What may we expect from others, when Dr. *Good* shall do thus-----I put not in any Excuse for my self among all these. It may be you know not that an Assembly of Divines (twice met) at *Coventree* (of whom two Doctors and some others are yet living) first sent me into the Army to hazard my life, (after *Nasby* Fight) against the Course which we then first perceived to be designed against the King, and Kingdom; nor what I went through there two years in opposing it, and drawing the Soldiers off: Nor how oft I Preached against *Cromwel*, the Rump, the Engagement, but specially their Wars, and Fast, and Thanksgivings: Nor what I said to *Cromwel* for the King (never but twice speaking with him,) of which a Great Privy Counsellour told me but lately, that being an Ear-witness of it, he had told his Majesty. But yet while I thought they went on *Bilstone's* Principles, I was then on their side, and the Observator (*Parker*) almost tempted me to *Hooker's* Principles, but I quickly saw those Reasons against them, which I have since published. His Principles were known by the first Book, before the last came out, And I have a friend that had his last in *A. S.* But I am willing unfeignedly to be one of those that shall continue Silenced, if you can but procure leave to Preach Christ's Gospel only for those that are no more guilty of the King's blood, than your self, and that no longer than there is real need of their Ministerial Labour. Reverend Sir, If you will but so long put your self as in our Case, I shall hope that with patience you will read these Lines, and pardon the necessary freedom of

Your truly Loving friend and obliged Servant,

London, Feb. 10. 1673.

Rich. Baxter.

§. 270. Taking it to be my duty to preach while Toleration doth continue, I removed the last Spring to *London*, where my Diseases increasing, this Winter, a flatulent constant Headach added to the rest, and continuing strong for about half a year, constrained me to cease my Fryday's Lecture, and an Afternoon Sermon on the Lord's daies in my house, to my grief; and to Preach only one Sermon a week at *St. James's* Market-house, where some had hired an inconvenient Place. But I had great encouragement to labour there, 1. Because of the notorious Necessity of the people: for it was noted for the habitation of the most ignorant, Atheistical, and Popish about *London*, and the greatness of the Parish of *St. Martins*, made it impossible for the tenth (perhaps the twentieth) person in the Parish to hear in the Parish-Church; And the next Parishes *St. Giles*, and *Clement Dames* were almost in the like case; Besides that the Parson of our own Parish, (*St. Giles*) where I lived, Preached not, having been about three years suspended by the Bishop *ab Officio*, but not *a beneficio*, upon a particular Quarrel: And to leave ten or twenty for one, untaught in the Parish, while most of the City Churches also are burnt down, and unbuilt, one would think, should not be justified by Christians, 2. Because, beyond my expectation, the people generally proved exceeding willing and attentive and tractable, and gave me great hopes of much success.

§. 271. Yet at this time did some of the most Learned Conformists assault me with sharp accusations of Schism, meerly because I ceased not to Preach the Gospel of Christ to people in such necessity. They confess that I ought not to take their Oaths, and make their imposed Covenants, Declarations and Subscriptions against my Conscience; but my Preaching is my sin which I must forbear, (though they accuse me not of one word that I say.) They confess the foresaid Matters of fact, (that not one of a multitude can possibly hear in the Parish Churches, through the greatness of some Parishes, the lowness of the Minister's voices, and the paucity of Churches since the burning of the City:) And they confess that the knowledge of the Gospel is (ordinarily) necessary to salvation, and teaching and hearing necessary to knowledge; and that to leave the people untaught (especially where so many are speaking for Atheism, Beastiality, and Infidelity) is to give them up to Damnation: But yet they say that to do so is my duty, because the Bishop is against my Preaching: And I ought to rest satisfied that it is the Bishop, and not not I, that must answer for their Damnation. Alas poor Souls! Must they needs be damned by thousands, without making any question of it? as if all the question were, who should answer for it. I will not believe such cruel men

I undertake to prove to them to them, 1. That our *English* Species of *Diocesan* Prelacy, and Lay Chancellours power of the Keys, is contrary to God's Word, and destructive of true Discipline, and of the Church form and Offices instituted by Christ. 2. That were the Offices Lawful, the men have no true calling to it, being not chosen or consented to by the Clergy, or the People. 3. That if their Calling were good, they have no power to forbid the present Silenced Ministers to Preach the Gospel (but thereby they serve Satan against Christ and Men's salvation.) *Paul* himself had his power to edification, and not to destruction: And Christ the Saviour of the World, giveth his Ministers only a saving power, and to none a power to famish and damn the people's Souls. 4. That we are Dedicated as Ministers to the Sacred Office, and it is Sacrilege in our selves or others, to alienate us from it, while we are not unfit or unable for it. 5. That we are Charged (as well as *Timothy*) before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the Dead at his appearing, that we Preach the Word, and be in season, and out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort, &c. 6. That the Ancient Pastors for many Hundred years did Preach the Gospel against the Wills of their Lawful Princes, both Heathens and Arrians. 7. That the Bishop hath no more power to forbid us to Preach, than the King hath: And these men confess that Ministers unjustly Silenced may Preach against the Will of Kings (but not, say they of Bishops.) 8. That were we Lay-men we might teach and exhort (as Lay-men, as *Origen* did) though we might not do it as Pastors much more being Ordained the Ministers of Christ. And that now to us it is a work which both the Law of *Nature* and our Office or Vow do bind us to, even a Moral Duty: And that when Christ judgeth men for not Feeding, Clothing, Visiting his Members, it will not excuse us to say; that the Bishop forbid us: That if King, or Bishop forbid us to feed our Children, or to save the lives of drowning, or famishing men, we must disobey them, as being against a great command of God; Love and the Works of Love being the great indispensable Duties. And Souls being greater Objects of Charity than Bodies. 9. That it was in a Case of Phari-saical Church Discipline, (when Christ avoided not converse with sinners when their good required it) that Christ sent the Pharisees to learn what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice: and at two several times repeateth the same words. 10. That Order is for the thing Ordered and it's ends; and a power of Ordering Preachers is not a power to depose necessary Preaching and famish Souls. 11. And I shew them that I my self have the License of the Bishop of this Diocese, as well as Episcopal Ordination; and that my License is in force and not recalled: 12. And that I have the King's License. 13. And therefore after all this, to obey these Silencers (nay no Bishop doth forbid me, otherwise than as his Vote is to the Acts of Parliament, which is as Magistrates,) and to fulfill their will that will be content with nothing, but our forsaking of poor Souls, and ceasing to Preach Christ, this were no better than to end my Life of Comfortable Labours, in obeying the Devil the Enemy of Christ and Souls; which God forbid.

§. 272. Yet will not all this satisfy these men, but they cry out as the *Papists*, Schism, Schism, unless we will cease to Preach the Gospel: And have little to say for all, but that *No society can be governed, if the Rulers be not the Judge*. Yet dare they not deny but a *Judgment of discerning duty from sin*, belongeth to all Subjects; or else we are Brutes, or must be Atheists, Idolaters, Blasphemers, or what ever a Bishop shall command us. But under the Censures of these unreasonable Men, who take our greatest Duties for our heinous sin, must we patiently serve our Lord: But his approbation is our full reward.

§. 273. On July 5th (1674.) at our Meeting over St. *Jamess's* Market-house, See more of this in my Wife's Life. God vouchsafed us a great Deliverance. A main Beam before weakened by the weight of the People so cracked that three times they ran in terror out of the room, thinking it was falling: But remembring the like at *Dunstan's* West, I re-proved their fear as causeless. But the next day taking up the boards we found that two rends in the Beam, were so great, that it was a wonder of providence that the floor had not fallen, and the roof with it, to the destruction of multitudes. The Lord make us thankful.

§. 274. A person unknown professing Infidelity (but whether an Infidel, or a juggling Papist, I know not), sent me a Manuscript, called *Examen Scripturæ*, charging Scripture with Immorality, Falshoods, and Contradictions, from the beginning to the end, and with seeming Seriousness and Respectfulness importuned me to Answer him. I was in so great pain and weakness (and engaged in other work) that I sent him word that I had not time or strength for so long a Work. He selected about a Dozen Instances, and desired my Answer to them: I gave him an Answer to them, and to some of his General accusations; but told him, That the rational Order to be followed by a Lover of Truth, is first to consider of the proofs brought for Christianity, before we come to the Objections against it: And I proved to him, that Christianity was proved true many years before any of the New Testament was Written, and that so it may be still proved by one that doubted of some words of the Scripture; and therefore the true order is, to try the truth of the Christian Religion first, and the perfect Verity of all the Scriptures afterwards. And therefore Importuned him first to Answer my Book, called, *The Reasons of the Christian Religion*; and then if I lived, I would answer his Accusations. But I could not at all prevail with him, but he still insisted on my Answering of his Charge. And half a year (or more) after, he sent me a Reply to the Answer which I had hastily given him: And though he before professed, that none in the World but I and his servant knew of it, yet accidentally, by speech with Dr. Stillingfleet, I understood that the same M. S. was sent to him: Therefore I sent him the Reply to mine; and desired him, seeing he had more strength and leisure, to answer alltogether for himself and me, and then I need not do the same.

§. 275. It pleased God to give me marvellous great Encouragement in my Preaching at St. James's: The Crack having frightened away most of the Richer sort (especially the Women,) most of the Congregation were young men, of the most capable age, who heard with very great Attention, and many that had not come to Church of many years, received so much, and manifested so great a Change (some Papists, and Divers others returning publick Thanks to God for their Conversion) as made all my Charge and Trouble easie to me. Among all the Popish, rude and ignorant People who were Inhabitants of those parts, we had scarce any that opened their mouths against us, and that did not speak well of the Preaching of the Word among them; though when I came first thither, the most knowing Inhabitants assured me, that some of the same persons wisht my Death; Among the ruder sort, a common Reformation was notified in the place, in their Conversation as well as in their Judgments.

§. 276. But Satan, the Enemy of God and Souls, did quickly use divers means to hinder me: 1. By Persecution, 2. By the Charges of the work, and, 3. By the troublesome Clamours of some that were too much inclined to Separation. And first a fellow, that made a Trade of being an Informer, accused me to Sir William Poultney, a Justice near, upon the Act against Conventicles: Sir William dealt so wisely and fairly in the business, as frustrated the Informer's first attempts (who offered his Oath against me,) And before he could make a second Attempt, Mr. David Lloyd (the Earl of St. Alban's Bayliff) and other Inhabitants, so search't after the quality of the Informer, and prosecuted him (to secure the Parish from his Charge of Children) as made him fly, and appear no more. I that had been the first Silenced, and the first sent to Gaol, upon the Oxford-Act of Confinement, was the first prosecuted upon the Act of Conventicles, after the Parliament's Condemning the King's Declaration and Licenses to Preach.

§. 277. But shortly after the Storm grew much greater: The great Ministers of State had new Consultations: The Duke of Lauderdale, the Lord Treasurer, (Sir Thomas Osborne, made Earl of Danby,) The Lord Keeper (Sir Heneage Finch,) the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Morley) and the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Ward,) &c. were the Men that the World talk't of, as the Doers of the Business: The first thing, that appeared, was, That His Majesty called the Bishops up to London, to give him Advice what was to be done for the securing of Religion, &c. The Bishops, after divers Meetings and Delays, (the said Duke, and Lord Treasurer, being appointed to meet with them,) at last Advised the King to recall His Licenses, and put the Laws in Execution. Which was done by a Declaration and Proclamation, Declaring the Licenses long since void, and requiring the Execution of the Laws against Papists (most largely mentioned) and Conventicles. No sooner was this Proclamation published, but special Informers were set on Work

to Ascertain the Execution; and I must here also be the first that must be Accused.

§. 278. A little before the King had Recalled his Licenses, knowing on what Accusations they would proceed, according to the Act of Uniformity; I did, to Obviate the Accusation, deliver, in Words and Writing, this following Profession, [*Though when I began to Preach in this place, I publicly professed, That it was the notorious Necessity of the People, who are more than the Parish-Church can hold, which moved me thereunto, and that we Meet not in Opposition to, or Separation from the Publick Churches; yet perceiving that by some we are misunderstood, I repeat the same Profession: And that we Meet not under colour or pretence of any Religious Exercise in other manner, than according to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of England: And that were I able, I would accordingly Read my Self.*] For the understanding of this, it must be known, 1. That being my Self unable both to Read and Preach, I had an Assistant, who daily Read the Scripture-Sentences, the 95th Psalm, the Psalms for the Day, the two Chapters for the Day, Singing the Psalms appointed for Hymns, using the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Decalogue; all which is the Greatest part of the Liturgy, though none of the Common Prayers were used. 2. That I forbear the use of much of the Common Prayer, which I think lawful and good, meerly because many of the Nonconformists could not bear it. 3. That the Act against Conventicles punisheth none but [*those that meet on colour, or pretence of any Religious Exercise in other manner than according to the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England.*] 4. That my Judgment was, that my Meeting was not such, and that I broke no Law: And therefore I made this open Profession, as Preparatory to my Answer before the Magistrate; not expecting that any such means should free me from suffering in the least degree, but that it should conduce to the clearing of my Cause when I Suffered. But, upon this Paper, those that are unable, or unwilling to suspend their Censures, till they understand the Cause, and that cannot understand Words in their plain and proper signification, but according to their own Preconceptions, did presently divulge, all over the Land, many false Reports of it and me: The Separatists gave out presently, That I had Conformed, and openly declared my Assent and Consent, &c. And so confidently did they affirm it, that almost all the City believed it: The Prelatists again took the Report from them, and their own willingness that so it should be, and reported the same thing: In one Episcopal City they gave Thanks in Publick that I Conformed: In many Counties, their News was, That I most certainly Conformed, and was thereupon to have a Bishoprick (which, if I should, I had done foolishly in losing Thirteen years Lordship and Profit, and then taking it when I am dying.) This was divulged by the Conformists, to fortifie their Party in the Conceits of their Innocency, and by the Separatists, in Spleen and Quarrelsome Zeal! But confident Lying was too common with both. And yet the next day, or the next day save one, Letters fled abroad on the contrary, that I was sent to Gaol for not Conforming.

§. 279. Not long before this, having Preached at Pinner's-Hall for Love and Peace, divers false Reports went currant among the Separatists, and from them to other Nonconformists, that I Preached against the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness, and for Justification by our own Righteousness, and that the Papists and Protestants differ but in Words, &c. So that I was constrained to publish the truth of the Case, in a sheet of Paper, called, *An Appeal to the Light*. Which, though it evinced the falshood of their Reports, and no one Man did ever after justifie them, that ever I could hear of, yet did they persevere in their General Accusation; and I had Letters from several Countries, that the London Accusers had Written to them, that I had both in the Sermon, and in that Paper, called, *An Appeal to the Light*, done more to strengthen Popery, than ever was done by any Papists. This was the reward of all my Labours, from the Separating Independents.

§. 280. So sinfully ready are Men to receive false Reports, that many of sober Principles, and some of my most intimate Friends, believed them, and were ready to second the Defamation: But when-ever they came to me, and debated the Case, and heard me speak, every Man of them confessed their Error, and Misunderstanding. The secret fomenters of the Accusing Reports and Quarrels, did it with such Privacy and Caution as beseemed Wise Men: But the open Backbiters

biters were especially some very few more Ministers, accounted earnest judicious Men: But the Women, and Independent Men were the chief.

§. 281. This greatly rejoiced the Persecuting Prelatists; and, 1. They hence inferred, That the Nonconformists were as bad a People as they had reported them, and that whatever was thought Judicious, or Moderate, in any of my Writings, Preaching, or Conversation, the Nonconformists had no right to any Imputation of it, or Reputation by it, because I was one that they disowned: 2. They would hence have drawn me off from the Nonconformists, telling me, That I was worse spoken of, and used by such, than by the Prelatists. To both which I answered, 1. That they knew not the Nonconformists so well as I: and that tho' the *London-Separatists*, and a few other weak and passionate persons, made all this noise, yet the generality of the Ministers and sober People, especially in the Countrey, were of my mind: 2. That all this Censure and Clamour was a very small thing, in comparison of what I suffered by the Bishops, who had these 13 years, if not more, deprived me of all Ministerial Maintenance, and also forbidden me to Preach Christ's Gospel, though I did it without pay; and had sent me among Rogues, to the Common Gaol; and had deprived me much of the end of Life, which is more to me than Life it self.

§. 282. While I was thus murmured at by Backbiters, Sectaries and Prelatists, when the King's Licenses were recalled as aforesaid, I was the first that was apprehended by Warrant and brought before the Justices as a Conventicler. One *Keting*, an ignorant fellow, had got a Warrant, as Bayliff and Informer, to search after Conventicles (Papists and Protestants) which he prosecuted with great animosity and Violence: Having then left *St. James's* (the Lease of the House being out) I Preached only on Thursdays at Mr. *Turner's*; and by the Act I am to be Judged by a Justice of the City, or Division where I Preach, but to be distreined on by Warrant from a Justice of the Division or County where I live. So that the Preaching-place being in the City, only a City-Justice might Judge me: *Keting* went to many of the City-Justices, and none of them would grant him a Warrant against me; Therefore he went to the Justices of the County, who lived near me, and one Sir *John Medicot*, and Mr. *Bennet* (Brother to the Lord *Arlington*) ignorant of the Law herein, gave their Warrant to apprehend me, and bring me before them, or some other of His Majesty's Justices: The Constable and Informer gave me leave to choose what Justices I would go to. I went with them to seek divers of the best Justices, and could find none of them at home, and so spent that day (in a case of pain and great Weakness) in being carried up and down in vain: But I used the Informer kindly, and spake that to him, which his Conscience (tho' a very ignorant fellow) did not well digest. The next day I went with the Constable and him to Sir *William Poultney*, who made him shew his Warrant, which was signed by *Henry Mountague* (Son to the late worthy Earl of *Manchester*) as Bayliff of *Westminster*, Enabling him to Search after Mass-Priests and Conventiclers; but I hear of no Mass-Priests save one that was ever medled with to this Day; and that one delivered (as we all desired.) Sir *William* shewed him, and all the Company, in the Act, that none but a City-Justice had Power to Judge me for a Sermon Preached in the City; and so the Informer was defeated: As I went out of the House I met the Countess of *Warwick*, and the Lady *Lucy Mountague*, Sister to the said Mr. *Henry Mountague*, and told them of the Case and Warrant, who assured me, That he whose Hand was at it, knew nothing of it; and some of them sent to him, and *Keting's* Warrant was called in within two or three days. But it proved that one Mr. *Barwell*, Sub-Bayliff of *Westminster*, was he that set *Keting* on work, and gave him his Warrant, and told him, How good a Service it was to the Church, and what he might gain by it: And *Barwell* sharply Chid *Keting* for doing his work with me no more skilfully: And the Lord of *Arlington* most sharply Chid his Brother for granting his Warrant: And within a few days Mr. *Barwell* riding the Circuit, was cast by his Horse, and died in the very Fall. And Sir *John Medicot*, and his Brother, a few weeks after, lay both dead in his House together. Shortly after *Keting* came several times to have spoken with Me, to ask me Forgiveness, and not meeting with me, went to my Friends in the City with the same Words (when a little before he had boasted, how many Hundred pounds he would have of the City-Justices for refusing him Justice. At last he found me within, and would have fal'n down on his knees to me, and

askt me earnestly to forgive him : I askt him what had changed his mind : He told me that his Conscience had no peace from the hour that he troubled me ; And that it increased his Disquiet that no Justice would hear, nor one Constable of forty execute the warrant, and all the people cryed out against him ; But that which set home was Mr. Barwel's Death (for Sir John Medicot's he knew not of). I exhorted the Man to an Universal Repentance and Reformation of Life, and he told me he would never meddle in such Businesses, nor trouble any Man, and promised to live better himself than he had done.

§ 283. A little before Dr. Manton's Meeting also was surprized, and he having notice of it before, was absent, and got Mr. Bedford to preach for him : For it was resolved to have sent him to the Common Goal, upon the Oxford Act, as a refuser of the Oath, besides the penalty of a Conventicle : The justices were Mr. Ball (Brother to Dr. Ball Preacher at the Temple) the violentest of them, and Mr. Foss and Mr. Philips, the same two Men that had sent me to the Goal four years before ; They offered Mr. Bedford the Oath, but it proved that he had taken it before, and so far defeated them : But he was fined accordingly to the Act in 20l. (and the place 40l.) which the Lord Wharton, the Countesses of Bedford, Manchester and Clare, and other hearers paid : But two of the Justices swore that he said, that the King *did not in good earnest desire the execution of this Law* ; which he professed he never said) ; And for this the King sent him to Prison.

§ 284. An Accident at this time fell out, which occasioned a little seeming stop of my trouble ; which I will relate as the Duke of Lauderdale told it me himself, who was present. The Lord Falcon-bridge being with the Bishop of Salisbury (Ward) after reported that the Bishop told him, that it was nothing of the Bishops, but of the Lord Treasurer, that the Act was thus Executed : The Lord Treasurer charged it as an injury on the Bishop : The Lord High Chamberlain (E. of Lindsey) told it Bishop Morley, who told it Bishop Ward, who went to the Lord Treasurer and Complained of it as a false injurious report of the Lord Falconbridge ; The Lord Treasurer took him to the King, who sent for the Lord Falconbridge, who (before the King, the D. of Lauderdale, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord High Chamberlain, &c.) was accused by Bishop Ward for a false report of his words : The Lord Falconbridge could not make it good, but tho he spake not those very words, he took the Scope of his Speech to be of that Importance : The King (said the Duke to me) said [*I must tell you this my self : I called the Bishops to give me their advice, what was to be done for the present securing of the Church, and the Protestant Religion, and they told me, that there was something to be done, but they thought it not safe for them to give advice in it : I told them that I took this for a Libel ; and askt them who, or what they were afraid of : And I appointed these Lords to see them give their Answer.* Among other passages the Lord Falconbridge said that the Bishop called the Execution of the Law [*a trick*] : The Bishop Answered [*I said not that the Execution of the Law was a trick ; but that to begin with Mr. Baxter was a trick of some, to make it thought that we are unreconcilable to the most moderate and peaceable Men.*] And thus they were drawn in to give their seeming Judgment against my suffering (tho there was great reason to think that Papists and Prelates were the Contrivers of it.)

§ 285. For the better understanding of many of these matters, it must be known, that at 2 or 3 of the last Sessions of Parliament, Bishop Morley had, on all occasions in the Company of Lords, Gentlemen and Divines, cryed out of the danger of Popery, and talkt much for abatements, and taking in the Nonconformists, or else we are like all to fall into the Papists hands ; so that there were no Lords or others for agreement, but he made himself the head of their Design, and so got an Interest still in the work, as the forwardest desirer of it : Dr. Fulwood, Mr. Collyer, and Divers others, came to me to advise about a way of Concord, as encouraged by this Bishop's words : I sent him word by them all, that I had heard these many years of these agreeing peacemaking purposes and desires of his Lordship, but having known so much of his Endeavours to the contrary I intreated him by some Deeds to convince me of his sincerity, for till then I was not able to believe it. And the Event shewed that my incredulity was not without cause.

§ 286. At this Sessions of Parliament approaching, he set upon the same Course again, and Bishop Ward as his second and chief Coagent joyned with him, and they were famed to be the two Bishops that were for Comprehension and Concord, none so forward as they : At last Dr. Bates brings me a message from Dr. Tillotson Dean of Canterbury, that he and Dr. Stillfleet desired a Meeting with Dr. Manton, Dr.

Bates

Bates, *Mr. Pool*, and me, to treat of an Act of Comprehension and Union; and that they were encouraged to it by some Lords both Spiritual and Temporal. We met to consider whether such an Attempt was safe and prudent, or what was not offered by some Bishops, as a snare to us: I told them my opinion, that Experience would not suffer any Charity to believe any better of some Bishops, but that they knew *Dr. Stillingfleet* and *Dr. Tillotson* to be the likeliest Men to have a hand in an Agreement, if such a thing should be attempted, and therefore that they would make themselves the Masters of it to defeat it, and no better issue was to be expected as from them: But yet that these two Doctors were Men of so much Learning, Honesty and Interest, that I took it as our Duty, to accept the offer, and to try with them, how far we could agree, and so try them first whether they would promise us secrecy, unless it came to maturity to be further notified by Consent: And that we might hope for this Success, as quickly to agree with these two Men, and in time it might be some advantage to our desired Unity, that our Terms were such as these two worthy Men consented to.

§ 287. Accordingly *Dr. Manton* and I were desired by the rest to try them: We went to *Dr. Tillotson*, who promised *Morley* and Bishop *Ward* that had set them on work, and the Earl of *Carlile* and *Halifax* chiefly who encouraged them. Hereupon we agreed to meet the next week with him and *Dr. Stillingfleet*, to try how far we could agree on the Terms. I had before drawn up the form of an Healing Act, and read it to no one but *Mr. Hampden*, (who told me it would never pass): Before the next Meeting *Dr. Manton* was fain to abscond at the Lord *Wharton's*, being designed (as is aforesaid) to the Common Goal (such was the Treaty which we were invited to: But I went alone, and met the two Doctors: I found them sincere in the business, and conceited that Bishop *Morley* and *Ward* were so also. Upon their promise of secrecy, I freely told them my thoughts of the Bishop of *Winchester*, and what an attempt I had lately made with him (besides all heretofore) at the request of the Earl of *Overy*, and that after his Calls for Concord, he granted me no one abatement or alteration or indulgence desired: I shewed them the form of the Act which I had prepared; They desired me to leave it with them to consider on. Shortly after *Dr. Tillotson* brought me a Draught with several omissions and alterations: I drew up my own again, with some little alterations, required by his Draught: This he and I debated, till we came to an agreement of the whole: I was then desired to Communicate it to some Nonconforming Brethren: *Dr. Manton* was gone into the Countrey: *Dr. Bates* was sick: I Communicated it to *Mr. John Corbet*, *Mr. Talents*, *Mr. Pool*, *Dr. Jacomb*, and *Mr. Humphrey*: When we had made such further small Corrections as all agreed on, *Mr. Pool* and I were desired to meet the two Doctors for a further procedure. They met us, and we again read the Draught, but would give them no Copy; and agreed with them that they should take the present time while Bishop *Morley* was out of Town (as likeliest to frustrate) and to desire Bishop *Ward*, and Bishop *Pierfon* of *Chester* (a Learned sober Man) to meet us, and to hear what we had agreed on, and promise us secrecy (Bishop *Ward* once came in upon us, when we were together, but withdrew.) They promised us to try it speedily: But when they had only in General told Bishop *Ward*, &c. how far we had gone, and how fair we were for Agreement, and told them some of the particular Materials, there was a full end of all the Treaty; The Bishops had no further to go: We had already carryed it too far. Hearing no more of the Doctors, we sent to know how the Case went, and understood by them, that their Hopes and Labours were at an end. I sent to *Dr. Tillotson* to know whether they would give me leave to tell any to promote our Concord, how far they agreed with us, that their Names might be some advantage to the work: And he wrote to me as followeth.

“ Apr. 11. 1675. Sir, I took the first opportunity after you were with us to speak
 “ to the Bishop of *Sal.* who promised to keep the matter private, and only to acquaint
 “ the Bishop of *Ch.* with it in order to a Meeting: But upon some General Discourse
 “ I plainly perceived several things could not be obtained: However he promised to
 “ appoint a time of Meeting, but I have not heard from him since: I am unwilling
 “ my Name should be used in this Matter; not but that I do most heartily desire
 “ an Accommodation, and shall always endeavour it: But I am sure it will be a
 “ prejudice to me, and signify nothing to the effecting of the thing, which as Circumstances are cannot pass in either House, without the Concurrence of a considerable part of the Bishops, and the Countenance of His Majesty; which at present I see little reason to expect. I am, Your affectionate Brother and Servant,
 “ *John Tillotson*. § 288.

§ 288. A short time after told these Doctors what these same Bishops were even then contriving when they cryed up Agreement, and set them on this work, even to bring things much higher than they were, by putting an Oath on the Lords, Commons and Magistrates; of which more anon. But because some would know the Terms which we agreed on, I shall here annex the Form, to a word; only telling them that would understand it, 1. That it is not what we would have, had we our Choice, but what we would possibly hope might have been granted us: We had not the least hopes of more. 2. That we did not so annex the latter Particulars, as if we would not have been glad of the former alone, could no more be had: For the bare opening of the Door, for our Entrance, would have done something for a present shift. 3. That the passage that *shortening Common Prayer, in extraordinary Cases should not be punishable*, had several uses, which unless we had opportunity here to open, as we debated it, cannot be suddenly understood by each Reader: And many will say that *too much* or *too little* is yielded, that know not our Circumstances and hear not our Reasons: But it may somewhat satisfy considering Men that both parties did agree in the form here annexed; tho the Bishops had rather all our Distractions and Miseries were by the greatest Cruelty continued.

An Act for the Healing and Concord of his Majestie's Subject's in matters of Religion.

WHEREAS the Concord and Conjunct Labours of all able Godly Ministers of Christ, are of great use to the safety of the true Religion, and peace of the Kingdom, and the Salvation of their Flocks, and Experience proveth that this Concord cannot be now obtained, without some Abatement of the terms of Uniformity required by the present Laws, Be it enacted by His Majesty, &c.

I. That no other Oath, Subscription, Declaration, Covenant or promise, shall henceforth be necessary to, or required of any Priests or Deacons for their Ordination, Institution, Induction, License to preach and perform their Office, nor of Students in the Universities, nor School-Masters, besides the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the promises at Ordination of Ministerial fidelity contained in the form of Ordination, and the subscribing to the Doctrine and Sacraments of the Church of England according to the statute of Eliz. 13. in the words [J. A. B. do unfeignedly assent to the Doctrine of Faith, and Sacraments of the Church of England, as they are expressed in the Articles of the Church]; And the Oaths for the proper privileges of the Universities and Colledges; and to this following Declaration against Rebellion and Disloyalty, [J. A. B. do hold that it is not lawful for any of his Majestie's Subjects upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, his Person, Authority, or Rights and Dignity, nor against any Authorized by his Laws or Legal Commission; and that there lyeth no obligation on me, or any of his Majestie's Subjects from the Oath commonly called the *solemn League and Covenant*, to endeavour any Change of the present Government of his Majestie's Kingdoms, nor to endeavour any reformation or alteration of the Church Government (as it is now by Law established) by Rebellion, Sedition, or any other unlawful means.

II. And be it enacted by, &c.---That in such Churches or places of publick worship where the Liturgy is read, and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper accordingly administred, by the Incumbent, or the Lecturer, or Curate, or other Minister, no other shall be punished for not using it there, or for not baptizing, or not administring the Lord's Supper; provided that such other Minister be oft present at the reading of the Liturgy, and that he read it himself at least twice a year, and as often baptize Children (if offered thereto) and administer the Lord's Supper according to the Liturgy, if he have cure of Souls. Provided that no Minister shall be punished as guilty of Omission, for any brevity which is caused unavoidably by sickness, weakness, or any just extraordinary cause: But if otherwise the Liturgy be in any Church disused, the Incumbent shall be punishable as is already appointed by the Law.

And

And Be it enacted---that no Parent shall be forbidden to enter his own Child into Covenant with God in baptism, by speaking such promising and undertaking words, as by the Liturgy and Canon are now required of the Godfathers and Godmothers alone: Nor shall any Minister be forced against his Conscience to baptize any Child, who is not thus offered to God, by one of the Parents, or by such a pro parent as taketh the Child for his own, and undertaketh the Christian Education. Be it also Enacted that no person shall be constrained against his Conscience to the use of the Crofs in Baptism, or of the Surplice, nor any Minister to deny the Lord's Supper to any for not receiving it kneeling; nor read any of the *Apocrypha* for Lessons; nor to punish any Excommunication or Absolution against his Conscience; but the Bishop or Chancellor who decreeth it shall cause such to publish it as are not dissatisfied so to do, or shall only affix it on the Church-Door. Nor shall any Minister be constrained at Burial to speak only words importing the salvation of any person, who within a year received not the Sacrament of Communion, or was suspended from it according to the Rubrick or Canon, and satisfied not the Minister of his serious Repentance.

III. And whereas many persons having been ordained as Presbyters by Parochial Pastors in the times of Usurpation and Distraction, hath occasioned many Difficulties; for the present remedy hereof, be it Enacted.---That all such persons as before this time have been ordained as Presbyters by Parochial Pastors only, and are qualified for that Office as the Law requireth, shall receive power to exercise it, from a Bishop by a written Instrument (which every Bishop in his Diocese is hereby empowered and required to Grant) in these words and no other [*To A. B. of C. in the Country of D. Take thou Authority to exercise the Office of a Presbyter, in any place and Congregation in the King's Dominions whereto thou shall be lawfully called.*] And this practice sufficing for present Concord, no one shall be put to declare his Judgment, whether *This*, or *That which he before received*, shall be taken for his Ordination, nor shall be urged to speak any words of such signification; but each party shall be left to Judge as they see cause.

IV. And whereas the piety of Families, and Godly Converse of Neighbours is a great means of preserving Religion and Sobriety in the World, and lest the Act for suppressing seditious Conventicles should be mis-interpreted as injurious thereto, be it declared---that it is none of the meaning of the said Act, to forbid any such Family Piety or Converse, tho more then four Neighbours should be peaceably present, at the Reading of the Scriptures, or a Licensed Book, the singing of a Psalm, repeating of the publick Sermons, or any such Exercise which neither the Laws nor Canons do forbid, they being performed by such as joyn with the allowed Church-Assemblies, and refuse not the Inspection of the Ministers of the Parish; Especially where persons that cannot read are unable to do such things at home, as by *Can. 13.* is enjoyed.

V. And whereas the form of the Oath and Declaration, imposed on persons of Office and Trust in Corporations, is unsatisfactory to many that are Loyal and peaceable, that our Concord may extend to Corporations as well as Churches, Be it Enacted.---That the taking of the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and the Declaration against Religion and Disloyalty, here before prescribed, shall to all Ends and purposes suffice instead of the said Oath and Declaration.

VI. And whereas there are many peaceable Subjects, who hold all the Essentials of the Christian Faith, but conform not to so much as is required to the Established Ministry and Church-Communion, Be it Enacted.---that All and only they who shall publickly take the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, before some Court of Justice, or at the open Sessions of the County where they live, and that then and there Subscribe as followeth. [*I A. B. do unfeignedly stand to my Baptismal Covenant, and do believe all the Articles of the Creeds called the Apostles, the Nicene, and Constantinopolitane; and the truth of the holy Canonical Scriptures, and do renounce all that is contrary hereto,*] shall be so far tolerated in the Exercise of their Religion, as His Majesty, with the advice of his Parliament or Council, shall from time to time, find consistent with the peace and safety of his Kingdoms.

VII. And lest this Act for Concord, should occasion Discord, by emboldening unpeaceable and unruly or heretical men, be it enacted----that if any either in the *allowed* or the *Tolerated Assemblies* that shall pray or Preach Rebellion, Sedition, or against the Government or Liturgy of the Church, or shall break the Peace by tumults or otherwise, or stir up unchristian hatred and strife, or shall preach against, or otherwise oppose the Christian verities or any Article of the sacred Doctrine which they subscribe, or any of the 39. Articles of Religion, they shall be punished as by the Laws against such Offences is already provided.

I will here also Annex the Copies of some Petitions, which I was put to draw up, which never were presented.

I. The first was intended while the Parliament was sitting to have been offered ; but wise Parliament-Men thought it was better forbear it.

II. The second was thought fit for some Citizens to have offered ; but by the same Council it was forborn.

III. The third was thus occasioned: Sir John Babor told Dr. Manton that the Scots being then suspected of some insurrection, it was expected that we renewed the profession of our Loyalty, to free us from all suspicion of Conspiracy with them. We said that it seemed hard to us that we should fall under suspicion, and no cause alledged : We knew of no occasion that we had given: But we were ready to profess our continued Loyalty, but desired that we might with it, open our just resentment of our Case. They put me to draw it up : but when it was read, it was laid by, none daring to plead our Cause so freely and signify any sense of our hard usage.

I. May it Please Your Majesty, with the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament.

When the Common profession of resolved moderation had abated Men's fears of a Silencing Prelacy ; and the published Declarations of Nobilitie and Gentry against all dividing violence and revenge, had helpt to unite the endeavours of Your Subjects which prospered for Your Majesty's desired Restoration ; when God's wonderful providence had dissolved the Military Powers of Usurpers, which hindered it ; and when Your welcome appearance, Your Act of Oblivion, Your Gracious Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs (for which the House of Commons solemnly gave you thanks) did seem to have done much to the Cure of our Divisions ; we had some hopes that our common revived Love and Concord, would have tended to Your Majesty's and our common joy, in the harmony, strength and prosperity of Your Kingdoms ; and that we might among your inferiour Subjects have enjoyed our part in the common tranquility. But the year 1662. dissolved those hopes, fixing our old Difficulties, and adding more, which since then also have been much increased : Being consecrated and vowed to the sacred Ministry, we dare not desert it, lest we shortly appear before our Judge, in the guilt of sacrilege, & perfidiousness against Christ and the people's Souls. But we are forbidden to exercise it, unless we will do that which we profess as Men that are passing to our final Doom, we would readily do, were it not for fear of God's displeasure and our Damnation. Deprivation of all Ministerial maintenance, with heavy Mulcts (on such as have not money to pay) and long Imprisonments in the Common Goals with Malefactors, and banishment (to those that shall survive them) and that into remote parts of the World, were the penalties appointed for us by your Laws. Voluminous reproaches are published against us ; in which our Superiours and the World are told, that we hold that things indifferent are made unlawful by the Commands of lawful Governours,

nours, and that we are guilty of Doctrines inconsistent with the Peace and Safety of Societies, and that we are moved by Pride and Covetousness; as if we were proud of Men's Scorn, and covetous of sordid Want and Beggery, and ambitious of a Gaol; and that we are Unpeaceable, Disloyal, Odious and Intolerable Persons.

Lest we should seem over-querulous, and our Petitions themselves should prove offensive, we have been silent under Twelve years sufferings (by which divers Learned and holy Divines have been hastened home to Glory) hoping that Experience would have effectually spoken for us, when we may not Speak for our selves. And did we believe that our own pressures were the greatest consequent Evil, and that the People's knowledge, and piety, and the allowed Ministers Number sufficiency and Diligence, were such as made our *Labours needless*, and that the History of our Silence and Sufferings would be the future Honour of this Age, and the future Comfort of your Souls, and theirs that instigate you against us, before our Common Judge, we would joyfully be silent, and accept of a Dismission. But being certain of the contrary, we do this once adventure, humbly to tender to Your Majesty, and Your Parliament, these following Requests.

1. Because God saith, That he that hateth his Brother is a Murderer, and hath not Eternal Life: We humbly crave leave once to Print and Publish the true State and Reasons of our Nonconformity to the World; to save Mens Souls from the guilt of unjust Hatred and Calumny: And if we err, we may be helped to Repentance by a Confutation, and the Notoriety of our shame.

2. That in the mean time this Honourable House will appoint a Committee to consider of the best means for the Healing our Calamitous Divisions, before whom we may have leave at last to speak for our selves.

3. That these annexed Professions of our Religion and Loyalty may be received, as from Men that better know their own Minds than their Accusers do, and who, if they durst deliberately Lie, should be no Nonconformists.

4. That if yet we must suffer as Malefactors, we may be punished but as Drunkards, and Fornicators are, with some Penalty which will consist with our Preaching Christ's Gospel, and that shall not reach to the hurt or danger of many Thousand Innocent People's Souls, till the Re-building of the Burnt-Churches, the lessening of great Parishes, where one of very many cannot hear and worship God; and till the quality and number of the Conformable Ministers, and the knowledge, piety, and sobriety of the people have truly made our Labours needless; and then we shall gladly obey your Silencing Commands.

And whereas there are commonly reckoned to be in the Parishes without the Walls, above Two hundred thousand persons, more than can come within the Parish Churches; they may not be compelled in a Christian Land to live as Atheists, and worse than Infidels and Heathens, who, in their manner, publicly worship God.

The Profession of our Religion.

I A. B. Do willingly profess my continued resolved consent to the Covenant of Christianity which I made in my Baptism, with God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, forsaking the Devil, the World, and the sinful Lusts of the Flesh: And I profess my Belief of the Ancient Christian Creeds, called, *The Apostles*, *The Nicene*, and, *The Constantinopolitane*, and the Doctrine of the *Blessed Trinity*, fullier opened in that ascribed to *Athanasius*: And my Consent to *The Lord's Prayer*, as the Summary of Holy Desires, and to *The Decalogue*, with *Christ's Institutions*, as the Summary Rule of Christian Practice: And to all the *Holy Canonical Scriptures*, as the Word of God: And to the Doctrine of the Church of *England* professed in the 39 Articles of *Religion*, as in sense agreeable to the Word of God: And I renounce all Heresies, or Errours, contrary to any of these; And I do hold that the Book of *Common Prayer*, and of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth in it nothing so disagreeable to the Word of God, as maketh it unlawful to live in the Peaceable Communion of the Church that useth it.

The Profession of our Loyalty and Obedience.

I do willingly, and without Equivocation and Deceit, take the Oaths of Allegiance, and the King's Supremacy, and hold my self obliged to perform them. I detest all Doctrines and Practices of Rebellion and Sedition: I hold it unlawful for any of His Majesty's Subjects, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, His Person, Authority, Dignity, or Rights, or against any Authorized by his Laws or Commissions: And that there is no Obligation on me or any other of his Subjects, from the Oath Commonly called, *The Solemn League and Covenant*, to endeavour any change of the present Government of these His Majesty's Kingdoms; nor to endeavour any Reformation of the Church, by Rebellion, Sedition, or any other unlawful means.

The Overplus, as a remedy against Suspicion.

We believe and willingly embrace all that is written in the Holy Scriptures for the power of Kings and the Obedience of their Subjects, and the sinfulness of Rebellion and Resistance. And concerning the same we consent to as much as is found in any General Council, or in the Confession of any Christian Church on Earth (not respecting Obedience to the Pope,) which ever yet came to our knowledge; or as is owned by the Consent of the Greater part of Divines, Politicians, Lawyers or Historians in the Christian World, as far as our Reading hath acquainted us therewith.

II. To the King's most Excellent Majesty; The Humble Petition of some Citizens of London, on the behalf of this City, and the Adjoyning Parishes, Sheweth,

THat the Calamitous Fire 1666, with our Houses and Goods, Burnt down near 90 Churches, few of which are yet Re-edified; And divers Parishes, whose Churches yet stand, are so great, that it is but a small part of the Inhabitants that can there hear: whereby great Numbers are left in ignorance, and as a prey to Papists and other Seducers, and which is worse, to Atheism, Infidelity, and Irreligiousness: And if many of their ancient ejected, silenced Pastors, who, for refusing certain Subscriptions, Declarations, Promises, Oaths and Practices, are called Nonconformists, had not through great Difficulties and Sufferings exercised their Compassion to the people's Souls, in Preaching and Visiting the Sick, they had been yet more miserable destitute and forsaken.

Your Petitioners being sensible, that Christians professing the Belief of a Life to come, and that the holy Scriptures should not, by such Judgments, as our Plagues and Flames be hardened against God, but be awakened to Repentance and Holiness of Life, and that so Great and Honourable a City, should not, after all, turn worse than Infidels and Heathens, who are taught by Nature, publickly to Worship God, do humbly request, that till the Great Parishes have Capacious Churches or Chappels, and the ruined Churches are re-built, and furnished with able Conformable Ministers, those Protestant Nonconformists who will Teach the people where others do not, may not be therefore punished, or be forbidden, and the Souls of many Thousands which are hastening to another World, be deprived of such necessary helps, the Preachers being responsible for whatever they speak or do amiss. This Necessary Compassion to this famous City, even to the Souls of Men, which we humbly crave will more oblige Your Majesty's Loyal Subjects, to Pray for the Continuance of Your Prosperous Reign.

III. *To the King's most Excellent Majesty, The humble Profession of Gratitude and Subjection of some Ejected, Silenced Ministers of Christ, on the behalf of themselves and many others.*

May it please Your Majesty,

WE Your Majesty's Subjects, Dedicated to the Sacred Office, from which we must not Perfidiously and Sacrilegiously alienate our selves, once (vainly) hoped that the Established Publick Ministry might have received Men of our Size of Science and Conscience, till all the Churches had been furnished with Wiser Better Men: But God (for our Sins and Trial) and Men (we know not why) have otherwise decreed. We choose not this Calling (nor our costly Nonconformity) as the way of Wealth or Worldly Honour; Nor ever expected that God should make us a Golden-Bridge to Heaven; Nor desire to be Lords over God's Flock, or Rule them by Constraint, remembering who said, [*But with you it shall not be so:*] Gain is not our Godliness, or Church-Glory, but Godliness our Gain; We like not Dives's Choice so well as Mary's; But yet could gladly have escaped both Lazarus and Martha's straits, and have served God without distraction: We have Flesh that is not in love with Suffering, nor ambitious to live on Alms: It is Divine Relief that must keep those Men's Consciences from a timorous or treacherous surrender, which are besieged by Sixteen years Poverty and Reproach, and from the *Prophaneness* of selling their Birth-right for a Morsel: But (though *Sensibility* of our Brethren's Sufferings, be not *Impatient Murmuring*, yet) it is a more *Grievous Burden*, which constraineth us at last to Speak, *viz.* That so great a part of our maturest Age (in which, by the experience of good and evil, our own and others, we should have been far wiser and fitter to serve God in his Church, than we were in unexperienced Youth) should be so far lost as it hath been, as to the Work to which we were Ordained: That (Unheard) we should be supposed so Erroneous, or Criminal, as that no Punishment of our Bodies can give satisfaction without the suffering of the Souls of Men, by our forbearing to Preach the Word of Life! That while with grieved Souls we must see the sad Divisions and Sidings that Prevail, and the doleful advantages that Satan hereby getteth, for the ruine of Piety, Love and Peace, and the increase of Atheism, Infidelity and Maliciousness, and Confusion, and every evil work, and are told so loudly, by our notorious Necessity, that all our Endeavours conjunct would be too little: When we have foreseen and foretold all this, and used our most earnest Requests and Endeavours to have prevented it; We must yet be defamed by Tongues and Press, as the Authors and Fomenters of it, and as men of Unsociable and unruly humours, and of Unpeaceable Schismatical and seditious Principles; That being thus rendered odious, we are made incapable of Publick or Private use to Multitudes, whose Lives declare their need of help. That many whom we must honour and reverence, are hereby drawn into the guilt of Calumny and Injury to the Church; as well as to us, whose Case and Reasons (as to the *New Conformity*) they never understood, or heard. That so many Men's minds, and Zeal and Parts should be so ill employed on all sides, as to be raking in the bleeding Wounds which they are obliged to the uttermost of their Diligence to heal: That while Preachers are against Preachers, and Heavenly Love and Joy is turned into Envy and Strife; We should go for the Men that blow the Coals, and rob Your Majesty of the Honour and Joy of Ruling an Unanimous Ministry, and a Peaceable, Loyal, Unsuspected People; We must not be guilty of setting so light by Your Majesty's Interest, and Your judgment of us, and Favour to us, and the Interest of the Church, and the People's Souls, as to remain still silent under all this. And, with greatest reverence of God, we must profess, That if the faithful search of our Consciences should shew us, that all this is caused by any self-seeking, or willfulness of ours; and that we were not still willing, at the dearest rate (except sinning, which is no way to Peace) to close these Wounds, but preferred any Worldly Interest before the Peace and Harmony of Souls, we should take it to be Kin to Judas's Sin, and should tremble to think,

how quickly a revenging God would judge us, and what a dismal entrance upon Eternity such guilty Souls are like to have.

But tho sense and conscience thus complain, it is but the introduction to our *thankful acknowledgment* of the favours which your Majesty hath vouchsafed us: Your Clemency, protection and forbearance hath revived our comforts, which consist in that work which is the business of our Lives. Our *Loyal fidelity* shall express our *gratitude* more than words: And because some in this also would render us suspected, we take it for our Duty to profess, that tho we take not and digest not, as easily as is expected, all Subscriptions, Declarations and Oaths, which are of late imposed, It is not from any *Principle of Disloyalty*: For we firmly hold that every Soul must be subject to the Higher Powers, not only for *Wrath* but *Conscience* sake: And that Honour; and Obedience in *Lawful things*, and patience under wrongful pressures is our Duty to our Rulers; In short, we know not of *one word in Scripture*, *one Canon of any General Council*, *one Confession of any Christian Church on Earth*, which speaketh more for subjects *Submission*, and *peaceable obedience* to Kings, than we do heartily acknowledge: And we believe that no *vow* or *Covenant* of our own, can disoblige us from any part of this obedience, or warrant us to Rebel. We would not have the King of Rome (the pretended vicar of the King of Kings) to be King over your Majesty or your Kingdoms; The world's Experience lowly telleth us that Clergymen are fitter to be kept by the Sword in Peace and *Quietness*, than to be trusted with the Sword; and we would not have Kings be made their Executioners: For we are past doubt that the *Controversies* and *Contentions* of the *Worldly Tyrannical*, and the *self-conceited Clergy*, have been many hundred years more *Calamitous* to the *Christian World*, than the most bloody Wars: We are our selves so far from desiring *Grandeur* and *Dominion*, that we would not be so much as the *Pastors* of any but *Consenters*; and wish that the *Clergie's State* were such as neither *fear'd* or *straiten'd* the *diligent Labourers*, nor so *tempted* and *invited Ambitious Worldly minds*, as that such, being the seekers, must usually be the *Masters of the Church*, who are likest to be *Enemies* to the holy Doctrine which condemneth them. We long, we pray, we groan for the *Concord of the Christian World*: And we are sure that whoever shall be the *blessed and honoured Instruments* of that work, must do it by *breaking dividing Engines*, and making the *primitive simplicity*, the terms of *Union*; even a few plain, certain, necessary things; while the *Sword of the Magistrate* constraineth the *turbulent*, to peace and mutual forbearance in the rest: We are not for cruelty to any: We greatly approve of your Majesties *Averseness* to persecution. But we believe that it is the *Learning*, *Godliness* and *Concord* of the Ministry, which shall be publicly settled by your Laws, which must be the chief means of preserving Religion, Loyalty and Peace, and therefore must deeply resent it that we are rendered so unserviceable in that kind, and that well meaning men should so long misunderstand our cause, and judge, defame and use us as if we were the hinderers of that sweet agreement which our Souls most earnestly desire, and would purchase by any Lawful price. In summ, the belief of the *Heavenly Glory* through Christ, kindling the Love of God and Man, and teaching us to live *Soberly*, *Righteously*, and *Godly*, and the Government of *Magistrates* keeping all in peace upon these terms, is the Religion and State that we desire.

And the grief of our Souls for the present Divisions doth call up our thankful remembrance, that once by your Majesty's favour, we were *Commissioned* to speak for our selves about the old Conformity, and to treat with your Bishops for such *Alterations* as were necessary to our Concord: And that your Majesty published so *Gracious a Declaration of Ecclesiastical Affairs*, as, had it lived, had prevented our present factions; yea that your House of Commons gave your Majesty the publick Thanks for your healing means: (Tho now some take all our *Divisions* and *Distractions*, to be a smaller evil, than the Terms of that your Majesty's Declaration would be). And if ever your favour allow us to speak for our selves also as to the *New Conformity*, and to open to the world, the matter and reasons of our Nonconformity, we cannot doubt but it would much abate the *Censures* and *Injuries* of Multitudes that understand us not, and consequently abate their guilt, and all *unbrotherly Distances* and *Schisms*, and Men's unthankful dislike of your Majesty's Clemency. And so far as God by your Majesty's favour shall open our Lips, that our mouths may shew forth his praise, we shall be obliged to greater thankfulness to your Majesty, and to pray for your pious and prosperous Reign, and that we may all live a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godliness and Honesty, as becometh your Majesty's Loyal Subjects.

§ 289 While the said two Bishops were fraudulently seeming to set us on this Treaty, their cause required them outwardly to pretend that they would not have me troubled; but understand I was still the first that was haunted after and persecuted: And even while I was in this Treaty, the informers of the City (set on work by the Bishops) were watching my preaching, and contriving to load me with divers convictions and fines at once: And they found an Alderman Justice even in the Ward where I preached, fit for their Design, one Sir *Thomas Davis*, who understood not the Law, but was ready to serve the Prelates in their own way. To him Oath was made against me, and the place where I preached, as for two Sermons, which came to threescore pounds fine to me, and fourscore to the owner of the place where we assembled: But I only was sought after and prosecuted.

§ 290. The Reader must here understand the present case of the City as to such things: The Execution of these Laws, that were to ruine us for preaching, was so much against the hearts of the Citizens, that scarce any could be found to execute them: Tho the Corporation Oath and Declaration had new moulded the City (and all the Corporations of the Land, except some few (as *Taunton*, &c.) which were utterly dissolved by it) yet were the Aldermen for the most part utterly averse to such Employment, so that whenever an Informer came to them, tho (they forfeited an 100*l.* every time that they refused to execute their Office, yet some shifted out of the way, and some plainly denied and repulsed the Accusers, and one was sued for it; And Alderman *Forth* got an Informer bound to the behaviour for breaking in upon him in his Chamber against his will. Two fellows called *Stowd* and *Marishal* became the General Informers in the City, and some others under them. In all *London*, notwithstanding that the third parts of those great Fines might be given the Informers, very few would be found to do it: And those two were presently fallen upon by their Creditors on purpose, and *Marishal* laid in the Compter for Debt, where he remained for a considerable time; but *Stowd* (keeping a Coffee-House) was not so deep in debt, but was bailed. Had a Stranger of another Land come into *London*, and seen five or six poor ignorant sorry Fellows (unworthy to have been inferior Servants to an Ordinary Gentleman) hunting, and insulting over the ancient Aldermen, and the Lord Mayor himself, and all the Reverend, faithful Ministers that were ejected, and eighty nine Churches were destroyed by the Fire, and in many Parishes the Churches yet standing, could not hold a sixth, or tenth part of the People, yet those that Preached for nothing were prosecuted to utter ruin, with such unwearied eagerness, sure he would have wondered what these Prelates and Prosecutors are; and it may convince us that the term *Διαβολος*, given in Scripture to some Men (translated false Accusers) is not unmeet: When Men pretending to be the Fathers of the Church dare turn loose half a dosen paltry, silly Fellows that know not what they do, to be, to so many Thousand Sober Men, as Wolves among the Sheep, to the distraction of such a City, and the disturbance of so many thousand for worshipping God. How lively doth this tell us, that Satan, the Prince of the Aereal Powers worketh in the Children of Disobedience, and that his Kingdom on Earth is kin to Hell, as Christ's Kingdom is to Heaven.

§ 291. When I understood that the design was to ruin me, by heaping up Convictions, before I was heard to speak for my self, I went to Sir *Thomas Davis*, and told him that I undertook to prove that I broke not the Law, and desired him that he would pass no Judgment till I had spoke for my self before my Accusers. But I found him so ignorant of the Law, as to be fully perswaded, that if the Informers did but swear in general that I kept [*an unlawful meeting in Pretence of a Religious Exercise in other manner than according to the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England*] he was bound to take this general Oath for Proof, and to record a Judgment; and so that the Accusers were indeed the Judges, and not he: I told him that any Lawyer would soon tell him the contrary, and that he was Judge whether by particular Proof they made good their general Accusation, (as it is in case a Man be accused of Felony or Treason, it is not enough that Men swear that he is a Felon or Traytor, they must name what his Fact was, and prove him guilty:) And I was at charge in Feeing Counsellors to convince him, and others; and yet I could not perswade him out of his mistake; I told him that if this were so, any two such Fellows might defame, and bring to Fines, and Punishment, himself, and all the Magistrates and Parliament-Men themselves, and all that meet in the Parish-Churches,

es, and Men had no Remedy. At last he told me that he would consult with other Aldermen at the Sessions, and they would go one way: When the Sessions came I went to *Guild-Hall*, and again desired him that I might be heard before I was Judged: But though the other Aldermen (save two or three) were against such doings, I could not prevail with him, but (professing great Kindness) he then laid all on Sir *John Howell*, the Recorder, saying, that it was his Judgment, and he must follow his Advice. I desired him, and Sir *Thomas Allen*, that they would desire of the Recorder, that I might be heard before I was Judged, and that if it must pass by his Judgment, that he would hear me speak: But I could not procure it; the Recorder would not speak with me: When I saw their Resolution, I told Sir *Thomas Davis*, if I might not be heard, I would record to Posterity the injustice of his Judgment, and Record: But I perceived, that he had already made the Record, but not yet given it in to the Sessions: At last, upon Consultation with his Leaders, he granted me a hearing, and three of the Informers met me at his House, that had sworn against me: I told them my particular Case, and asked them what made my Preaching a Breach of that Law, and how they proved their Accusation? They first said, Because I Preached in an unconsecrated Place: I told them, 1. That the Act only laid it on the *manner of the Exercise*, which the Place was nothing to: And, 2. That it was the Practice of the Church of *England* to Preach in unconsecrated Places, as at *Sturbridge-Fair*, at the *Spittle*, at *Whitehall-Court*, and many such like.

They next said, [*Because I am a Nonconformist.*] I easily convinced them that I am not a Nonconformist in Law-sence, but in the same case with a Conformist that hath no Benefice (whatever I am in conscience), the Law obliging me to no more than I do. And if I were, that is nothing to the *manner of the exercise*.

Their last and great proof was, that I used not the Common Prayer. I undertook to prove to them that Law commandeth the use of the Common Prayer only in Church Meetings, and not in every other subordinate or by-Meeting for Religious Exercises, such as ours was: And that it was not the sense of the Act that Conformable persons that Communicate in the Liturgy with the Parish Churches, should be judged Conventiclors, whenever above four of them joyned in a Religious Exercise without the Liturgy: For else all Tutors in the University should be punishable, and all School-masters that teach their Scholars and pray with them (if above 16 years of age) and they that instruct Prisoners at *Newgate*, and they that exhort and pray and sing *Psalms* with them at the *Gallows*, with many such Instances: We ought not to judge so uncharitably of King and Parliament, unconstrained, as to think that they would allow Multitudes to meet at a Play-house, a Masick-house, a horse-race, a Bear-baiting, or Dancing, or any game, and allow many to meet at a Coffee-house, Ale-house, or Tavern, or in any private house, and do, on pain of utter ruine, only forbid Conformable persons, to joyn more than four, in singing a *Psalme*, or reading a Chapter or a Licensed book, or in praying together, or Conference tending to Religious Edification.

In Summ, they confest they could not Answer me, nor prove their charge, but they still believed that I was guilty: The Justice was so far from thinking that they proved it, that he motioned to them to Retract their Oaths (or else still he thought that he must condemn me:) They denied to do that, and said, That the Bishop assured them, That it was a Conventicle, and I was guilty: I desired them, if it must all lie upon the Bishop, that I might Speak with them to the Bishop for my self: They told me, That it was the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and they were all just now going to him, and promised to bring me word when I might Speak with him; But I heard no more of them of that: But the Justice retracted not his Judgment, but delayed a Month or more, to give out his Warrant to distrein, though I daily look when they take my books (for they will find but little else:) Though both Justice and Accusers have before witness confessed that they cannot prove me guilty, but one professeth to go on the belief of the Recorder, and the other of the Arch-bishop.

§. 292. But God hath more mercy on these ignorant Informers, than on the Pharisaical Instigators of them: For those repent, but no Prelate, (save one) that I hear of, doth repent: One of them that Swore against me, went the next Fast to *Redriff*, to Mr. *Roswell's Church*, where a Fast was kept, where hearing

three Ministers pray and preach, his heart was melted, and with Tears, he lamented his former course, and particularly his Accusing me, and seemeth resolved for a new reformed Course of Life, and is retired from his former Company to that end. And a third (the chief) of the Informers lately in the Streets, with great kindness to me, professed, that he would meddle no more (coming by when a half-distracted Fellow had Struck me on the head with his Staff, and furiously reviled at me for Preaching, with the titles of Rogue, Villain, Hypocrite. Traytor, &c. (as the Prelatists and Papists often do.)

§. 293. The Parliament meeting Apr. 13. they fell first on the D. of *Lauderdale*, renewing their desire to the King, to remove him from all publick Employment and Trust: His chief accusing Witness was Mr. *Burnet*, late Publick-Professor of *Theologie* at *Glasgow*, who said, That he askt him whether the Scots Army would come into *England*, and said; What if the Dissenting Scots should Rise, an *Irish* Army should cut their Throats, &c. But because Mr. *Burnet* had lately magnified the said Duke in an *Epistle* before a published book, many thought his witness now to be more unfavoury and revengefull: Every one judging as they were affected. But the King sent them Answer, That the words were spoken before his late Act, of pardon, which if he should Violate, it might cause jealousies in his Subjects, that he might do so also by the Act of Indemnity.

§. 294. Their next Assault was against the Lord Treasurer, who found more Friends in the House of Commons, who at last acquitted him.

§. 295. But the great work was in the House of Lords, where an Act was brought in to impose such an Oath on Lords, Commons, and Magistrates, as is Imposed by the *Oxford*-Act of Confinement on Ministers, and like the Corporation-Oath (of which more anon.) It was now supposed that the bringing the Parliament under this Oath and Test was the great work which the House was to perform: The Summ was, That none Commissioned by the King may be by Arms resisted, and that they would never endeavour any alteration of the Government of Church or State. Many Lords spake vehemently against it, as destructive to the Privileges of their House, which was to Vote freely, and not to be preobliged by an Oath to the Prelates: The Lord Treasurer, the Lord Keeper, with Bishop *Morley* and Bishop *Ward*, were the great Speakers for it, And the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Hollis*, the Lord *Hallifax*, the D. of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the chief Speakers against it: They that were for it, being the Major part, many of the rest Entered their Protestation against it: The Protesters the first time (for they protested thrice more afterward) were the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Marquess of *Winchester*, the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Bristol*, *Barkshire*,

§. 296. The Protesting Lords having many days striven against the Test, and being overvoted, attempted to joyn to it an Oath for *Honesty* and *Conscience* in these words. " [I do swear that I will never by threats, injunctions, promises, or invitations, by or from any person whatsoever, nor from the hopes or prospects of any gift, place, office, or trust whatever, give my vote, other than according to my opinion and conscience, as I shall be truly and really perswaded upon the debate of any business in Parliament]. But the Bishops on their side did cry it down and cast it out.

§. 297. The Debating of this Text did more weaken the Interest and Reputation of the Bishops with the Nobles, than any thing that ever befel them since the King came in; so much doth unquiet overdoing tend to undoing. The Lords that would not have heard a Nonconformist say half so much, when it came to be their own case, did long and vehemently plead against that Oath and Declaration as imposed on them, which they with the Commons had before imposed on others. And they exercised so much liberty for many days together in opposing the Bishops, and free and bold speeches against their Test, as greatly turned to the Bishops Disparagement, especially the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Bristol*, the Marquess of *Winchester*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Hollis*, the Lord *Hallifax*, and the Lord of *Alesbury*.

Which set the Tongues of Men at so much liberty, that the common talk was against the Bishops: And they said, that upon Trial, there were so few found among all the Bishops, that were able to speak to purpose (Bishop *Morley* of *Winchester*, and Bishop *Ward* of *Salisbury* being their chief Speakers) that they grew very low also; as to the Reputation of their parts.

§. 298. That

§. 298. At last, though the Test was carried by the Majority, yet those, that were against it, with others, prevailed to make so great an alteration of it, as made it quite another thing, and turned it to the greatest disadvantage of the Bishops, and the greatest accommodation of the Cause of the Nonconformists, of any thing that this Parliament hath done. For they reduced it to these words, of a Declaration and an Oath.

[“I *A. B.* do declare, That it is not lawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King; And that I do abhor that Traiterous Position, of taking Arms, by His Authority, against His Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him according to Law, in time of Rebellion and War, in acting in pursuance of such Commission.

[“I *A. B.* do Swear, that I will not endeavour an Alteration of the Protestant Religion now established by Law in the Church of *England*: nor will I endeavour any Alteration in the Government of this Kingdom in Church or State, as it is by Law Established.

§. 299. This Declaration and Oath thus altered, was such as the Nonconformists would have taken, if it had been offered them in stead of the *Oxford-Oath*, the Subscription for Uniformity, the Corporation and Vestry Declaration: But the Kingdom must be Twelve years rackt to Distraction, and 1800 Ministers forbidden to Preach Christ's Gospel, upon pain of utter ruin, and Cities and Corporations all New-Modelled and Changed, by other kind of Oaths and Covenants; and when the Lords find the like obtruded on themselves, they reject it as intolerable: And when it pass, they got in this Proviso, That it should be no hinderance to their Free-Speaking and Voting in the Parliament: Many worthy Ministers have lost their Lives by Imprisonments, and many Hundred their Maintenance, and Liberty, and that opportunity to serve God in their Callings, which was much of the comfort of their Lives, and mostly for refusing what the Lords themselves at last refuse, with such another Declaration. But though Experience teach some that will no otherwise learn; it is sad with the World, when their Rulers must learn to Govern them at so dear a rate; and Countreys, Cities, Churches, and the Souls of Men, must pay so dear for their Governours Experience.

§. 300. The following Explication will tell you, That there is nothing in this Oath and Declaration to be refused. 1. [I do declare, That it is not lawful] can mean no more, but that [I think so] and not that I pretend to Infallible certainly therein. 2. [To take Arms against the King.] That is, either against his *Formal Authority*, as King; or against His *Person* (Life, or Liberty) or against any of His Rights and Dignity: And doubtless the Person of the King is inviolable, and so are His Authority and Rights; not only by the Laws, but by the very Constitution of the Kingdom: For every Common-wealth being essentially constituted of the *Pars Imperans*, and *pars subdita* materially, the Union of these is the Form of it, and the Dissolution is the Death of it: And Hostility is Disunion and Dissolution. Therefore no Head or Sovereign hath power to destroy, or fight against his Kingdom, nor any Common-wealth or Kingdom against their King or Sovereign Rulers: unless in any case the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*, which is above all Humane Positive Laws, should make the dissolution of the Republick to become a Duty, (As if some Republick should cast off the Essential Principles of Society.) By Law, neither King nor Kingdom may destroy or hurt each other: For the Governing Laws suppose their Union (as the Constitution, and the Common good, with the due Welfare of the Sovereign, is the end of Government, which none have power against.

But it must be noted, that the words are [against the King] and not [against the King's Will;] for if his Will be against his Welfare, his Kingdom, or his Laws, though that Will be signified by his Commissioners, the Declaration disclaimeth not the resisting of such a Will by Arms.

3. And if there be any that assert, that the *King's Authority* giveth them right to take up Arms (against his Person, or Lawful Commissions,) it must needs be a False and Traiterous Assertion: For if his Person may be Hostilely fought against, the Common-wealth may be dissolved, which the Law cannot suppose; for

for all Laws die with the Common-wealth: And it is a contradiction to be authorized by him to resist by Arms his Commissions, which are according to Law: For the Authority, pretended to be his, must be his *Laws*, or *Commissions*, and to be Authorized by his Laws, or Commissions, to resist his Laws, must signify, that his Laws are contradictory, when by *one* we must resist another: But so far as they are contradictory, both cannot be Laws, or Lawful Commissions; For one of them must needs nullify the other (either by Fundamental Priority, or by Posteriority, signifying a Repeal of the other.)

And it must be noted, that yet the *Trayterous Position* meddeth not with the Question of [*taking Arms against the King's Person*, or *Commissioners by the Law of God*, of *Nature*, or of *Nations*, but only of doing it by his *own Authority*.

4. And that it is not lawful to take Arms against any *Commissioned by him, according to Law, in time of Rebellion and War, in pursuance of such Commission*,] is a Truth so evident, that no sober Persons can deny it: The Long Parliament that had the War, did vehemently assert it, and therefore gave out their Commissions to the Earl of *Essex* and his Soldiers, to fight against Delinquent Subjects, for the King and Parliament.

5. And the *Oath* containeth no more, than our *not endeavouring to Alter the Protestant Religion established*, or the King's Government or Monarchy: It cannot, with any true reason, be supposed to tie us at all to the Bishops—much less to the *English Disease or Corruption of Episcopacy*, or to Lay-Chancellours, &c. but only to the King, as Supreme, in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil, so far as they fall under Coercive Government.

This is thus proved past denial. 1. The word [*Protestant Religion as established in the Church of England*] cannot include the Prelacy; For, 1. The Protestant Religion is essentially nothing, but the Christian Religion as such, with the disclaiming of Popery, and so our Divines have still professed: But our Prelacy is no part of the Christian Religion.

2. The Protestant Religion is common to us with many Countreys which have no Prelacy: And it is the same Religion with us and them.

3. The words of the Oath distinguish the *Religion of the Church of England*, from the Church of *England* it self, and from Government.

4. If Episcopacy in general were proved part of the Protestant Religion, the English Accidents and Corruptions are not so: They, that say that Episcopacy is *Jure Divino*, and unalterable, do yet say, that National, and Provincial Churches are *Jure Humano*; and that so is a Diocesan, as it is distinct from Parochial, containing many Parishes in it: And if the King should set up a Bishop in every Market-Town, yea, every Parish, and put down Diocesanes, it is no more than what he may do: And if by [*the Protestant Religion established*] should be meant every alterable mode or circumstance, then King-James changed it when he made a new Translation of the Bible, and both he and our late Convocation (and King and Parliament by their Advice) did change it when they added new Forms of Prayer: And then this Oath bindeth all from endeavouring to make any alteration in the Liturgie, or mend the Translation, or the Metre of the *Psalms*, &c. or to take the keys of Excommunication and Absolution out of the hands of the Lay-Chancellours, &c. which none can reasonably suppose.

2. And that our Prelacy is not at all included in the word [*Government of the Kingdom in Church and State*] but only the King's Supreme Government in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil, is most evident: 1. Because it is expressly said [*The Government of the Kingdom*] which is all one with the Government of the King. For a Bishop, or a Justice, or a Mayor, is no Governour of the *Kingdom*, but only in the *Kingdom*, of a Particular Church, City, Corporation, or Division; The *summa potestas* only is the Government of the *Kingdom*, as a Kingdom; And because *forma denominat*, we cannot take the *Kingdom* to signify only a Church or City.

2. Because else it would change the very constitution of the Kingdom, by making all the inferior Officers *unalterable*, and so to be essential constitutive parts: Whereas only the *pars Imperans* and *pars Subdita* are constitutive parts of every Kingdom, or Republick, and the Constitutive *pars Imperans* is only the *summa potestas* except where the mixture and fundamental Contract is such, as that Inferiour Officers, are woven so into the Constitution, as that they may not be changed without it's Dissolution, which is hardly to be supposed, even at *Venice*. The Oaths between the *summa potestas* and the Subject, are the bonds of the Commonwealth; their Union being the form, that must not be dissolved: But to make Oaths of *Allegiance*, or Unchangeableness, reach to the Inferiour Magistrates or Officers, is to change the Government or Constitution.

3. And so it destroyeth the Regal power, in one of it's chief properties or prerogatives, which is to alter inferior Officers; who all receive their power from the Supreme, and are alterable by him (even by the *Majestas* which hath the *Legislative* powers.) And this would take away all the King's power to alter so much as a Mayor, Justice or Constable. For, mark, that Government of the Kingdom [in Church and State] are set equally together without any note of difference, as to alteration: If therefore it extend to any but the Supreme, even to inferior Officers, it were to extend to them as Governing the State (even to the lowest) as well as the Church. But this is a supposition to be Contemned.

4. And if the Distinction should be meant *de personis Imperantibus*, and should intend only [Bishops and King] by [Church and State] 1. It would suppose that King and Parliament do take [Bishops and King] for two coordinate Heads, in governing the Kingdom, 2. And that they set the Bishops before the King; which is not to be supposed.

5. And to put all out of question, the Oath is but Conform to former Statutes, Oaths, Articles of Religion and Canons, 1. The Statutes which declare the King to be only Supreme Governour of the Church, I need not cite. 2. The Oath of Supremacy is well known of all, 3. The very first Canon is, that the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury and all Bishops, &c. shall faithfully keep, and observe all the Laws for the King's Supremacy over the Church of England, in causes Ecclesiastical: And the 2d. Canon is to condemn the dangers of it. And the 36. Canon obligeth all Ministers to subscribe that the King's Majesty under God is the only Supreme Governour of this Realm-----as well in all spiritual and Ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal. And (as the Parliament are called the Representative of the People or Kingdom as distinct from the Head, so) the 139. Canon excommunicateth all them that affirm [that the Sacred Synod of this Nation, in the Name of Christ and by the King's Authority Assembled is not the true Church of England by Representation: So that they claim to be but the Representative of the Church as it is the Body distinct from the Head Christ, and the King as their chief Governour. 4. And all that are Ordained are likewise to take the Oath of Supremacy ["I do utterly testify and declare in my Conscience that the King's Highness is the only Supreme Governour of this Realm-----as well in all spiritual or Ecclesiastical things or Causes, as Temporal,] 5. And it is also inserted in the Articles of Religion, Art. 35. And it is added expositively ["Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the Chief Government (by which title we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended) we give not to our Princes the Ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments---but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all Godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, that they should rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the Civil Sword, the Stubborn and evil Doers.] Here it is to be noted, that, though, no doubt, but the Keys of Excommunication and absolution belong to the Pastors, and to the Civil Magistrate, yet, the Law, and this Article, by the word [Government] mean only [Coercive Government by the Sword] and do include the power of the Keys under the title of [Ministering the Word and Sacraments,] Church Guidance being indeed nothing else but the Explication and Application of God's word to Cases and Consciences, and administering the Sacraments accordingly. So that as in the very Article of Religion, Supreme Government, appropriated to the King only, is contradistinguished from [Ministering the Word and Sacraments,] which is not called Government there, so are we to understand this Law and Oath: And many Learned Men think, that Guidance is a fitter name than Government for the Pastor's Office;

And

And therefore *Grotius de Imper. Sum. Pot.* would rather have the Name *Canons* or Rulers used than *Laws* as to their Determinations : Though no doubt but the Name [*Government*] may be well applied to the Pastor's Part, so we distinguish as *Bilston* and other judicious men use to do, calling one [*Government by God's Word* (upon the Conscience) and the other *Government by the sword.*] (as seconding Precepts with enforcing penalties and Mulcts.)

§ 301. While this Test was carrying on in the house of Lords, and 500 pounds Voted to be the penalty of the Refusers, before it could come to the Commons, a difference fell between the Lords and Commons about their priviledges, by occasion of two Suits that were brought before the Lords, in which two Members of the Commons were parties, which occasioned the Commons to send to the Tower, Sir *John Fagg*, one of their Members, for appearing at the Lords Bar without their consent, and four Counsellours (Sir *John Churchill*, Sergeant *Pemberton*, Sergeant *Pecke*, and another) for pleading there; And the Lords Voted it Illegal, and that they should be released : Sir *John Robinson*, Lieutenant of the Tower obeyed the Commons, for which the Lords Voted him a Delinquent ; And so far went they in daily Voting at each other, that the King was fain to Prorogue the Parliament, *June 9.* till *October 13.* there appearing no hope of Reconciling them. Which rejoiced many that they rose without doing any further harm.

§. 302. *June 9. Keting*, the Informer being commonly detested for prosecuting me, was cast in Gaol for Debt, and wrote to me to endeavour his Deliverance, which I did; and in his Letters, saith [" Sir, I assure you I do verily believe " that God hath bestowed all this affliction on me because I was so vile a wretch " as to trouble you : And I assure you I never did a thing in my Life that hath " so much troubled my self as that did : I pray God forgive me : And truly I do " not think of any that went that way to work that ever God would favour him " with his mercy : And truly without a great deal of mercy from God ; I do not " think that ever I shall thrive or prosper : And I hope you will be pleased to pray " to God for me, &c.]

§. 303. A while before another of the chief Informers of the City and my Accuser (*Marishall*) died in the Counter where his Creditors laid him, to keep him from doing more harm :) Yet did not the Bishops change or cease : Two more Informers were set on work, who first assaulted Mr. *Cafe's* Meeting, and next got in as hearers into Mr. *Read's* Meeting where I was Preaching ; And when they would have gone out to fetch Justices (for they were known) the doors were lockt to keep them in till I had done, and one of them (supposed to be sent from *Fullum*) stayed weeping : Yet went they straight to the Justices, and the week following heard me again as Informers at my Lectures ; but I have not yet heard of their Accusation.

§. 304. But this week (*June 9.*) Sir *Thomas Davis* (notwithstanding all his foresaid Warnings and Confessions) sent his Warrants to a Justice of the Division where I dwell, to distrein on me (upon two Judgments) for 50 pounds ; for Preaching my Lecture in *New-street* : Some Conformists are paid to the value of 20 pounds a Sermon for their Preaching, and I must pay 20 pounds and 40 pounds a Sermon for Preaching for nothing ; O what Pastors hath the Church of *England*, who think it worth all their unwearied Labours, and all the odium which they contract from the People, to keep such as I am, from Preaching the Gospel of Christ, and to undo us for it as far as they are able, though these many years they do not (for they cannot) accuse me for one word that ever I Preached : nor one Action else that I have done : While the greatest of the Bishops Preach not thrice a year (as their Neighbours say) themselves.

§. 305. The dangerous Crack over the Market-house at *St. James's* put many upon desiring that I had a larger safer place for Meeting. And though my own dulness, and great backwardness to troublesome business made me very averse to so great an undertaking, judging that it being in the face of the Court, it would never be endured, yet the great and uncessant importunity of many (out of a fervent desire of the good of Souls) did constrain me to undertake it : And when it was almost finished (in *Oxenden-street*) Mr. *Henry Coventry*, one of his Majesties principal Secretaries, who had a house joyning to it, and was a Member of Parliament, spake twice against it, in the Parliament : But no one seconded him.

§. 306. I think meet to recite the names and liberality of some of those pious and Charitable persons who contributed towards the building of this place (The money

money was all put into the hands of Mr. *Tho. Stanley* a worthy sufficient Citizen in *Bread-street*, who undertook the care and Disbursement, for I never toucht one penny of it my self, nor any one for me: Nor did I think meet to make a publick Collection for it in the place where I Preached.) The Lady *Armine*--60 l. (on her death-bed. Sir *John Maynerd*--40 l. Mr. *Brooke Bridges*--20 l. Sir *James Langham*--20 l. (at first time.) The Countess of *Clare*--10 l. The Countess of *Tre-colonel*--6 l. The Lady *Clinton*--5 l. The Lady *Eleanor Hollis*--5 l. The Countess of *Warwick*--20 l. Mr. *French*---and Mr. *Brandon* (Non-conformable Ministers)--20 l. The Lady *Rickards*--5 l.---Mr. *Henly* (a Parliament man) 5 l.---Sir *Edward Harley*--10 l.---Mr. *Richard Hambdon* and Mr. *John* his Son--8 l.---The Lady *Fitz-James* and her three Daughters---6 l.---Sir *Richard Chiverton*--1 l. Mrs *Reynolds* 1 l. Alderman *Henry Ashurst* and his Son-in-law Mr. *Booth* (the best Undertakers) 100 l. Collected among all their City Friends, and Ours whom they thought meet to move in it.

And that we might do the more good, my Wife urged the Building of another Meeting-place in *Bloomsbury*, for Mr. *Read* (to be furthered by my sometime helping him); the Neighbourhood being very full of People, Rich and Poor, that could not come into the Parish-Church, through the greatness of the Parish (and Dr. *Bourman*, the Parish-Parson, having not Preached, Prayed, Read, or Administred Sacraments these Three or Four Years.

§ 307. This Week (*Jun. 14.*) many Bishops were with the King, who, they say, granted them his Commands to put the Laws against us in Execution: And on *Tuesday* about Twelve or Thirteen of them went to Dine with the Sheriff of *London*, Sir *Nathanael Herne*; where the business being mentioned, he told them, that they could not Trade with their Neighbours one Day, and send them to Goal the next.

§ 308. Dr. *Tully*, by his book called *Justificatio Paulina*, constrained me to Publish Two Books in Vindication of the Truth and my self, viz. Two Disputations of Original Sin, and a Treatise of Justifying Righteousness; in which I published my Old Papers to Mr. *Christopher Cartwright*. Dr. *Tully* presently fell sick, and (to our common Loss) shortly died.

§ 309. I was so long wearied with keeping my Doors shut against them that came to distrein on my Goods for Preaching, that I was fain to go from my House, and to sell all my Goods, and to hide my Library first, and afterwards to sell it; So that if Books had been my Treasure, (and I valued little more on Earth) I had been now without a treasure. About Twelve Years I was driven an Hundred Miles from them; and when I had paid dear for the Carriage, after Two or Three Years I was forced to sell them. And the Prelates, to hinder me from Preaching, deprived me also of these private Comforts: But God saw that they were my Snare: We brought nothing into the World, and we must carry nothing out. The Loss is very tolerable.

§ 310. I was the willinger to part with Goods, Books, and; all, that I might have nothing to be distreined, and so go on to Preach: And accordingly removing my Dwelling to the New Chappel which I had built, I purposed to venture there to Preach (there being Forty Thousand Persons in the Parish (as is supposed) more than can hear in the Parish-Church, who have no Place to go to for God's Publick Worship: So that I set not up Church against Church, but Preached to those that must else have none, being loth that *London* should turn Atheists, or live worse than Infidels. But when I had Preached there but Once, a Resolution was taken to surprize me the next Day, and send me for Six Months to the Common Goal, upon the Act for the *Oxford Oath*. Not knowing of this, it being the hottest part of the Year, I agreed to go for a few Weeks into the Countrey, Twenty Miles off: But the Night before I should go, I fell so ill, that I was fain to send to disappoint both the Coach and my intended Companion (Mr. *Sylvester*): And when I was thus fully resolved to stay, it pleased God, after the Ordinary Coach-Hour, that Three Men, from Three parts of the City, met at my House accidentally, just at the same time (almost to a minute) of whom, if any One had not been there, I had not gone; viz. the Coachman again to urge me, Mr. *Sylvester*, whom I had put off, and Dr. *Coxe*, who compelled me, and told me, else he would carry me into the Coach. It proved a special merciful Providence of God; for after One Week of Languishing and Pain, I had Nine Weeks greater Ease than ever I

expected in this World, and greater Comfort in my Work. For my good Friend *Richard Berisford*, Esq., Clerk of the Exchequer, whose importunity drew me to his House, spared for no Cost, Labour or Kindness for my Health or Service. For understanding of which, and much more in these Papers, seeing I record such things for the Notice of Students and Physicians, that other mens Health may have some advantage by my Experiences and Sorrows, I must here digress, to mention the State of my vile Body, not otherwise worthy the notice of the World.

§ 311. What is before written, hath notified, that I have lain in above Forty Years constant Weaknesses, and almost constant Pains: My chief Troubles were incredible Inflammations of Stomach, Bowels, Back, Sides, Head, Thighs, as if I had been daily fill'd with Wind: So that I never knew, heard, or read of any man that had near so much. Thirty Physicians (at least) all call'd it nothing but Hypochondriack Flatulency, and somewhat of a Scorbutical Malady: Great bleeding at the Nose also did emaciate me, and keep me in a Chaceetical Atropie. The particular Symptoms were more than I can number. I thought my self, that my Disease was almost all from Debility of the Stomach, and extream Acrimony of Blood, by some Fault of the Liver. About the Year 1658. finding the Inflation much in the Membranes of the Reins, I suspected the Stone, and thought that one of my extream Leanness might possibly feel it: I felt both my Kidnies plainly indurate like Stone: But never having had a Nephritic Fit, nor Stone came from me in my Life, and knowing, that if that which I felt was Stone, the Greatness prohibited all Medicine that tended to a Cure: I thought therefore that it was best for me to be ignorant what it was: And so far was I from melancholy, that I soon forgot that I had felt it, even for about Fifteen Years. But my Inflammations beginning usually in my Reins, and all my Back, daily torn, and greatly pained by it, 1673. it turned to terrible Suffocations of my Brain and Lungs; So that if I slept, I was suddenly and painfully awakened: The Abatement of Urine, and constant Pain, which Nature almost yielded to as Victorious, renewed my Suspicion of the Stone, And my Old Exploration: And feeling my Lean Back, both the Kidneys were greatlier indurate than before, and the Membrane so sore to touch, as if nothing but Stone were within them: The Physicians said, That the Stone cannot be felt with the Hand! I desired Four of the Chief of them to feel them: They all concluded that it is the Kidneys which they felt, and that they are hard (like Stone or Bone); but what it is they could not tell; but they thought, if both the Kidneys had Stones so big, as seemed to such feeling, it was impossible but I should be much worse, by Vomiting and Torment, and not able to Preach, and go about. I told them besides what *Skenkius* and many Observators say; That I could tell them of many of late times, whose Reins and Gall were full of Stone (great ones in the Reins, and many small ones in the Gall), who had, some of them, never suspected the Stone, and some but little: But while One or Two of the Physicians (as they use) did say, *It could not be*, lest they should (as they thought) discourage me, I became the Common Talk of the City, especially the Women; as if I had been a melancholy Humourist, that conceited my Reins were petrified, when it was no such matter, but meer Conceit. And so while I lay Night and Day in Pain, my supposed Melancholy (which, I thank God, all my Life hath been extraordinary free from) became, for a Year, the Pity, or Derision of the Town. But the Discovery of my Case was a great mercy to my Body and my Soul: For,

1. Thereupon, seeing that all Physicians had been deceived, and perceiving that all my Flatulency and Pains came from the Reins by Stagnation, Regurgitation and Acrimony, I cast off all other Medicine and Diet, and Twice a Week kept clean my Intestines by an Electuary of *Cassia*, *Terebinth. Cypr.* and *Rhab.* &c. or Pills of *Rhab.* and *Terebinth. Scio.* Using also Syrup of Mal-lows in all my Drink; and God hath given me much more Abatements and Inter-missions of Pain this Year and half, than in my former overwhelming Pains I could expect.

2. And whether it be a *Schyrrus*, or Stones (which I doubt not of), I leave to them to tell others, who shall dissect my Corps: But sure I am that I have wonderful Cause of Thankfulness to God, for the Ease which I have

have had these Forty Years: Being fully satisfied, that (by ill Diet, Old Cheese, Raw Drinks and Salt Meats) whatever it is, I contracted it before Twenty Years of Age, and since Twenty One or Twenty Two, have had just the same Symptoms as now at Sixty, saving the different strength of Nature to resist. And that I should in Forty Years have few hours without pain (to call me to redeem my Time), and yet not one Nephritick Torment, nor Acrimony of Urine (save One Day of Bloody Urine) nor intolerable kind of Pain: What greater Bodily Mercy could I have had? How merciful, how suitable hath this Providence been. My Pains now in Reins, Bowels and Stomach, &c. are almost constant; but with merciful Alleviations upon the foresaid means.

§ 312. As I have written this to mind Physicians, to search deeper, when they use to take up with the General Hiding Names of *Hypochondriacks* and *Scorbuticks*, and to caution Students; so I now proceed to that which occasioned it. I had tried Cow's Milk, Goats Milk, Breast Milk, and lastly, Asses Milk, and none of them agreed with me; But having Thirty Years ago read in many great Practitioners, That for *Bloody Urine*, and meer *Debility* of the Reins, *Sheeps Milk* doth Wonders (see *Gordonius*, *Forestus*, *Schoubo*, &c.) I had long a desire to try it, and never had Opportunity. But as I was saying this to my Friend, a Child answered, That their next Neighbour (a Quaker) did still milk their Sheep (a Quarter of a Year after the usual time, or near): Whereupon I procured it for six Weeks, to the greatest increase of my Ease, Strength and Flesh, of any thing that ever I had tried.

2. And at the same time, being driven from Home, and having an Old License of the Bishop's yet in Force, by the Countenance of that, and the great industry of Mr. *Berisford*, I had Leave and Invitation for Ten Lord's Days to Preach in the Parish-Churches round about. The first Parish that I Preach'd in, after Thirteen Years Ejection and Prohibition, was *Rickmersworth*, and after that at *Sarrat*, at *Kings Langley*, at *Cheffam*, at *Chalford*, and at *Amersham*, and that often Twice a Day: Those heard that had not come to Church of Seven Years; and Two or Three Thousand heard where scarce an Hundred were wont to come, and with so much Attention and Willingness, as gave me very great Hopes that I never spake to them in vain. And thus Soul and Body had these special Mercies.

§ 313. But the Censures of Men pursued me, as before: The Envious Sort of the Prelatists accused me, as if I had intruded into the Parish-Churches too boldly, and without Authority: The Quarrelsome Sectaries, or Separatists, did in *London* speak against me, for drawing People to the Parish-Churches and the Liturgy; and many gave out, That I did Conform. And all my Days nothing hath been charged on me so much as my Crimes, as my costliest and greatest Duties. But the pleasing of God, and saving Souls, will pay for all.

§ 314. The Countries about *Rickmersworth* abounding with Quakers, because Mr. *W. Pen*, their Captain, dwelleth there, I was desirous that the Poor People should Once hear what was to be said for their Recovery; Which coming to Mr. *Pen*'s Ears, he was forward to a Meeting, where we continued speaking to Two Rooms full of People, (Fasting) from Ten a Clock till Five (One Lord and Two Knights, and Four Conformable Ministers, besides others, being present, some all the Time, and some part). The Success gave me Cause to believe that it was not labour lost: An Account of the Conference may be published ere long (if there be cause.)

§ 315. Whilst this was my Employment in the Countrey, my Friends at home had got one Mr. *Seddon*, a Nonconformist of *Derbyshire*, lately come to the City as a Traveller, to Preach the Second Sermon in my New Built Chappel: He was told (and over-told) all the Danger; and desired not to come, if he feared it: I had left word, That if he would but step into my House, through a Door, he was in no danger, they having not Power to break open any but the Meeting-house: While he was Preaching, Three Justices, with Soldiers (supposed by Secretary *Coventry*'s sending) came to the Door to seize the Preacher. They thought it had been I, and had prepared a Warrant upon the *Oxford Act*, to send me for Six Months to the Common Goal. The good man, and

and Two Weak Honest Persons intrusted to have directed him, left the House where he was safe, and thinking to pass away, came to the Justices and Soldiers at the Door, and there stood by them, till some one said, *This is the Preacher*. And so they took him, and blotted my Name out of the Warrant, and put in his; Though almost every Word fitted to my Case, was false of him. To the *Gatehouse* he was carried, where he continued almost Three Months of the Six; and being earnestly desirous of Deliverance, I was put to Charges to accomplish it, and at last (having Righteous Judges, and the Warrant being found faulty) he had an *Habeas Corpus*, and was freed upon Bonds to appear again the next Term.

§ 316. By this means my Case was made much worse: For, 1. The Justices, and other Prosecutors, were the more exasperated against me. 2. And they were now taught to stop every Hole in the next Warrant (to which I was still as liable as ever): So that I had now no Prospect that way of Escape. And yet though my Charge, Care and Trouble had been great for his Deliverance, and Good People had dealt very kindly with him, my usual Back-biters (the Prelatists and Separatists) talk commonly of me, as one that had unworthily saved my self from Danger, and drawn a Stranger into the Snare; and therefore deserved to bear all the Charges: Though, as is said, 1. I was Twenty Miles off, Preaching publicly. 2. They that askt him to Preach, told him the Worst. 3. He went into Danger from Safety, by the Conduct of some Persons of that censorious humour. 4. My Danger was increased by it, as well as my Charges. But Man's Approbation is a Poor Reward.

§ 317. Just when I came home, and was beginning to seek Mr. *Saddon's* Deliverance, Mr. *Roffe* Died, the Fiercest of the Justices, who had sent me to Goal before. The other Two are one Mr. *Grey*, and Sir *Philip Matthews*.

§ 318. The Parliament being safe again, a Letter was secretly printed, containing the History of the Debate in the Lord's House the former Sessions about the Test, and it was Voted to be burnt by the Hangman, but the more desired, and read it. In which it appeareth, That when it came to be their own case, more was said by the Lords for the Cause of the Nonconformists, than ever they were permitted to say for themselves.

§ 319. A most Excellent Book was written for the Nonconformists (for Abatements, and Forbearance, and Concord) by Dr. *Herbert Crofts*, Bp. of *Hereford*, without his Name; of which, more afterward.

§ 320. The Lords and Commons Revived their Contests about their Powers and Privileges, and the Lords appointed Four Lawyers to plead their Cause; and the Commons set up Orders, or Votes, to forbid them. And the Duke of *Buckingham* made a Notable Speech against Persecution, and desired the Consent of the Lords, that he might bring in a Bill for the Ease of His Majesty's Protestant Subjects in matters of Religion; but while it was preparing, the King, on Monday, November 21st. Prorogued the Parliament, till February come Twelvemonth.

§ 321. The Speeches of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and others, about the Test, were secretly Printed, and a Paper of Reasons for Dissolving this Parliament, and Calling a New One, which were given in the House of Lords: And the Debates of this Test (opening a little of the Nonconformists Cause, as to the *Oxford Oath*) together with what the Earl of *Shaftsbury* hath done, with Wit and Resolution, hath alienated many, even of the Conformists, from the present prevailing Bishops.

§ 322. The other of the fierce Justices, that Subscribed a Warrant for my imprisonment, died shortly after; viz. Colonel *Grey*. The Death of Mr. *Barwell*, Sir *John Medicot*, Mr. *Ross* and Mr. *Grey*, besides the Death of some Informers, and the Repentance of others, and the Death of some late Opposers of the Clergy, made me, and some others, the more to compassionate Persecutors, and dread God's Judgments.

§ 323. The Town of *Northampton* lamentably burnt.

§ 324. An Earthquake in divers Counties.

§ 325. My Dear Friend, Sir *Matthew Hale*, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, falling into a Languishing Disease, from which he is not like to Recover, resolvedly petitioned for a Dismission, and gave up his Place, having gone through

through his Employments, and gone off the Stage with more universal love and honour, for his Skill, Wisdom, Piety, and resolved Justice, than ever I heard or read, that any *English* Man ever did before him, or any Magistrate in the World of his rank, since the days of the Kings of *Israel*. He resolved, in his weakness, that the place should not be a burden to him, nor he to it. And after all his great practice and places, he tells me, That with his own Inheritance and all, he is not now worth above Five hundred Pounds *per Annum*: so little sought he after gain: He may most truly be called [*The Pillar and Basis, or Ground of Justice*] as *Paul* called (not the Church,) but *Timothy* (in the Church) the *Pillar and Basis* of Truth.] His digested knowledge in Law above all Men, and next in Philosophy, and much in Theology, was very great: His sincere honesty and humility admirable: His Garb and House, and Attendance so very mean and low, and he so resolutely avoided all the Diversions and Vanities of the World, that he was herein the Marvel of his Age. Some made it a Scandal, but his Wisdom chose it for his Convenience, that in his Age he Married a Woman of no Estate, suitable to his Disposition, to be to him as a Nurse: He succeeded me in one of the meanest Houses that ever I had lived in, and there hath ever since continued with full content; till now that he is going to his Native Countrey, in likelihood to die there: It is not the least of my pleasure that I have lived some years in his more than ordinary Love and Friendship, and that we are now waiting which shall be first in Heaven: Whither, he saith, he is going with full content and acquiescence in the Will of a gracious God, and doubts not but we shall shortly live together. O what a blessed World were this, were the Generality of Magistrates such as he.

§. 326. Part of a *M. S.* was put into my hand to peruse by a Bookfeller, as Written by one that greatly valued my Judgment, and would refer his Writings to my Censure, but not consent to have them Printed: Whereupon I valuing them, did judge them worthy to be published, but made some Alterations in some phrases liable to Misinterpretation, in the Piece called, *The Right Knowledge of Christ Crucified*: I conjectured not who the Author was, and not long after the Book was Printed, and proved to be the foresaid Lord Chief Justice *Hale's*, called, *Contemplations Moral and Divine*, published by a Friend of his: by which he will Preach when he is dead: the Books presently all bought up for his Name, and being useful for their Spiritual, Rational, Serious, and Plain Manner of Writing, as well as Acceptable for his sake.

§. 327. When I had been kept a whole Year from Preaching in the Chappel which I Built, on the 16th of *April*, 1676. I began in another, in a Tempestuous time; for the necessity of the Parish of *St. Martins*, where, about 60000 Souls have no Church to go to, nor any Publick Worship of God! *How long, Lord---*!

§. 328. About *Feb.* and *March* it pleased the King importunately to Command and Urge the Judges, and *London-Justices*, to put the Laws against Nonconformists in Execution; But the Nation grew backward to it: In *London* they have been oft and long commanded to it; and Sir *Joseph Sheldon*, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury's* near Kinsman being Lord Mayor; on *April 30th* the Execution began: They required especially to send all the Ministers to the Common Gaols, for Six Months, on the *Oxford-Act*, for not taking the Oath, and dwelling within Five Miles. This day Mr. *Joseph Read* was sent to the Gaol, taken out of the Pulpit, Preaching in a Chapel in *Bloomsbury*, in the Parish of *St. Giles*, where it is thought, that 20000, or 30000 Souls at least, more than can come within the Church, have no Publick Worship of God, or Teaching: He is a Laborious Man, (whom I Educated, and sent to the University,) and did so much good to the Poor Ignorant People that had no other Teacher, that Satan did owe him a Malicious Disturbance. He built the Chappel in his own House (with the help of Friends,) in compassion to those People, who, as they Crowded to hear him, so did they follow him to the Justices, and to the Gaol to shew their Affections: It being the place where I had used oft to Preach, I suppose was somewhat the more Maliced. The very day before, I had new secret hints of Men's Desires of Reconciliation and Peace, and Motions to offer some Proposals towards it, as if the Bishops were at last grown Peaceable: To which (as ever before) I yielded, and did my part, though long Experience made me suspect that some Mischief was near, and some Suffering presently to be expected from them. The forwardest of the two Justices that sent him to the Gaol, was one *Parry*, a Souldier, one

of them that was accused for flitting Sir *John Coventree's* Nose, about which there was so great a stir in the House of Commons: The other was one *Robinson*. But since then so many have been sent to the Goals for the same cause, and so many died there, that I must forbear particular Instances and Enumerations.

§. 329. After *Northampton*, *Blandford*, and many other Towns, *Southwark* was Burned (between 600 and 1000 Houses,) the People suspecting that it was done by Design: And one taken for attempting again to Burn the rest of *Northampton*, confest that he was hired, and that *Southwark* was so Burnt; whom Sir *John Munson* sent hereupon to Goal.

Additions of the Years 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, &c.

§. 1. **A**T this time Mr. *Le Blank* of *Sedan* sent to me his desire that I would publish here his *Scatter'd Theses* in one Volume, which I purposed, and Wrote an *Epistle* to it: But some Conformists, hearing of it, would not have the Publication to be a Nonconformists work, and so my Bookseller took 50 Books for his Title to the Copy which I gave him, and quit his Interest in it to a Conformist: But *Le Blank* sent an *Epistle* of his own, to prevent the Conformists; and died as soon as it was Printed and Published. A Work sufficient to end most of the Doctrinal Controversies of this Age, if the Readers were but capable receivers of the evidence which he giveth them.

§. 2. In *June*, 1676. Mr. *Jane* the Bishop of *London's* Chaplain, Preaching to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, turned his Sermon against *Calvin* and Me; And my charge was, *That I had sent as bad men to Heaven, as some that be in Hell;* because in my Book, called, *The Saints Rest*; I had said, that I thought of Heaven with the more pleasure, because I should there meet with *Peter, Paul, Austin, Chrysostom, Jerom, Wickliff, Luther, Zuinglius, Calam, Beza, Bullinger, Zanchy, Paræus, Piscator, Hooper, Bradford, Latimer, Glover, Sanders, Philpot, Reynolds, Whitaker, Cartwright, Brightman, Bayne, Bradshaw, Bolton, Ball, Hildersham, Pemble, Twisse, Ames, Preston, Sibbs, Brook, Pim, Hambden*. Which of these the Man knew to be in Hell, I cannot conjecture: It's like those that differed from him in Judgment; But till he prove his Revelation, I shall not believe him: the need which I perceived of taking away, from before such Men any thing which they might stumble at, had made me blot out the Names of the Lord *Brooke, Pim, and Hambden*, in all the Impressions of the Book (which were many) yet were made ever since 1659; and yet this did not satisfy the Man: But I must tell the Reader, that I did it not as changing my Judgment of the persons; well known to the world: Of whom Mr. *John Hambden* was one that Friends and Enemies acknowledged to be most Eminent, for Prudence, Piety, and Peaceable Counsels, having the most universal Praise of any Gentleman that I remember of that Age: I remember a moderate, prudent aged Gentleman, far from him but acquainted with him, whom I have heard saying, That if he might choose what person he would be then in the world, he would be *John Hambden*. Yet these Damning Prelatists are the Men that are for our Silencing, Imprisonment, and Ruin, as if we were unworthy to live on the Earth, because we will not assent and consent to the Liturgy, by which we are to pronounce all Men in *England* saved, except three sorts, viz. the Excommunicate, Unbaptized, and Self-murderers; that is, of every one of the rest, we must say, *That God of his great Mercy hath taken to himself the Soul of this our dear Brother out of the Miseries of this Life*, and that we hope to be with him: Were it *Hobbs* himself, or any one of the Crowd of Atheists, Infidels, Papists, Adulterers, or any Villains now among us, (for such are not Excommunicate) thus we must falsely, contrary to all our Preaching, Pronounce them all saved, or forbidden ever to Preach God's Word: And yet I am condemned publicly for supposing such Excellent persons to be Saved. But Errors and Sins contradict themselves, and Factious Damners, that, for Preferment, Condemn good Men, are ordinarily self-condemned.

§. 3. This maketh me remember how this last year one Dr. *Mason* (a great Preacher against Puritanes) Preached against me publicly in *London*, saying, That when a Justice was sending me to prison, and offered me to stay till Monday, if

I would promise not to Preach on Sunday: I answered, [*I shall not*] Equivocally, meaning [*I shall not promise*] when he thought I meant [*I shall not Preach* :] O, these, say the Malignants, are your holy Men! And was such a putid Falshood fit for a Pulpit, from such Men that never spake one word to my face in their Lives? The whole truth is this; The foresaid *Tho. Ross*, with *Philips*, being appointed to send me to prison for Preaching at *Brainford*, shut the Chamber doors, and would neither shew or tell me who was my Accuser or Witneis, nor let any one living be present but themselves: And it being Saturday, I askt them to stay at home, to set my House in order till Monday: *Ross* asked me, *Whether I would promise not to Preach on Sunday?* I answered, *No, I shall not*: The Man not understanding me, said, *Well, you Promise not to Preach*: I replied, *No, Sir, I tell you, I will not promise any such thing: If you hinder me, I cannot help it, but I will not otherwise forbear*. Never did I think of Equivocation. This was my present Answer, and I went strait to Prison upon it: Yet did this *Ross* vent this false Story behind my back; and, among Courtiers and Prelatists it past for currant, and was worthy *Dr. Mason's* Pulpit-impudency: Such were the Men that we were persecuted by, and had to do with! *Dr. Mason* died quickly after.

§. 4. Being denied forcibly the use of the Chappel which I had built, I was forced to let it stand empty, and pay Thirty pounds per Annum for the Ground-Rent my self, and glad to Preach (for nothing) near it, at a Chappel built by another formerly in *Swallow-street*; because it was among the same poor people that had no Preaching, the parish having 60000 Souls in it more than the Church can hold; when I had Preached there a while, the foresaid Justice *Parry* (one of them that was accused for sitting Sir *John Coventree's* Nose,) with one *Sabbes*, signed a Warrant to apprehend me, and on Nov. 9. 1676. six Constables, four Beadles, and many Messengers, were set at the Chappel-doors to execute it: I forbore that day, and after told the Duke of *Lauderdale* of it; and asked him, What it was that occasioned their wrath against me: He desired me to go and speak with the Bishop of *London* (*Compton* :) I did; and he spake very fairly, and with peaceable words: But presently (he having spoken also with some others) it was contrived that a noise was raised, as against the Bishop, at the Court, that he was Treating of a Peace with the *Presbyterians*: But, after a while, I went to him again, and told him, It was supposed, That Justice *Parry* was either set on words by him, or at least a word from him would take him off; I desired him therefore to speak to him, or provide that the Constables might be removed from my Chappel-doors, and their Warrant called in; And I offered him to resign my Chappel in *Oxenden-street* to a Conformist, so be it he would procure my continued Liberty in *Swallow-street*, for the sake of the poor multitude that had no Church to go to: He did as good as promise me, telling me, That he did not doubt to do it; and so I departed, expecting Quietness the next Lord's-day: But, instead of that, the Constables Warrant was continued, though some of them begg'd to be excused, and, against their wills, they continued guarding the Door for above Four and twenty Lord's-days after: And I came near the Bishop no more, when I had so tried what their Kindnesses and Promises signifie.

§. 5. It pleased God to take away (by torment of the Stone) that excellent faithful Minister *Mr. Tho. Wadsworth* in *Southwark*; and just when I was thus kept out at *Swallow-street*, his Flock invited me to *Southwark*, where (though I refused to be their Pastor) I Preached many Months in peace, there being no Justice willing to disturb us. This was in 1677.

§. 6. When *Dr. Lamplugh*, now Bishop of *Exeter*, was Pastor at *St. Martin's*, old *Mr. Sangar* the Minister, thence put out, thought it his duty to abide in the Parish with those of his ancient flock that desired him, and to visit such as desired him in sickness (because many that were against our Preaching, pretended, that we might find work enough in private Visitings and helps:) An old Friend of *Mr. Sangar's* being sick near *St. James's Market-house*, sent to him to visit her: By that time he had a while Prayed by her, *Dr. Lamplugh* came in, and when he had done, came fiercely to him, saying, *Sir, What business have you here?* *Mr. Sangar* answered, *To visit and Pray with my sick Friend that sent for me*. The Doctor fiercely laid hold of his breast, and thrust him toward the Door, saying, *Get you out of the Room, Sir,*] to the great trouble of the Woman that lay sick in Bed by them, having buried her Husband but a little before: Had this been

been done to any other than to so Ancient, Grave, Reverend, Peaceable, Moderate and Calm a Man as Mr. *Sangar*, who had been lawfully called before this Doctor to be Pastor of the Parish, and then Preached no where but to a few in his own small House, it had been more excusable; Mr. *Sangar* oft profest to me the truth of what I say, which I mention to silence those our Accusers that would have us give over Preaching that we may do such private Work: Whereas, 1. I must be a year speaking that to people, one by one, which publicly I may tell them all in one day: And he, that heareth my Exhortation but once a year, and heareth Seducers, Swearers, Cursers and Railers every day, may wish at last he had better friends than these pretenders to Peace and Obedience, that accuse us. 2. And such Instances shew, that we are envied as much in our private duty, as in our publick: And did we speak only in private, our Persecutors would then vent their Suspicions of our Doctrin without any Confutation, and would say, We are they that creep into Houses, to lead the silly Women captive. O what a World is this! Where Atheists, Infidels, and the most Beastly Sinners are Members of the Church of *England*? When did we hear of any of them Excommunicate? and God's faithfullest Servants represented, even by the envious Prelates, and publick-Priests, as the intolerable Criminal persons of the Land for Praying and Preaching when they forbid them, and the necessity of Thousands binds them to it, besides their Ordination Vow.

S. 7. When Dr. *William Lloyd* became Pastor of *St. Martin's* in the *Fields*, upon *Lamplugh's* Preferment, I was encouraged by Dr. *Tillotson* to offer him my Chappel in *Oxenden-Street* for Publick Worship, which he accepted, to my great Satisfaction, and now there is constant Preaching there; Be it by Conformists or Nonconformists I rejoice that Christ is Preached, to the people in that Parish, whom ten or twenty such Chapels cannot hold.

S. 8. About *March* 1677. fell out a trifling business, which I will mention, lest the fable pass for truth when I am dead. At a Coffee-House in *Fuller's-Rents*, where many Papists and Protestants used to meet together, one Mr. *Dyet* (Son to old Sir *Richard Dyet*, Chief Justice in the North, and Brother to a deceased dear Friend of mine, the some-time Wife of my old dear friend Colonel *Sylvanus Taylor*,) one that profest himself no Papist, but was their Familiar, said openly, *That I had killed a Man with my own hand in cold blood; that it was a Tinker, at my door, that because he beat his Kettle and disturbed me in my Studies, I went down and Pistol'd him:* One Mr. *Peters* occasioned this wrath by oft challenging in vain the Papists to dispute with me: or answer my Books against them. Mr. *Peters* told Mr. *Dyet*, That this was so shameless a slander that he should answer it. Mr. *Dyet* told him, That a hundred Witnesses would testify that it was true, and I was tryed for my Life at *Worcester* for it: To be short, Mr. *Peters* ceased not till he brought Mr. *Dyet* to come to my Chamber and confest his fault, and ask me forgiveness, and with him came one Mr. *Tasbrook*, an eminent, sober, prudent Papist, I told him that these usages to such as I, and far worse, were so ordinary, and I had long suffered so much more than words, that it must be no difficulty to me to forgive them to any man, but especially to one whose Relations had been my dearest Friends: and he was one of the first Gentlemen that ever shewed so much ingenuity, as so to confess and ask forgiveness; he told me, He would hereafter confess and un-say it, and Vindicate me as openly as he had wronged me: I told him, to excuse him, that perhaps he had that Story from his late Pastor at *St. Giles's*, Dr. *Boreman*, who had Printed it, that such a thing was Reported; but I never heard before the particulars of the Fable. Shortly after, at the same Coffee-house, Mr. *Dyet* openly confess'd his Fault: and an Ancient Lawyer, one Mr. *Giffard*, a Papist, Son to old Dr. *Giffard*, the Papist Phylician (as is said) and Brother to the Lady *Abergavenny*, was Angry at it, and made Mr. *Dyet* a weak Man, that would make such a Confession: Mr. *Peters* answered him; Sir, Would you have a Gentleman so diffingenuous, as not to right one that he hath so wronged? Mr. *Giffard* answered, That the thing was True, and he would prove it by an Hundred Witnesses: Mr. *Peters* offered him a great Wager, that he would never prove it by any: but urging him hard he refused the Wager: He next offered, that they would lay down but five Guinea's to be laid on't on an Entertainment there, by him that lost the Wager; He refused that also, Whereupon Mr. *Peters* told him, He would cause my friends, if I would not my self, to call him to justify it in *Westminster-Hall*; referring the Judgment of Equity to the Company: The Papist Gentle-

men that were present, it's like considering that the Calumny, when opened publickly, would be a Slur upon their Party, Voted, That if Mr. Giffard would not confess his Fault, they would disown him out of their Company; and so he was constrained to yield, but would not come to my Chamber to confess it to me: Mr. Peters moderated the business, and it was agreed, that he should do it there: He would do it only before his own Party: Mr. Peters said, Not so; for they might hereafter deny it: So it was agreed, That also before Mr. Peters, and Captain Edmund Hamden, he should confess his Fault, and ask forgiveness; which he did.

§. 9. Near this time, my Book, called, *A Key for Catholics*, was to be Reprinted: In the Preface to the first Impression, I had mentioned with Praise the Earl of Lauderdale, as then Prisoner by Cromwell in Windsor-Castle; (from whom I had many Pious and Learned Letters, and where he had so much Read over all my Books, that he remembred them better, as I thought, than I did myself:) Had I now left out that mention of him, it would have seem'd an Injurious Recantation of my kindness: and to mention him now a Duke, as then a Prisoner, was unmeet: The King used him as his special Counsellour and Favourite: The Parliament had set themselves against him: He still professed great kindness to me, and I had reason to believe it was without dissembling. 1. Because he was accounted by all to be rather a too rough Adversary, than a Flatterer of one so low as I. 2. Because he spake the same for me behind my back, that he did to my face. And I had then a New Piece against Transubstantiation to add to my Book, which being desirous it should be Read, I thought best to joyn it with the other, and prefix before both an Epistle to the Duke, in which I said not a word of him but Truth; And I did it the rather, that his Name might draw some Great Ones to Read, at least, that Epistle, if not the short Additional Tractate, in which I thought I said enough to open the Shame of Popery. But the Indignation that Men had against the Duke, made some blame me, as keeping up the Reputation of one whom Multitudes thought very ill of: Whereas I owned none of his Faults, and did nothing that I could well avoid, for the aforesaid Reasons. Long after this he professed his Kindness to me, and told me I should never want while he was able, and (humbly) intreated me to accept Twenty Guinea's from him, which I did.

§. 10. After this one Mr. Hutchinson (another of the Disputants with Dr. Stillingfleet, and Mr. Wray's Friend, one that had revolted to Popery in Cambridge long ago, having pious Parents and Relations) Wrote two Books for Popery, one for Transubstantiation, and another in which he made the Church of England Conformists to be Men of no Conscience or Religion, but that all Seriousness and Conscience was in the Papist and Paritan, and sought to flatter the Puritans, as he call'd them, into kindness to the Papists, as united in Conscience, which others had not. I Answered these Books, and after fell acquainted with Mr. Hutchinson, but could never get Reply from him, or Dispute.

§. 11. Two old Friends that I had a hand heretofore in turning from Anabaptistry and Separation (Mr. Tho. Lamb, and William Allen, that followed John Goodwin, and after became Pastors of an Anabaptist Church) though but Tradescmen, fell on Writing against Separation more strongly than any of the Conformable Clergy; But in Sense of their old Errour, run now into the other Extreme, especially Mr. Lamb, and Wrote against our gathering Assemblies, and Preaching when we are Silenced: Against whose Mistaken Endeavours I Wrote a Book, called, *The Nonconformist's Plea for Peace.*]

§. 12. One Mr. Hollingworth also Printed a Sermon against the Nonconformists, and there tells a Story of a Sectary, that, Treating for Concord, with one afterward a Bishop, motion'd, That all that would not yield to their Terms should be Banished; to shew, that the Nonconformists are for Severity as well as the Bishops. The Reader would think that it was Me, or Dr. Manton, or Dr. Bates, that he meant, that had so lately had a Treaty with Dr. Wilkins, and Dr. Burton: I Wrote to him, to desire him to tell the World who it was, that by naming none, he might not unworthily bring many into Suspicion: He Wrote me an Answer full of great Estimation and Kindness, professing, That it was not me that he meant, nor Dr. Manton, nor Dr. Bates, nor Dr. Jacomb, but some Sectary that he would by no means Name, but seem'd to cast Intimations towards Dr. Owen, one unlikely to use such words, and I verily believe it was all a meer Fiction.

§. 13. About

§. 13. About that time I had finished a book called, *Catholic Theologie*; in which I undertake to prove that besides things unrevealed, known to none, and ambiguous words, there is no considerable difference between the *Arminians* and *Calvinists*; except some very tolerable difference in the point of perseverance: This book hath hitherto had the strangest fate of any that I have written, except our *Reformed Liturgy*, not to be yet spoken against, or openly contradicted, when I expected that both sides would have fallen upon it: And I doubt not but some will do so when I am dead, unless Calamities find men other work.

§. 14. Having almost then finished a *Latin Treatise*, called, *Methodus Theologiae*, containing near Seventy Tables or Schemes with their Elucidations and some Disputations on Schism, containing the *Nature, Order and Ends* of all Beings, (with three more) I gave my Lord Chief Justice *Hale* a Specimen of it, with my foresaid *Catholic Theologie*; but told him it was only to shew my respects, but desired him in his weakness to read things more directly tending to prepare for death: But yet I could not prevail with him to lay those by, so much as I desired, but he oft gave me special Thanks above all the rest for *that book and that scheme*: And while he continued weak Mr. *Stevens* his familiar Friend published two Volumes of his own Meditations, which, though but plain things, yet were so greedily bought up and read for his sake, even by such as would not have read such things of others, that they did abundance of good. And shortly after, he published himself, in Folio a Treatise of the *Origination of Man*, to prove the Creation of this World, very Learned, but large. He left many Manuscripts: One I have long ago read, a great Volumn in Folio, to prove the Deity, the Immortality of the Soul, Christianity, the Truth of Scripture in General, and several books in particular; solidly done, but too copious, which was his fault. Two or three small Tractates written for me I have published expressing the simple and excellent Nature of true Religion, and the Corruption and great evils that follow Men's Additaments, called wrongfully by the Name of Religion and contended for above it and against it; and shewing how most Parties are guilty of this sin. I hear he finished a Treatise of the *Immortality of the Soul*, a little before he dyed. But unhappily there is contest about his Manuscripts, whether to Print them or not, because he put a clause into his Will that nothing of his should be Printed but what he gave out himself to be Printed before he dyed.

He went into the Common Church-yard, and there chose his grave, and died a few daies after (on Christmasday.) Though I never received any money from him (save a Quarter's Rent he paid when I removed out of my house at *Alton*, that he might buy it and succeed me) yet as a token of his love he left me) forty shillings in his Will, with which to keep his memory I bought the greatest *Cambridge Bible*, and put his picture before it, which is a Monument to my house. But waiting for my own Death I gave it Sir *William Ellis* who laid out about Ten pounds, to put it into a more curious Cover, and keeps it for a Monument in his honour.

§. 15. I found by the people of *London* that many, in the sense of the late Confusions in this Land, had got an apprehension that all Schism and Disorder came from Ministers and People's resisting the Bishops, and that Prelacy is the means to cure Schism, and being ignorant what Church Tyranny hath done in the World, they fly to it for refuge against that mischief which it doth principally introduce: Wherefore I wrote the History of Prelacy, or a Contradiction of all the History of the Church, especially *Binnius*, and *Baronius*, and others of Councils; to shew by the testimony of their greatest flatterers what the Councils and Contentions of Prelates have done. But the History even as delivered by *Binnius* himself, was so ugly and frightful to me in the perusing, that I was afraid lest it should prove when opened by me, a temptation to some to condemn Christianity it self, for the sake and Crimes of such a Clergy. But as an Antidote I prefixed the due Commendation of the better humble sort of Pastors. But I must profess that the History of Prelacy and Councils, doth assure me that all the Schisms and Confusions that have been caused by *Anabaptists*, Separatists, or any of the Popular unruly Sectaries, have been but as flea-bitings to the Church, in comparison of the wounds that Prelatical Usurpation, Contention and Heresies have caused. And I am so far from wondering that all *Baronius's* industry was thought necessary to put the best visor on all such Actions, that I wonder that the *Papists* have not rather

ther employed all their wit, care and power, to get all the Histories of Councils burnt and forgotten in the World, that they might have only their own Oral flexible tradition to deliver to Mankind what their interest *pro re nata* shall require.

Alas how smal was the hurt that the very Familists, the *Munster* Fanaticks, the very *Quakers*, or *Ranters* have done, in comparison of what some one *Pope*, or one Age or Council of Carnal, Tyrannical Prelats hath done. The Kingdom of Satan is kept up in the World, next to that Sensuality that is born in all, by his usurping and perverting the two great Offices of God's own institution, Magistracy and Ministry, and wring the *Sword* and *Word* against the Institutor and proper end: But God is just.

§. 16. Three years before this I wrote a Treatise to end our common Controversies, in Doctrinals, about Predestination, Redemption, justification, assurance, perseverance and such like; being a Summary of *Catholick* reconciling *Theology*.

§. 17. In *November* 1677. Dyed Dr. *Thomas Manton* to the great loss of *London*; Being an able judicious faithful man; and one that lamented the intemperance of many self conceited Ministers and people, that, on pretence of vindicating free grace and providence; and of opposing Arminianism, greatly corrupted the Christian Doctrin, and Schismatically oppugned Christian love and concord, hereticating and making odious all that spake not as erroneously as themselves. Many of the Independents inclining to half Antinomianism, suggested suspicions against Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Howe*, and my self and such others, as if we were half Arminians. On which occasion I Preached two Sermons on the words in *Jude* [They speak evil of what they understand not.] Which perhaps may be published.

§. 18. This year 1678. dyed Mr. *Gabriel Sanger*, a Reverend faithful Non-conformist, sometimes Minister at *Martin's* in the fields. And this day, on which I write this, I Preached the Funeral of Mr. *Stubbs* a holy Excellent Man, which perhaps may be published, if it can be licensed.

§. 16. Mr. *Long* of *Exeter*, wrote a book against the Non-conformists, as Schismatics, on pretense of confuting Mr. *Hale's* book of Schism; and in the end cited a great deal of my writings against Schism, and let fall divers passages; which occasioned me to write the Letter to him which is inserted in the Appendix. No. 5.

§. 29. Some young Gentlemen wrote me a Letter desiring me publicly to resolve this Case: *The King, Laws and Canons command us to joyn in the publick Parish-Churches, and forbid us to joyn in private Meetings, or unallow-ed with Non-conformists: Our parents command us to joyn with Non-conformists in their Meetings, and forbid us to hear the Conformists in publick, which yet we think lawful: which of these must we obey?* I answered the Case in the Pulpit, and drew it up in writing, and have inserted it among other papers with the end. No. 6.

§. 21. My Bookfeller, *Nevil Simons*, broke, which occasioned a clamour against me, as if I had taken too much money of him for my books: When before, it was thought he had been one of the richest by my means, and I supposed I had freely given him (in meer charity) the gains of above 500 pounds, if not above 1000 pounds. Whereupon I wrote a Letter to a Friend in my own necessary Vindication, which see also at the end. No. 7.

§. 22. The controversie of Predetermination of the acts of sin, was unhappily shared this year among the Non-conformists; on the occasion of a sober modest book of Mr. *How's* to Mr. *Boil* against an objection of Atheistical men: And two honest self-conceited Non-conformists, Mr. *Dauson* and Mr. *Gale*, wrote against him unworthily. And just-now a second book of Mr. *Gale's* is come out wholly for Predetermination, superficially and imperficially touching many things, but throughly handling nothing; falsely reporting the sense of *Augustin*, or at least of *Prosser* and *Fulgentius*, and notoriously of *Jansenius*, &c. and passing divers inconsiderable reflections on some words in my *Cath. Theol.* Especially opposing *Strangius*, and the excellent *Theses* of *Le Blank*, with no strength or regardable Argument. Which inclineth me (because he writeth in *English*) to publish an old Disput in *English* against Predetermination to sin, written 20 years ago, and thought not fit to be published in *English*; but that an antidote against the poi-
son

son of Mr. Gale's Book, and the scandal that falls by it on the Nonconformists is made necessary. Mr. Gale fell sick, and I suppress my answer lest it should grieve him. (And he then dyed.)

§ 23. A paper from Mr. Polchill, an excellent learned Gentleman occasioned the answer which perhaps may be published.

§ 24. Continued backbitings about my Judgment concerning justification, occasioned me to write the summ of it in two or three sheets; with the solution of above thirty controversies unhappily rais'd about it.

§ 25. One Mr. Wilson of Lancashire long importuned me by a friend, to write somewhat against needless Law-suits, and for the way of voluntary reference and arbitration; which I did in a Sermon on 1 Cor. 6. *Is there not a wise Man among you?* (which is lost by the Bookfeller).

§ 26. I wrote an Answer to Mr. Johnson Alias Terret, his Rejoynder against my book of the Church's visibility; But Mr. Jane the Bishop of London's Chaplain refused to License it. But at last when the Papists grew odious he Licensed it and my *Methodus Theologiae*: And the former is Printed, but by the Bookfeller's means in a Character scarce legible.

§ 27. About Oct. 1678. Fell out the murder of Sir Edmond Berry Godfrey; which made a very great change in England. One Dr. Titus Oates had discovered a Plot of the Papists, of which he wrote out the particulars very largely; telling how they fired the City, and contriving to bring the Kingdom to Popery, and in order thereto to kill the King: He named the Lords, Jesuits, Priests, and others, that were the chief contrivers; and said that he himself had delivered to several of the Lord's their Commissions; that the Lord Bellasis was to be General, the Lord Peters Lieutenant General, and the Lord Stafford Major General, the Lord Powis Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Arundel of Warder (the chief) to be Lord Treasurer. He told who were to be Arch Bishops, Bishops, &c. And at what Meetings, and by whom, and when all was contrived, and who were designed to kill the King: He first opened all this to Dr. Tongue, and both of them to the King and Council: He mentioned a multitude of Letters which he himself had carried, and seen, or heard read, that contained all these contrivances: But because his father and he had once been Anabaptists, and when the Bishops prevailed turned to be Conformable Ministers, and afterward he (the Son) turned Papist, and confessed, that he long had gone on with them, under many Oaths of Secrecy, many thought that a man of so little Conscience was not to be believed: But his Confessions were received by some Justices of the Peace; and none more forward in the Search than Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, an Able, Honest, and diligent Justice. While he was following this Work, he was suddenly missing, and could not be heard of: Three or Four Days after he was found kill'd near Marybone-Park: It was plainly found that he was murdered: The Parliament took the Alarm upon it, and Oates was now believed: And indeed all his large Confessions, in every part, agreed to admiration. Hereupon the King Proclaimed Pardon and Reward to any that would confess, or discover the Murder. One Mr. Bedlow, that had fled to Bristol, began, and confessed that he knew of it, and who did it, and named some of the Men, the Place and Time; It was at the Queen's House, called Somerset-House, by Fitz-Gerald and Kelley, Two Papist Priests, and Four others, Berry the Porter, Green, Pranse and Hill. The Priests fled; Pranse, Berry, Green and Hill were taken: Pranse first confessed all, and discovered the rest aforesaid, more than Bedlow knew of, and all the Circumstances; and how he was carried away, and by whom: and also how the Plot was laid to Kill the King. Thus Oates's Testimony, seconded by Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey's Murder, and Bedlow and Pranse's Testimonies, became to be generally believed. Ireland, a Jesuit, and Two more, were Condemned, as designing to Kill the King: Hill, Berry and Green were Condemned for the murder of Godfrey, and Executed: But Pranse was, by a Papist, first terrified into a Denial again of the Plot to Kill the King, and took on him to be Distracted; But quickly Recanted of this, and had no Quiet till he told how he was so Affrighted, and Renewed all his Testimony and Confession.

After this came in one Mr. Dugdale, a Papist, and confessed the same Plot, and especially the Lord Stafford's interest in it: And after him more and more Evidence daily was added.

Coleman,

Coleman, the Dutcheſs of *York's* Secretary, (and one of the Papiſts great Plotters and Diſputers) being ſurprized, though he made away all his later Papers, was hanged by the Old Ones, that were remaining, and by *Oates* his Teſtimony. But the Parliament kept off all Aſperſions from the Duke: The Hopes of ſome, and the Fears of others of his Succeſſion, prevailed with many.

§ 28. At laſt the Lord Treasuſer (Sir *Thomas Osborne* made Earl of *Danby*) came upon the ſtage having been before the object of the Parliament and People's jealousy and hard thoughts. He being afraid that ſomewhat would be done againſt him, knowing that Mr. *Montague* (his Kiſnman) late Ambaſſadour in *France* had ſome Letters of his in his keeping, which he thought might endanger him, got an order from the King to ſeize on all Mr. *Montagues* Letters, who, ſuſpecting ſome ſuch uſage, had conveyed away the chief Letters; and telling the Parliament where they were, they ſent and fetcht them, and upon the reading of them were ſo infligated againſt the Lord Treasuſer they impeached him in the Lords Houſe of High Treason.

But not long after the King diſſolved the long Parliament (which he had kept up about 17 or 18 years). But a new Parliament is promiſed.

§ 29. Above 40 Scots men (of which 3 Preachers) were by their Council ſentenced to be not only baniſhed but ſold, as ſervants (called ſlaves) to the *American* Plantations: They were brought by ſhip to *London*: Divers Citizens offered to pay their ranſom: The King was petitioned for them: I went to the D. of *Lauderdale*; but none of us could prevail for one man: At laſt the Ship-Maſter was told that by a Statute it was a Capital crime to Transport any of the King's Subjects out of *England* (where now they were) without their conſent, and ſo he ſet them on ſhoar and they all eſcaped for nothing.

§ 30. A great number of Hungarian Miniſters had before been ſold for *Gally* ſlaves, by the Emperour's Agents, but were releaſed by the *Dutch* Admiral's Requeſt, and ſome of them largely relieved by Collections in *London*.

§ 31. The long and grievous Parliament (that ſilenced about 2000 Miniſters and did many works of ſuch a nature) being diſſolved as aforeſaid, on Jan. 25. 1678. A new one was choſen and met on March 6 following: And the King reſuſing their choſen ſpeaker (Mr. *Segmore*) raiſed in them a greater diſpleaſure againſt the Lord Treasuſer thinking him the cauſe; and after ſome days they choſe Serjeant *Gregory*.

§ 32. The Duke of *York* a little before, removed out of *England* by the King's Command; who yet ſtands to maintain his Succeſſion.

§ 33. The Parliament firſt impeached the foreſaid Papiſt Lords for the Plot, or Conſpiracy (the Lord *Bellaſis*, Lord *Arundel*, Lord of *Powis*, Lord *Scafford*, and Lord *Peter*); and after them the Lord Treasuſer.

34. New fires breaking out enrage the People againſt the Papiſts: A great part of *Southmark* was before burnt, and the Papiſts ſtrongly ſuſpected the cauſe. Near half the buildings of the Temple were burnt: And it was greatly ſuſpected to be done by the Papiſts. One Mr. *Biſeild's* houſe in *Holbourn* and Divers others ſo fired (but quenched) as made it very probable to be by their Conſpiracy. And at laſt in *Fetter-Lane* it fell on the houſe of Mr. *Robert Bird* (a Man employed in Law, of great Judgment and Piety) who having more wit than many others to ſearch it out, found that it was done by a new Servant Maid, who confeſſed it firſt to him, and then to a Juſtice, and after to the Lords, that one *Nicholas Stubbes* a Papiſt having firſt made her promiſe to be a Papiſt, next promiſed her 3 l. to ſet fire on her Maſter's houſe, telling her that many others were to do the like, and the Proteſtant Hereticks to be killed by the middle of *June*, and that it was no more ſin to do it than to kill a Dog. *Stubbes* was taken, and at firſt vehemently denied, but after confeſſed all, and told them that one *Giffard* a Prieſt and his Confeſſor engaged him in it, and Divers others, and told them all as aforeſaid, how the Firing and Plot went on, and what hope they had of a *French* Invaſion. The Houſe of Commons deſired the King to pardon the woman (*Eliz. Oxley*) and *Stubbes*.

§ 35. If the Papiſts have not Confidence in the *French* Invaſion, God leaveth them to utter madneſs, to haſten their ruine: They were in full junctneſs through the Land, and the noiſe of rage was by their deſign turned againſt the Nonconformiſts; But their hopes did caſt them into ſuch an impatience of delay, that they could no longer ſtay, but muſt preſently Reign by rage of blood. Had they ſtudi-

ed to make themselves odious to the Land, they could have found out no more effectual way, than by Firing, Murder, and Plotting to kill the King: All *London* at this day is in such fear of them, that they are fain to keep up private Watches in all streets (besides the Common ones) to save their houses from firing: Yea, while they find that it increaseth a hatred of them, and while many of them are already hanged, they still go on; which sheweth either their confidence in Foreign Aid, or their utter insatiation.

§ 36. Upon *Easter* day the King dissolved his privy Council, and settled it a new, consisting of 30 men (most of the old ones) the Earl of *Shaftsbury* being President, to the great joy of the People then, tho since all is changed.

§ 37. On the 27th of *April*. 1679. Tho it was the Lord's Day the Parliament Sate, excited by *Stubbes* his Confession that the Firing Plot went on, and the *French* were to invade us, and the Protestants to be murdered by *June* 28, and they voted that the Duke of *York's* declaring himself a Papist was the cause of all our dangers by these Plots, and sent to the Lords to concur in the same Vore.

§ 38. But the King that week by himself and the Chancellour acquainted them, that he should consent to any thing reasonable to secure the Protestant Religion, not alienating the Crown from the Line of Succession, and Particularly that he would consent that till the Successour should take the Test, he should exercise no Acts of Government, but the Parliament in being should continue, or if none then were, that, which last was, should be in power, and exercise all the Government in the Name of the King.] This offer took much with many; but most said that it signified nothing. For Papists have easily Dispensations to take any Tests or Oaths, and Queen *Mary's* case shewed how Parliaments will serve the Prince's will.

§ 39. Divers Papists turned from them to the Protestants, upon the Detection of their wickedness and bloody Principles and minds: And among others Mr. *Hutchinson*, that called himself *Berry*, against whom I lately wrote. He first wrote for the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and after forsook them seemingly for a time.

§ 40. When I had written my Book against Mr. *Gale's* Treatise for Predetermination, and was intending to Print it, the good man fell sick of a Consumption, and I thought it meet to suspend the publication; lest I should grieve him and increase his sickness, of which he dyed. And that I might not obscure God's Providence about sin, I wrote and preached two Sermons to shew what great and excellent things God doth in the World by the occasion of Man's sin: And verily it is wonderful to observe that; in *England*, all Parties (Prelatical first, Independents, Anabaptists, especially Papists, have been brought down by themselves, and not by the wit and strength of their Enemies, and we can hardly discern any footsteps of any of our own Endeavours, wit or power in any of our Late Deliverances, but our Enemies wickedness and bloody Designs have been the occasion of almost all. Yea, the Presbyterians themselves have suffered more by the dividing effects of their own Covenant, and their unskillfulness in healing the Divisions between them and the Independents and Anabaptists, and the Episcopal, than by any strength that brought them down; tho since men's wrath hath troden them as in the dirt.

§ 41. In *April* I finished a Treatise of the only way of Union and Concord, among all Christian Churches: In three parts. 1. Of the Nature and Reasons of Union and Concord. 2. Of the true and only Terms. 3. Of the Nature of Schism, and the false Terms on which the Church will never unite.

§ 42. Two years ago by the Consent of many Ministers I Printed one Writing called the Judgment of Nonconformists, concerning the Parts or Office of Reason in Religion; which having good acceptance, by the same Men's consent, I yielded to the Printing of three more, one of the difference between Grace and Morality; Another called the Nonconformists Judgment about things indifferent commanded by Authority: And another *What Nonconformity is not*, disclaiming several false Imputations; To which I added a 4th of *Scandal*. But when they were Printed some of our Political friends in Parliament and else where, were against the publishing of them, saying, they would increase our sufferings by exasperating, or offend some Sectaries that dislike some words: And so I was put to pay (23 l.) for the printing of them and suppress them.

§ 43. I wrote also Divers Treatises of Nonconformity: One opening their case by a multitude of Quere's: Another by way of History and Assertion, specially vindicat-

vindicating them from the Charge of Schism. Another to prove it their duty to continue preaching tho forbidden, &c.

§ 44. The Earl of *Argyle* told me that being in company with some very great men, one of them said, that he went once to hear Mr. *Baxter* preach, and he said nothing but what might beseem the King's Chappel; and concluded that it was his Judgment that I ought to be beaten with many stripes, because it could not be through ignorance, but meer *fashion* that I conformed not: And the Bishops and Clergy to this day, make unstudied Noble Men and Gentlemen believe, that we confess all to be lawfull, and meer Inconveniences which we deny Conformity to (O inhumane Impudence! A Plot of Satan to tempt men never more to believe Clergy men's History!) Hereupon the said Earl of *Argyle* (after many others) desiring me to write down the points that we deny Conformity to, I wrote. 1. The case of the Nonconformists in a brief History. 2. An Index of about 40 or 50 of the points that we cannot conform to: but barely naming them without proof to avoid prolixity, which may expose them to any Pretender's Confutation. And at the opportunity of a friend, this week (*May 2.*) I permitted the shewing them to the Bishop of *Lincoln* Dr. *Barlow*: who is a Man firmly zealous against Popery, of great Reading and Learning, long a publick Professor of Divinity in *Oxford*, and esteemed of as equal at least with the best of the Bishops; And yet told my friend that got my Papers for him, that he could hear of nothing that we judged to be *sin*, but meer inconveniences: When as above 17 years ago, we publickly endeavoured to prove the sinfulness even of many of the old Impositions; and our petition for peace was printed, in which we solemnly professed that nothing should hinder us from Conformity, did we not believe it to be sin against God, and endangering our salvation. Yet thus talk the best and Learnedest of them, as if they had dwelt a thousand Miles from us, and had never heard our Case. Some would persuade us that they are all meer hardened impudent Worldlings that know all to be Lies, which they thus speak: But I am persuaded that this is too hard Censure, and that some, yea many of the Clergy think as they thus speak, because the Schism of the Age doth make them meer strangers to us, knowing little more of our minds than what they hear from one another by such Reports: And yet we never had leave to speak or write our Case, to tell men what it is that we think sin in the New-Conformity, much less to give our Reasons.

§ 45. The firing fury going on still (God leaving the Papists to self-destroying madness) on *Friday* night *May 9.* Some Papist prisoners bribing the Porter, they set the prison on fire, and burnt much of it down; the Porter and they escaping together: which put the Parliament to appoint the drawing up of a stricter Law to prevent more firing: But what can Laws do to it?

§ 46. On the Lord's day *May 11th 1679.* The Commons sate extraordinarily, and agreed in two Votes, first that the Duke of *York* was incapable of succeeding in the Imperial Crown of *England*. 2. That they would stand by the King and the Protestant Religion with their Lives and Fortunes, and if the King came to a violent Death, which God forbid, would be revenged on the Papists.

§ 47. The Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews* in *Scotland*, *James Sharp* was Murdered this Month. The Actors (a Servant hardly used by him (or a Tenant) drew in some Confederates) since suffered.

§ 48. The Parliament shortly dissolved while they insisted on the tryal of the Lord Treasurer.

§ 49. The *Scots* being forbidden to preach and Meet in the open Fields, being led by a few rash men, at a Meeting being assaulted defended themselves, and so were many drawn into resistance of the Magistrate, and were destroyed.

§ 50. There came from among the Papists more and more Converts that detected the Plot against Religion and the King: After *Oates*, *Bedlow*, *Everard*, *Dugdale*, *Fransfe*, came *Jenrison* a Gentleman of *Grays-Inn*, *Smyth* a Priest, and others: But nothing stopt them more than a Plot discovered to have turned all the odium on the Presbyterians and Protestant Adversaries of Popery: They hired one *Dangerfield* to manage the matter; but by the industry

siry of Colonel *Mansel* (who was to have been first accused,) and Sir *William Waller*, the Plot was fully detected (to have forged a Plot as of the Presbyterians, or Dissenters, and many great Lords. And *Dangerfield* confessed all; and continued a steadfast Convert and Protestant to this day.

§. 51. But my unfitness, and the Torrent of late Matter here, stops me from proceeding to insert the History of this Age: It is done, and like to be done so copiously by others, that these shreds will be of small signification: Every year may not be deluded by Credulity, I shall truly tell them, That Lying most Impudently in Print, against the most notorious Evidence of Truth, in the vending of cruel Malice against Men of Conscience, and the fear of God, is become so ordinary a Trade, as that its like, with Men of Experience, ere long to pass for a good Conclusion. [*Dictum vel scriptum est (a Malignis) Ergo falsum est.*] Many of the Malignant Clergy and Laity, especially *Le Strange* the Observer, and such others, do with so great Confidence publish the most Notorious Falshoods, that I must confess it hath greatly depressed my Esteem of most History, and of Humane Nature. If other Historians be like some of these Times, their Assertions, when-ever they speak of such as they distaste, are to be Read as Hebrew, backward; and are so far from signifying Truth, that many for one are downright Lies. It's no wonder Perjury is grown so common, when the most Impudent Lying hath so prepared the way.

§. 52. Having published a Confutation of Mr. *Dauvers* about Infant-baptism, one Mr. *Hutbinson* an Anabaptist in a reproachful Letter called me to review what I had written on that Subject: And in a few sheets I published it, called, [*A Review of my thoughts of Infant-Baptism*] which, I think, for the brevity, and perspicuity fittest for the use of ordinary doubters of that point: And Mr. *Barret* hath contradicted my other Books of it, in certain *Quæres*.

§. 53. The act restraining the Press being expired, I published a Book that lay by me to open the case of Nonconformity, called, *A Plea for Peace*: which greatly offended many Conformists; tho I ventured no farther but to name the things that we durst not conform to: Even the same Men that had long called out to us, to tell them what we desired; and said, We had nothing to say, could not bear it. The Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Gunning*, told me, He would petition Authority to command us to give the reasons of our Nonconformity, and not thus keep up a Schism and give no reason for it. The Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Compton*, told me, That the King took us to be not sincere, for not giving the reasons of our dissent. I told them both, it was a strange Expectation, from Men, that had so fully given their reason against the old Conformity in our Reply, and could get no Answer; and when their own Laws would Excommunicate, Imprison, and Ruin us, for doing any such thing as they demanded: But I would begg it on my knees, and return them most hearty thanks if they would but procure us leave to do it. Yet when it was but half done, it greatly provoked them; And they Wrote and said, That without the least provocation I had assaulted them: Whereas I only named what we stuck at, professing to accuse none of them: And they thought Seventeen years Silencing, Prosecuting, Imprisoning, Accusations of Parliament men, Prelates, Priests and People, and all their Calls [*What would you have? Why do you not tell us what you stick at?*] to be no provocation. Yea, Bishops and Doctors had long told Great Men, That I my self had said, That it was only things inconvenient, and not things sinful, which I refused to Conform to, Whereas I had given them, in the Description of Eight Particular things in the old Conformity, which I undertook to prove sinful; and at the *Savoy* began with one of them; And in the Petition for Peace, offered our Oaths, that we would refuse Conformity to nothing but what we took to be sin. And now when I told them what the Sins were, O what a common Storm did it raise among them! When Heathens would have let Men speak for themselves before they are Condemned, its Criminal in us to do it Seventeen years after.

§. 54. Dr. *Stillingsfleet* being made Dean of *Pauls* was put on as the most plausible Writer to begin the assault against us, which he did in a printed Sermon proving me and such Others Schismaticks and Separatists. To which I gave an answer which I thought satisfactory (Dr. *Owen* and Mr. *Alfop* also answered him) To all which he wrote some what like a Reply.

§. 55. Against this I Wrote a second Defence, which he never answered.

§. 56. One Mr. *Cheny* (an honest weak Melancholy-Man) wrote against my *Plea for Peace*, to which I Published an Answer.

§. 57. One Mr. *Hinkley* Wrote against me long ago, which occasioned some Letters betwixt us; and now he Published his Part, and put me to publish mine; which I did, with an Answer to a Book, called *Reflexions*, &c. and another, called, *The Impleader*, and a Re-joynder to Mr. *Cheny-Long* of *Exeter* was one of them.

§. 58. Because a Book, called, *The Counterminer*; *Le Strange*, and many others, endeavoured still, as their Chief Work, to persuade Rulers and all, that we cherished Principles of Rebellion, and were preparing for Treason, Sedition, or a War: I much desired openly to publish our Principles about Government and Obedience, but our Wise Parliament-Gentlemen were against it, saying, You can publish nothing so truly, or warily, but Men will draw Venom out of it, and make use of it against you. But having been thus stopt many years, it satisfied not my Conscience, and I published all, in a Book, called, *A second Plea for Peace*. And it hath had the strange fate of Being Unanswered to this day; nor can I get them to take notice of it: Though it was feared it would have been but Fewel to their Malice, for some ill effect. I added to it, *The Nonconformists Judgment about things indifferent*, about *Scandal*; *The difference between Grace and Morality*; and what *Nonconformity* is not.

§. 59. Upon Mr. *H. Dodwell's* provocation I published a Treatise of *Episcopacy* that had lain long by me; which fully openeth our Judgment about the difference between the old *Episcopacy*, and our new *Diocesans*, and Answereth almost all the Chief Writers which have Written for such Prelacy, specially Bishop *Downance*, Dr. *Hammond*, *Saravia*, *Spalatensis*, *Setavius*, &c. I think I may freely say, it is Elaborate, and had it not done somewhat effectually in the undertaken cause, some one or other would have answered it ere now. It makes me admire that my *Cathol. Theology*, our *Reformed Liturgy*, my *Second Plea for Peace*, (that, I say, not the first also) and this *Treatise of Episcopacy* could never procure an Answer from any of these fierce Accusing Men; when as it is the Subjects of these Four, which are the Controversies of the Age (and Rage) by these Men so much insisted on. But I have since found some Explication about the *English Diocesanes* necessary; which the Separatists forced me to publish, by misunderstanding me.

§. 60. Mr. *Hinkley* grew more moderate, and Wrote me a Reconciling Letter; but *Long* of *Exceter* (if Fame misreport not the Anonymous Author) Wrote so fierce a Book, to prove me, out of my own Writings, to be one of the worst Men living on Earth (full of Falshoods, and old retracted Lines, and half Sentences) that I never saw any like it; And being overwhelmed with Work and Weakness, and Pains, and having least zeal to defend a Person so bad as I know my self to be; I yet never Answered him, it being none of the matter in Controversie, whether I be good or bad. God be Merciful to me a Sinner.

§. 61. I published also an Apology for the Nonconformists Preaching, proving it their duty to Preach, though forbidden, while they can; And Answering a Multitude of Objectors against them, *Fowlis*, *Morley*, *Gunning*, *Parker*, *Patrick*, *Druell*, *Saywell*, *Ashton*, *Good*, *Dodwell*, &c. With Reasons to prove, that the honest Conformists should be for our Preaching.

§. 62. I published a few Sheets, called, *A Moral Prognostication*, what will befall the Churches, as gathered only from Moral Causes.

§. 63. Because the accusation of Schism is it that maketh all the noise against the Nonconformists, in the Mouths of their Persecutors, I Wrote a few Sheets, called, *A search for the English Schismatick*,] comparing the Principles and Practices of both Parties, and leaving it to the Reader to Judge, who is the Schismatick; shewing, that the Prelatists have in the Canons *ipso facto*, Excommunicated all (Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and People) who do but affirm, that there is any thing sinful in their Liturgy, Ceremonies, or Church-Government, even to the lowest Officer; And their Laws cast us out of the Ministry into Goals, and then they call us Schismaticks for not coming to their Churches: Yea, though we come to them constantly, as I have done, if we will not give over Preaching our selves; when the parishes I lived in, had one Fifty thousand, the other Twenty thousand Souls in it, more than can come within the Church-doors. This

Book also, and my Prognostication, and, (which I most valued) my True and only way of Universal Concord, were Railed at, but never Answered (that I know of,) no more than those fore-mentioned.

§. 64. One Mr. Morrice, Chaplain to Arch-bishop Sandcroft, Wrote a Learned and Virulent Book against my *Abstract of the History of Bishops and Councils*; and against a small Book of Mr. David Clerkson, against the *Antiquity of Diocesanes*. To this Mr. Clerkson and I conjoynd our Answers; In mine, I Epitomized Job Ludolphus History of *Habassia* in the Preface; and, I think, sufficiently Vindicated my *History of Councils*, and so think they that were greatly taken with Mr. Morrice's book till they saw the Answer. And Mr. Clerkson hath shewn himself so much better acquainted with Church History than they, that whether they will attempt to answer his Testimonies (and mine in my Treatise of Episcopacy.) which disprove the Antiquity of Diocesanes, or will trust only to possession, power and noise, I know not.

§. 65. Mr. H. Dodwell, and Dr. Sherlock, by publick accusation, called me out to publish a Book, called, *An Answer to Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Sherlock*, confuting an *Universal Humane Church-Sovereignty, Aristocratical and Monarchical, as Church-Tyranny and Popery*, and defending Dr. Isaac Barrow's Excellent Treatise against it. (For Dr. Tillotson had newly Published this Excellent Posthumous-Treatise, and Sherlock quarrel'd with it.) In this I confuted Mr. Dodwell's Treatise of Schism, and many of his Letters and Conferences with me, which I think he will pass by, lest his own Reply should make those know him who read not mine.

§. 66. In a short time I was called with a grieved heart to Preach and Publish many Funeral Sermons, on the Death of many Excellent Saints.

Mr. Stubbes went first, that Humble, Holy, Serious Preacher; long a blessing to Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, and other parts, and lastly to London, I had great reason to lament my particular Loss, of so holy a friend, who oft told me, That for very many years he never went to God by solemn Prayer, without a particular remembrance of me: but of him before.

Next died Mrs. Coxe, Wife to Dr. Thomas Coxe (now President of the College of Physicians) a Woman of such admirable composure of Humble, Serious Godliness, meekness, patience, exactness of Speech and all behaviour, and great Charity, that all that I have said in her Funeral Sermon is much short of her worth.

Next died my most intire Friend Alderman Henry Ashhurst, commonly taken for the most exemplary Saint that was of publick notice in this City; so found in Judgment, of such admirable Meekness, Patience, Universal Charity, Studious of Good Works, and large therein, that we know not where to find his Equal. Yet though such a Holy Man, of a strong Body, God tryed his patience by the terrible Disease of the Stone in the Bladder; And, in extremity of torment he endured to be Cut, and two broken Stones taken out by Thirty pieces and more, with admirable patience: And when the Wound was almost healed, he was fain to be Cut again of a third Stone that was left behind; and after much suffering and patience, died, with great peace and quietness of Mind; and hath left behind him the perfume of a most honoured Name, and the Memorials of a most exemplary Life, to be imitated by all his Descendants.

Next my dear Friend Mr. John Corbet, of just the like temper of Body and Soul, having endured at Chichester many years Torment of the same Disease, coming up to be Cut, died before they could Cut him, and had just three such Stones in his Bladder as Mr. Ashhurst's were: his worth is known in Gloucester, Chichester, London, and by his Writings to the Land, to be beyond what I have published of him, in his Funeral Sermon. He having lived in my House before, and greatly honoured by my Wife; She got not long after his excellent Exemplary Wife (Daughter to Dr. Twiss) to be her Companion, but enjoyed that comfort but a little while, which I have longer enjoyed.

§. 67. Near the same time died my Father's second Wife, Mary, the Daughter of Sir Thomas Hunks; and Sister to Sir Fulke Hunks, the King's Governour of Shrewsbury in the Wars: Her Mother, the old Lady Hunks, died at my Father's House, between Eighty and One hundred years old. And my Mother-in-Law died at Ninety six (of a Cancer) in perfect Understanding, having lived from her youth in the greatest Mortification, Austerity to her Body, and constancy of Prayer and all Devotion, of any one that ever I knew: In the hatred of all sin, strictness

strictness of Universal obedience, and for Thirty years longing to be with Christ; In constant daily acquired infirmity of body (got by avoiding all Exercise, and long secret prayer in the coldest Seasons, and such like) but of a constitution naturally strong: afraid of recovering when ever she was ill: For some days before her death she was so taken with the Ninety first *Psalm*, that she would get those that came near her to read it to her over and over; which *Psalm* also was a great means of Comfort to Old *Beza*, even against his Death.

§. 68. Soon after dyed *Jane Matthews* aged Seventy six, My House-keeper fourteen years: though mean of quality, very eminent in *Kidderminster*, and the parts about for Wisdom, Piety, and a holy, Sober, Righteous, Exemplary Life.

And many of my Old Hearers and Flock at *Kidderminster* dyed not long before. Among whom a mean Freeholder *James Butcher* of *Wannerton*, hath left few equal to him for all that seemeth to approach perfection in a plain Man: O how many holy Souls are gone to Christ out of that one Parish of *Kidderminster* in a few years, and yet the Number seemeth to increase.

§. 69. The Book which I published called *The Poor Man's Family Book*, was so well accepted, that I found it a useful work of Charity to give many of them (with the *Call to the Unconverted*) abroad in many Countries, where neither I, nor such others had leave to Preach (and many Hundreds since, with good success.)

§. 70. The times were so bad for selling Books, that I was fain to be my self at the charge of Printing my *Methodus Theologiae*, some friends contributed about Eighty pounds, towards it; It cost me one way or other about Five hundred pounds: About Two hundred and fifty pounds I received from those Non-conformists that bought them. The Contrary party set themselves to hinder the sale of it, because it was mine, tho' else the Doctrine of it, being half Philosophical, and half Conciliatory would have pleased the Learned part of them. But most lay it by as too hard for them, as over Scholastical and exact. I wrote it and my *English Christian Directory* to make up one Compleat Body of *Theology*, The *Latin* one the Theory, and the *English* one the Practical part. And the latter is commonly accepted because less difficult.

§. 71. My short piece against *Popery* called *The Certainty of Christianity without Popery*, proved of use against *Infidels* as well as *Papists*. But most deceived men will not be at the labour to study any thing that is distinct and exact, but take up with the first appearances of things.

§. 72. The Miserable State of Youngmen in *London*, was a great trouble to my mind; Especially Rich men's Sons and Servants, Merchants and Lawyers Apprentices and Clerks, carried away by the flesh, to drinking, Gluttony, Plays, Gaming, Whoring, Robbing their Masters, &c. I wrote therefore a small Tractate for such, called *Compassionate Counsel to Young men*: Sir *Robert Atkins* contributed towards the charge of Printing it, and I gave of them in City and Country One thousand five hundred, besides what the Bookseller sold: But few will read it that most need.

§. 73. About this time dyed my dear friend Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, of whose Life you may see a little in Mr. *Clark's* last book of Lives: A wonder of sincere industrie in works of Charity; It would make a Volume to recite at large, the Charity he used to his poor Parishioners at *Sepulchres* (before he was Ejected and Silenced for Non-conformity; His Conjunction with Alderman *Ashurst* and some such others, in a weekly Meeting, to take account of the honest poor families in the City that were in great want, he being the Treasurer and Visiter; his voluntary Catechizing the Christ's Church boyes when he might not preach: The many thousand Bibles Printed in *Welsh* that he dispersed in *Wales*; The Practice of Piety, *The Whole Duty of Man*, *My Call*, and many thousands of his own Writing, given freely all over *Wales*; his setting up about Three hundred or Four hundred Schools in *Wales* to teach Children only to read, and the Catechise, his industrie to beg money for all this, besides most of his own Estate laid out on it; His Travels over *Wales* once or twice a year to visite his Schools and see to the Execution: This was true Episcopacy of a silenced Minister (who yet went constantly to the Parish Churches, and was authorized by an old University License

to Preach occasionally, and yet for so doing was Excommunicate even in *Wales* while he was doing all this good.) He served God thus to a healthful age (Seventy four or seventy six.) I never saw him sad, but always chearful. About a fortnight before he dyed he told me that sometime in the night some final trouble came to his heart, he knew not what; And without sickness, or pain, or fear of death, they heard him in his sleep give a groan, and he was dead. O how holy and blessed a Life, and how easie a Death?

§. 74. Finding the Success of my Family Dialogue I wrote a second part 1681 and 1682, called *The Catechising of Households* teaching Householders how to instruct their Families, Expounding, First, the Law of Nature: Secondly, The Evidence of the Gospel: Thirdly, the Creed: Fourthly, the Lord's Prayer: Fifthly, the Commandments: Sixthly, the Ministry: Seventhly, Baptism: Eighthly, the Lord's Supper. It is suited to those that are Past the common little Catechism; And I think these two Family-books to be of the greatest Common use of any that I have published: If Householders would but do their parts in reading good books to their Households, it might be a great Supply where the Ministry is defective: and no Ministry will serve sufficiently without Men's own Endeavours for themselves and families.

§. 75. Having been for retirement in the Countrey from July till August 14. 1682, returning in great weakness, I was able only to Preach twice, of which the last was in my usual Lecture in *New-street*, and it fell out to be August 24. just that day twenty year, that I (and near Two thousand more) had been by Law forbidden to Preach any more. I was sensible of God's wonderful mercy that had kept so many of us Twenty years in so much Liberty and Peace, while so many severe Laws were in force against us, and so great a number were round about us, who wanted neither malice nor power to afflict us. And so I took that day my leave of the Pulpit and publick Work, in a thankful Congregation. And it is like indeed to be my last.

§. 76. But after this when I had ceased Preaching, I was (being newly risen from Extremity of pain) suddenly surprized in my house by a poor violent Informer, and many Constables and Officers, who rusht in and apprehended me, and served on me one Warrant to seize on my person for coming within five miles of a Corporation, and five more Warrants, to distrain for an Hundred and ninty pounds, for five Sermons. They cast my Servants into fears, and were about to take all my Books and Goods, and I contentedly went with them towards the Justice to be sent to Jail, and left my house to their will: But Dr. *Thomas Cox*, meeting me, forced me in again to my Couch and bed, and went to five Justices and took his Oath (without my knowledge) that I could not go to Prison without danger of Death: Upon that the Justices delayed a day till they could speak with the King, and told him what the Doctor had sworn; and the King consented, that at the present imprisonment should be forborn, that I might die at home. But they Executed all their Warrants on my Books and Goods; even the bed that I lay sick on, and sold them all: and some friends paid them as much money as they were prized at, which I repayed, and was fain to send them away. The Warrant against my person was signed by Mr. *Parrey* and Mr. *Phillips*: The five Warrants against my Goods by Sir *James Smith* and Sir *James Butcher*: And I had never the least notice of any accusation, or who were the Accusers or Witnesses, much less did I receive any Summons to appear, or answer for my self, or ever saw the Justices or Accusers. But the Justice that sign'd the Warrants for Execution said that the two *Hiltons* solicited him for them, and one *Bucke* led the Constables that distrained.

But though I sent the Justice the written Deeds which proved that the Goods were none of mine (nor ever were) and sent two Witnesses whose hands were to those Conveyances, I offered their Oaths of it, and also proved that the books I had many years ago alienated to my kinsman, this signified nothing to them, but they seized and sold all nevertheless; And both patience and prudence forbad us to trie the Title at Law, when we knew what Charges had been lately made of Justices, and Juries, and how others had been used. If they had taken only my Cloak they should have had my Coat also, and if they had taken me on one Cheek I would have turned the other: for I knew the case was such that he that will not put up one blow, one wrong or slander; shall suffer two; yea many more.

But

But when they had taken and sold all, and I borrowed some Bedding and Necessaries of the Buyer, I was never the quieter: for they threatened to come upon me again, and take all as mine, whosoever it was, which they found in my possession: So that I had no remedy, but utterly to forsake my House and Goods and all, and take secret Lodgings distant in a stranger's House. But having a long Lease of my own House, which binds me to pay a greater Rent than now it is worth, when-ever I go I must pay that Rent.

The separation from my Books would have been a greater part of my small Affliction, but that I found I was near the end both of that Work and Life which needeth Books; and so I easily let go all: Naked came I into the World, and naked must I go out.

But I never wanted less (what Man can give) than when Men had taken all: My old Friends (and Strangers to me) were so Liberal, that I was fain to restrain their Bounty: Their kindness was a surer and larger Revenue to me than my own.

But God was pleased quickly to put me past all fear of Man, and all desire of avoiding suffering from them by Concealment; by laying on me more himself than Man can do: Their Imprisonment, with tolerable Health, would have seemed a Palace to me; And had they put me to death for such a Duty as they Persecute me, it would have been a joyful end of my Calamity. But day and night I groan and languish under God's just afflicting hand; The pain which before only tired my Reins, and tore my Bowels, now also fell upon my Bladder, and scarce any part or hour is free. As Waves follow Waves in the Tempestuous Seas, so one pain and danger followeth another, in this sinful miserable Flesh: I die daily, and yet remain alive: God, in his great Mercy, knowing my dulness in health and ease, doth make it much easier to repent and hate my sin, and loath my self, and condemn the World, and submit to the Sentence of death with willingness, than otherwise it was ever like to have been. O how little is it that wrathful Enemies can do against us, in comparison of what our sin, and the Justice of God can do? And O how little is it that the best and kindest of Friends can do, for a pained Body, or a guilty sinful Soul, in comparison of one gracious look or word from God. Woe be to him that hath no better help than Man: And blessed is he whose help and hope is in the Lord.

But I will here tell the Reader what I had to say, if I had been allow'd a hearing.

The CASE of R. B.

§. 79. **H**AVING been prosecuted as offending against the *Oxford Confining-Act*, and finding that my silence may occasion the guilt of such as understand not my Case, and being by God's hand disabled personally to appear and plead it, I am necessitated to open it by Writing, to undeceive them that mistake it.

I. As to the Sence of that Law, I conceive that it reacheth to none but Non-conformists; and that because they are suspected to teach Schism and Rebellion. For though the body of a Law someteme extend further than the Title, yet when the title containeth both the *end* of the Law, and the Description of the persons meant (as hear it doth) it is expository to the Law: Therefore the words] *all such*] in the third Paragraph, must mean [*all such as aforesaid*, viz. *Nonconformists*] and not [*all such others*,] viz. *Conformists*: For,

1. The Conformists are supposed to be from under the Suspicion.
2. And else it may ruin many Churches: If the Curate omit the Liturgy, or part, and the Incumbent Preach, it will be made an Unlawful Assembly, by the same

same reason that House-Meetings are so called, for want of the Liturgy; For the Law imposeth the Liturgy on Churches, but not on Houses.

3. Many Conformists have still used to repeat their Sermons in their Houses, to more than four Neighbours, without the Liturgy. And if any such thing be judg'd a Conventicle, to fine the Incumbent Forty pounds, and Banish him Five Miles from his parish ever after, seems contrary to our Discipline.

II. My Case is this.

1. I am no Nonconformist in Law-Sence, (and my Conscience hath no Judge but God :) For I Conform to the Liturgy and Sacrament, as far as the Law requireth me: I was in no place of Ecclesiastical Promotion on May the 1st, 1662; nor ever since had any, nor the offer of any: And therefore the Law imposeth not on me, the Declaration, or the Assent or Consent, no more than on Lawyers, or Judges.

2. I have the Bishop of London's License to Preach in his Diocese, which supposeth me no Nonconformist in Law-sence: And I have the Judgment of Lawyers, even of the present Lord Chief Justice, and Mr. Pollexfen, that by that License I may Preach occasional Sermons.

3. I have Episcopal Ordination, and judge it gross Sacrilege to forsake my Calling.

4. I am justified against suspicion of Rebellious Doctrine many ways. 1. By my publick Retraction of any old accused words or writings. 2. I was chosen alone to Preach the Publick Thanksgiving at St. Paul's for General Monk's success. 3. The Commons in Parliament chose me to Preach to them at their Publick Fast for the King's Restoration, and call'd him home the next day. 4. I was Sworn Chaplain in Ordinary to the King. 5. I was offered a Bishoprick. 6. The Lord Chancellor who offered it, attested under his hand, His Majesty's Sense of my Desert, and His Acceptance. 7. I am justified in the King's Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs among the rest there mention'd. 8. When I Preached before the King, he commanded the Printing of my Sermon. 9. To which may be added the Act of Oblivion. 10. And having published above an Hundred Books, I was never yet convict of any ill Doctrine, since any of the said Acts of King, Parliament and others for my Discharge and Justification.

5. I have oft Printed my judgment for Communion with the Parish Churches, and exhorted others to it: And having built a Chappel, delivered it for Parish use.

6. I was never lawfully Convict of Preaching in an unlawful Assembly: for I was not once summon'd by the Justices that granted out the Five Warrants against me, to answer for my self, nor ever told who was my Accuser, or who Witnessed against me. And I have it under the hand of the present Lord Chief Justice, that a Lawful Conviction supposeth Summons. And the Lord Chief Justice Vaughan, with Judge Tyrrel, Archer and Wild, did long ago discharge me, upon their declaring, that even the Warrant of my Commitment was illegal, because no Accuser or Witness was named, and so I was left remediless in case of false Accusation.

7. As far as I understand it, I never did Preach in any unlawful Assembly, which was on pretence of any Exercise of Religion contrary to Law. I Preached in Parish Churches where the Liturgy was Read as oft as I had leave and invitation: And when I could not have that leave, I never took any Pastoral Charge, nor Preached for any Stipend, but not daring perfidiously to desert the Calling which I was Ordained and Vowed to, I Preacht occasional Sermons in other Men's Houses,

Houses, where was nothing done, that I know of, contrary to Law; There was nothing done but Reading the *Psalms*, and *Chapters*, and the *Creed*, *Commandments*, and *Lord's Prayer*, and Singing *Psalms*, and *Praying* and *Preaching*; and none of this is forbidden by Law: The Omission of the rest of the Liturgy, is no *Act*, but a *not-acting*, and therefore is no *pretended Worship according to Law*. But were it otherwise, the Law doth not impose the Liturgy on Families, but only on Churches, and a Family is not forbidden to have more than four Neighbours at saying Grace, or Prayer, nor is bound to give over Family-worship, when-ever more than Four come in. The Act alloweth Four to be present at Unlawful Worship, but forbids not more to be present at Lawful Worship. And House-worship without the Liturgy is lawful worship. And yet if this were not so, as the Curate's Omission of the Prayers makes not the Preacher and Assembly guilty (suppose it were an Assize-Sermon that for hast omitted the Liturgy;) so the owner of the House, by omitting the Liturgy, maketh not him guilty that was not bound to use it, nor the Meeting unlawful to any but himself. Charity and Loyalty bind us to believe, that our King and Parliament, who allow more than many Four's to meet at a Play-house, Tavern, or Feast, never meant to forbid more than Four to be together in a House to sing a Psalm, or Pray, or Read a Licensed Book, or edifie each other by Godly Conference, while no Crime is found by any Man in the Matter of their Doctrine or Prayer; and no Law imposeth the Liturgy on any but Church-Meetings.

If after many years Reproach, once Imprisonment, and the late Distress and Sale of all my Books and Goods, and those that were none of mine, but another's, and this by five or six Warrants for present Execution, without any Summons or Notice of Accusers or Witnesses, I could yet have leave to die in peace, and had not been again persecuted with new *Inditments*, I had not presumed thus to plead or open my own Cause. I Pray God that my Prosecutors and Judges may be so prepared for their near Account, that they may have no greater sin laid to their Charge, than keeping my Ordination-Vow is, and not Sacrilegiously forsaking my Calling, who have had so good a Master, so good a Word, so good Success, and so much Attestation from King, Parliament, City, and Bishops, as I have had.

If they ask why I Conform not? I say, I do, as far as any Law bindeth me: If they ask why I take not this Oath, I say, Because I neither understand it, nor can prevail with Rulers to Explain it. And if have a good sence, I have not only subscribed to it, but to much more, in a Book called, *The second Plea for Peace*, page 60, 61, 62. Where also I have professed my Loyalty much further than this Oath extendeth. But if it have a bad sence, I will not take it. And I find the Conformists utterly disagreed of the Sence, and most that I hear of renouncing that sence which the words signifie in their common use. And knowing that Perjury is a mortal Enemy to the Life and Safety of Kings, and the Peace of Kingdoms, and to Converse, and to Man's Salvation, I will not dally with such a dangerous Crime. Nor will I deceive my Rulers by Stretches and Equivocations; nor do I believe Lying lawful after all that *Grotius de Jure Belli*, and Bishop *Taylor Duct. Dub.* have said for it. I think Oaths imposed are to be taken in the ordinary sence of the words, if the Imposers put not another on them. And I dare not Swear that a Commission under the Broad-Seal is no Commission, till I that am no Lawyer know it to be Legal: Nor yet that the Lord Keeper may Depose the King without resistance, by Sealing Commissions to Traytors to seize on his Forts, Navy, Militia, or Treasure: Nor can I consent to make all the present Church-Government as unalterable as the Monarchy; especially when the Seventh Canon extendeth it to an *& cætera*, to *Arch-bishops*, *Bishops*, *Deans*, *Arch-deacons*, and the rest that bear Office in the same] not excepting Lay-Chancellor's use of the Keys; (*& ipso facto Excommunicateth* all, Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Commons, that say, *That it is repugnant to the Word of God.*) And it's time to take heed what we Swear, when the Act of Uniformity, the *Oxford-Act*, the *Corporation Act*, the *Vestry Act*, the *Militia Act*, and the Oath of Supremacy, do bind all the Nation by Solemn Oath, not to endeavour any alteration of Government in Church or State; And yet most Reverend Fathers, who most sharply call us to Conformity, do Write for a Foreign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, under the Name of an Universal Colledge of Bishops, or Council, having such power as other Courts,
even

even Commanding, Pretorian, Legislative, and Judicial to all the Church on Earth, and that obedience to this Foreign Jurisdiction, is the necessary way to escape Schism and Damnation. And if it be no alteration of Government to bring King and Kingdom to be subject to a Foreign Jurisdiction, this Oath, and the Oath of Supremacy, and the 39 Articles and Canons, and several Statutes, which renounced it, are all unintelligible to us. We renounce all *subjection* to any Foreign Church or Power, but not *Communion*. We have *Communion* with the Church of Rome, and all others in *Christianity*, but not in their *sin*; and we are not yet so dull as to know no difference between Foreigners *Government* of us, and their *Communion*; nor to think that Separation from a Usurped Government is Separation from Christian Communion: Nor can we possibly believe the Capacity of Pope, or Council, or Colledge of Bishops, as a Monarchy, or Aristocracy, to Govern all the World in one Sovereignty Ecclesiastical, till we see one Civil Monarchy, or Aristocracy, rule all the Earth. And we dread the Doctrine and Example of such Men as would introduce any Foreign Jurisdiction, while they are for Swearing all the Land against any alteration of Church-Government; And we must deliberate before we thus Conform, while so Great Men do render the Oath so doubtful to us. I appeal to the fore-cited Profession of my Loyalty, published many years ago, as being far more full and satisfactory to any that questioneth it, than the taking of this doubtful controverted Oath would be.

A true Copy of the Judgment of Mr. Saunders now Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, given me March the 22d, 1674.

1. **I**F he hath the Bishop's License, and be not a Curate, Lecturer, or other Promoted Ecclesiastical Person, mentioned in the Act, I conceive he may Preach Occasional Sermons without Conforming, and not incur any Penalty within this Act.

The due Order of Law requires, that the Delinquent, if he be forth-coming, ought to be summon'd to appear to Answer for himself, if he pleases, before he be Convicted: But, in case of his withdrawing himself, or not appearing, he may be regularly Convicted.

Convictions may be accumulated before the Appeal be determined: but not unduely: nor is it to be supposed that any undue Convictions will be made,

As I Conceive,

Edm. Saunders.

M. day 22. 1674.

Mr. Polixfen's Judgment for my Preaching Occasionally.

A. B. before the Thirteenth of this King being Episcopally Ordained, and at the time of the Act of Uniformity made Car. 2. not being Incumbent in any Living, or having any Ecclesiastical Preferment, before the Act of Uniformity, viz. 25 Feb. 13 Car. 2. obtains a License of the then Bishop of London, under his Seal, to Preach in any part of his Diocese, and at the same time subscribes the 39 Articles of the Church of England.

Quest. Whether Licenses Preceding the Act be within the meaning of the Act?

B b b b b 2

I conceive

I conceive they are: : For if Licensed at the time of the *Act* made, what need any new License? That were but *alium agere*, and the Clause in the *Act* [*unless he be Licensed, &c.*] in the manner of penning shews that Licenses, that then were, were sufficient and within the Provision: And the following Clause as to the Lecturers is Express [*now is, or shall be Licensed*] The former part of the *Act* as well as that extends to Licenses that then were. For the same License that enables a man to Preach a Lecture must enable a man to Preach.

Q. Whether he be restrained by the *Act of Uniformity* to Preach a Funeral Sermon or other occasional Sermon?

I Conceive that he is not restrained by this *Act* to Preach any Occasional Sermon so as it be within the Diocess wherein he is Licensed.

Hen. Pollexfen.

Decemb. 19. 1682.

§ 77. While I continue night and day under constant pain, and often strong, and under the sentence of approaching death by an uncurable disease which age and great debility yields to, I found great need of the constant exercise of patience by obedient submission to God; and writing a small Tractate of it for my own use, I saw reason to yield to them that desired it might be publick, there being (especially) so common need of obedient patience.

§ 78. Having long ago written a Treatise against *Coalition* with Papists, by introducing a Foreign Jurisdiction of Pope or Councils, I was urged by the Writings of Mr. *Dogwel*, and Dr. *Saywell* to publish it, but the Printers dare not Print it; Entitled *England* not to be perjured by receiving a Foreign Jurisdiction. It is in two Parts: The first Historical shewing who have endeavoured to introduce a Foreign Jurisdiction, citing Papists, *Grotius*, Arch-Bishop *Bromhall*, Arch-Bishop *Laud*, *Thorndike*, Dr. *Saywell*, *Dodwell*, four Letters to Bishop *Gunning*, and others. The 2d part strictly Stating the Controversy, and Confuting a Foreign Jurisdiction, against which Change of Government all the Land is Sworn. I may not Print it.

§ 79. When I saw the storm of Persecution arising by the Agitators *Hilton*, *Shad, Buck*, and such other, and saw what the Justices were at least in present danger of, and especially how *Le Strange* and other weekly Pamphleteers bent all their wit and power to make others odious, and prepared for destruction, and to draw as many as possibly they could to hate and ruine faithful men, and how Conscience and serious piety grew with many into such hatred and reproach, that no men were so much abhorred, that many gloried to be called *Tories*, tho they knew it was the name of the *Irish* common murdering Thieves: I wrote a small Book called *Cain and Abel*, in two parts: The first against malignant Enmity to serious Godliness; with abundant Reasons to convince Malignants. The second against Persecution, by way of *Quare's*. I wrote a third part (as Impartial) to tell Dissenters why (while I was able) I went oft to the Parish Church and there Communicated, and why they should not suffer as Separatists or Recusants, lest they suffer as evil doers: But wise men would not let me publish it. And the two first, the Booksellers and Printers durst not print but twice refused them.

§ 80. But the third part the Reasons of my Communion with Parish Churches, that have honest able Ministers, I sent to one friend, who telling others of it, a Bookseller after two years importuned me to let him Print it. 1. The sharp execution of the Law had then brought Multitudes into Prison and Poverty. 2. Nonconformists both Presbyterians and Independents, had taken the Corporation Oath and Declaration, and Communicated in the Parish Churches, for to make them capable of Trust and Office in the City; And because it seem'd to tend to their protection and advantage, we heard of no noise made against them by the Independents; but they admitted them as their Members to their Communion as before. I was against their taking the Declaration, but not against their Communicating, but I meddled not with them. At last when the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was broken and gone, and the City Power and Common Council subdued to the will of the King, the fore-
said

said Communion in publick was more freely blamed by the Independents and Anabaptists, and some few hot *Scots* Men. And the private Church Meetings were so much suppress'd, and the prisons so full, that my Conscience began to tell me, that I should be guilty of injuring the truth, the Church, and the Souls and Bodily welfare of my brethren, if I should by silence harden them against publick worship. Specially the Case of the Countrey moved me, wherein a great part of the Kingdom, scarce two hundred men in a whole Countrey, can have the liberty of any true Church Worship, besides Parochial. I remembred the Case of the Old Nonconformists against the *Brownists*, and the Writings of Mr. *J. Ball*, *Paget*, *Hildersham*, *Bradshaw*, *Gifford*, *Brightman*, *Ames*, &c. I could not but remember what work the separating party had made in *England* and *Scotland*, in my days from 1644 till 1660 against Government, Religion and Concord: I saw what I long foresaw, each extreme party growing more extreme, and going further still from one another; And so great a Change is grown on *London*, that the Terms which we offered the Bishops for Concord 1660 are now abhorred as Antichristian: I saw multitudes like to be Imprisoned and Ruined for refusing their Duty, as if it were sin, and disgracing Religion by fathering these Errours on it. The Conformists, seeing the Error of the Separatists, derided them all, and were confirmed in the Justification of all their Conformity; thinking that it was but a just differing from a crazed Company of *Fanatics*: Those that imprisoned and ruined both them and the rest of the Nonconformists, thought they did God service by it, against an unruly sort of Men: The Common people were made believe that this was the true Complexion of all the Dissenters from whatever the Law Commanded. The distance growing wider, and great sufferings increasing hard thoughts of those by whom Men suffered, all real Love did seem to be almost utterly destroyed, and Neighbours dwelt together like un placable Enemies: And worst of all, Men were frightened to think that they must rather give over all Church Worship, than they must Communicate with the best Ministry in the Parish Churches; and so the main body of the Land would live like Atheists, who can have no other Church-Worship but the Parochial: For the Nonconformists Churches were in almost all Countries, so suppress'd that no considerable Numbers could enjoy them.

And by this means the Papists were like to have their Wills: The Protestants must be told that Recusancy is all their Duties: And going to the Publick Churches a sin: And who can for shame drive Papists to sin? And if thus they could draw all Protestants to forsake the said Churches, they would, like a deserted City and Garrison'd Fort, be open and ready for their possession. And while the Papists and Malignants are studying how to cast out all the Godly Conforming Ministers, that the Ductile remainder might be prepared for Popery, the separating part of the Independents and Anabaptists, and some few hot *Scotch* Presbyterians, go before them, and tell all the People that it is unlawful to hear them, and to own them as Ministers or Churches, and to have Communion with them in the Liturgy or Sacraments. Even when the rigour of Prosecutors hath brought it to that pass that they must have such or none, as to Church worship.

Seeing so many in prison, for this Error, to the dishonour of God, and so many more like to be ruin'd by it, and the separating party, by the temptation of suffering, had so far prevailed with the most strict, and zealous Christians, that a great Number were of their mind, and the Non-conformable Ministers, whose Judgment was against this separation, durst not publish their dislike of it, partly because of sharp and bitter Censures of the Separatists, and who took them for Apostates or Carnal Temporizers that communicated in publick, and partly for fear of Encouraging Persecution against the Separatists, and partly for fear of losing all opportunity of teaching them (and some that had no hope of any other friends or maintenance, or Auditors thought they might be silent,) On all these accounts, I, that had no gathered Church, nor lived on the Contribution of any such, and was going out of the world in pain and Languor, did think that I was fittest to bear men's Censures, and to take that reproach on my self, which my brethren were less fit to bear, who might live for farther Service. And at the Importunity of the Book-feller, I consented to publish the Reasons of my Communicating in the Parish-Churches, and against Separation. Which when it was coming out, a Manuscript

of Dr. Owen's (who was lately dead) containing Twelve Arguments against such joyning with the Liturgie, and publick Churches, was sent me, as that which had satisfied Multitudes. I thought that if this were unanswered, my labour would be much lost, because that party would still say Dr. Owen's Twelve Arguments confuted all: Whereupon I hastily answered them, but found after that it had been more prudent to have omitted his Name: For on that account a swarm of revilers in the City poured out their keenest Censures, and three or four wrote against me, whom I answered. (I will not name the men that are known, and two of them are yet unknown) But they went on several Principles, some Charged all Communion with the Liturgie, with Idolatry, Antichristianity, and perjury and backsliding: One concealed his Judgment, and quarrell'd at by-words. And another--turned my Treatise of Episcopacy against me, and said it fully proved the Duty of Separation, I was glad that hereby I was called to explain that Treatise, lest it should do hurt to mistakers when I am dead; and that as in it I had said much against one extremity, I might leave my Testimony against the other I called all these writings together, a Defence of Catholick Communion. And that I might be Impartial I adjoynd two pieces against Dr. Sherlock that ran quite into the contrary Extremes, unchurching almost all Christians as Schismatics. I confess I wrote so sharply against him as must needs be liable to blame with those that know not the man, and his former and latter Virulent and ignorant Writings.

§. 81. About this time one Mr. Robert Mayot of Oxford, a very Goldly Man, that devoted all his Estate to charitable uses, a Conformist, whom I never saw, dyed, and beside many greater Gifts to Abbingdon, &c. gave by his last Will Six hundred pounds to be by me distributed to Sixty poor Ejected Ministers, adding that *he did it not, because they were Non-conformists, but because many such were poor and pious.* But the King's Attourney Sir Robert Sawyer Sued for it in the Chancery, and the Lord Ceper North gave it all to the King. Which made many resolve to leave nothing to charitable uses after their Death, but do what they did while they lived.

§. 82. Under my daily pains I was drawn to a work which I had never the least thoughts of (and is like to be the last of my Life,) to write a paraphrase on the *New Testament*, Mr. John Humphrey having long importuned me, to write a paraphrase on the Epistle to the *Romans*, when I had done that, the usefulness of it to my self drew me farther and farther till I had done all. But having confessed my ignorance of the Revelations, and yet loth wholly to omit it, I gave but General Notes, with the Reasons of my uncertainty in the greatest difficulties: which I know will fall under the sharp Censure of many. But Truth is more valuable than such men's praises. I fitted the whole by plainness to the use of ordinary Families.

§. 83. After many times deliverance from the Sentence of death, on November Twenty, One thousand six hundred eighty four; in the very Enterance of the Seventyeth year of my Age, God was pleased so greatly to increase my painful Diseases, as to pass on me the Sentence of a painful death: By constant pain by an incredible quantity of flatulency in Stomach and all the Intestines and Reins, from all that I eat or drink, my Stomach not able to digest any meat or drink, but turning all to tearing pain; Besides the pain of the Stone in Reins and oft in the bladder; and urine black like dirt and mortified blood. But God turneth it to my good, and giveth me a greater willingness to die, than I once thought I should ever have attained. The Lord teach me more fully to love his Will, and rest therein, as much better than my own, that oft striveth against it

§. 84. A little before this while I lay in pain and languishing, the Justices of Sessions, sent Warrants to apprehend me (about a Thousand more being in Catalogue to be all bound to the good behaviour. I thought they would send me Six months to Prison for not taking the Oxford Oath, and dwelling in London, and so I refused to open my Chamber door to them, their Warrant not being to break it open. But they set six Officers at my Study-door, who watcht all night, and kept me from my bed and food, so that the next day I yielded to them; who carried me (scarce able to stand) to their Sessions, and bound me in Four hundred pound bond, to the good behaviour: I desired to know what my Crime was, and

who

who my Accusers, but they told me it was for no fault, but to secure the Government in evil Times; and that they had a List of many suspected persons that must do the like as well as I. I desired to know for what I was numbred with the Suspect, and by whose accusation, but they gave me good words and would not tell me. I told them I had rather they would send me to Jail than put me to wrong others by being bound with me, in bonds that I was like to break to morrow: for if there did but five persons come in when I was praying, they would take it for a breach of the good behaviour: They told me, not if they came on other business, unexpectedly, and not to a set meeting; Nor yet if we did nothing contrary to Law, or the practise of the Church. I told them our innocency was not now any security to us: If two beggar women did but stand in the street and swear that I spake contrary to the Law tho' they heard me not, my bonds and liberty were at their will: For I my self lying on my bed, heard Mr. J. R. Preach in a Chappel on the other side of my Chamber, and yet one *Sibil Dash* and *Elizabeth Capell* swore to the Justices that it was another that Preached (Two miserable poor women that made a Trade of it, and had thus sworn against very many worthy persons in *Hackney* and elsewhere, on which their Goods were seized on for great Mulcts or Fines. But to all this I had no Answer, but must give bond, when they knew that I was not like to break the Behaviour, unless by lying in bed in pain.

§. 85. But all this is so small a part of my suffering in comparison of what I bear in my flesh, that I could scarce regard it: And it's small in comparison of what others suffer; Many excellent persons die in Common Jails; Thousands ruin'd: That holy humble Man, Mr. *Roswell* is now under a verdict for death as a Traitor for Preaching some Words, on the witness, and Oath of *Hilton's Wife* (and one or two more Women) whose Husband liveth professedly on the Trade, for which he claimeth many Hundred or Thousand pounds, And not only the man professeth, but many of his hearers witness that no such words were spoken, nor any that becomed not a loyal prudent man. But we have been too long unthankful, when all our Lives, Estates, and Liberties, are in the power of any Whores Beggars, Enemies or malicious *Papists*, that will but swear that we are guilty, that God hath marvellously so long restrained them: and that forcing us into secret Meetings out of our publick, hath secured the Lives of many.

§. 86. Decemter Eleventh, I was forced in all my pain and weakness to be carried to the *Sessions-house*, or else my bonds of Four hundred pounds would have been judged forfeit: And the more moderate Justices that promised my discharge would none of them be there, but left the Work to Sir *William Smith* and the rest, who openly declared that they had nothing against me, and took me for Innocent, but yet I must continue bound, lest others should expect to be discharged also, which I openly refused: But my Sureties would be bound, lest I should die in Gaol, against my declared Will, and so I must continue. Yet they discharged others as soon as I was gone. I was told that they did all by instructions from, &c.-----and that the main end was to restrain me from writing: Which now should I do with greatest Caution, they will pick out some thing which a Jury may take for a breach of my bonds. I have written against *Popery* so much already that my Conscience will now allow me silence: But whereas one Separatist hath interpreted my Treatise of Episcopacy as justifying Separation, and Mr. *Faldo* hath by gross mistake falsely accused me as a Lier for saying that his Congregation a Church worshipped many years without singing *Psalms* (and Sacraments) (forsooth because he took them not then for a Church) I must suspend my Answer to them and all such; tho' I know the *Papists* will take it for a Confutation of all my writings against them, to say [*his own brethren, Protestants and Dissenters have proved him a Lier.*] This I must bear from Separating Non-conformists, while the Justices that bind and trouble me, openly declare me innocent. And I am told that the *Papists* will not endure me to write against the Separatists, no more than against themselves, because they need their help to pull down the Godly Parish Ministers.

§. 87. Many *French* Ministers sentenced to Death and Banishment, fly hither for refuge: And the Church men relieve them not because they are not for *English* Diocesans and Conformity; And others have many of their own distressed

truelled Ministers and acquaintance to relieve, that few are able. But the Chief that now I can do is to help such, and the Silences Ministers here and the poor, as the Almoner of a few Liberal friends who trust me with their Charity.

§. 88. As to the present State of *England*, the Plots, the Execution of Men High and Low, the Publick Counsels and Designs, the Quality and Practice of Judges and Bishops, the Sessions and Justices, the quality of the Clergy, and the Universities and Patrons, the Church-Government by the Keys by Lay-Civilians, the usage of Ministers, and private Meetings for Preaching or Prayer, the Expectations of what is next to be done, &c. The Reader must expect none of this sort of History from me; No doubt there will be many Volumes of it, by others transmitted to posterity; I shall do it more fully than I can now do.

§. 89. *January* Seventeenth, I was forced again to be carried to the Sessions, and after divers daies good words which put me in expectation of freedom, when I was gone, one Justice, Sir ——— *Durham* said that it's like that these persons solicited so for my liberty that they might come to hear me in Conventicles: and on that they bound me again in Four hundred pound bond, for above a Quarter of a year (and so it's like it will be till I die, or worse; Tho' no one ever accused me for any Conventicle or Preaching since they took all my Books and Goods above two years ago, and I for the most part keep my bed.

§. 90. Mr. *Jenkins* dyed in *Newgate* this week (*January* Nineteenth, 1687;) as Mr. *Rampfield*, Mr. *Raphson*, and others died lately before him. The Prison where are so many suffocateth the Spirits of aged Ministers. But blessed be God that gave them so long time to Preach before, at cheaper rates.

§. 61. One *Richard Baxter* a Sabbatarian *Anabaptist* was sent to Gaol for refusing the Oath of *Allegiance*, and it went for currant that it was I.

§. 92. Mr. *Rosewell* did so fully plead his own Case, and prove his innocency, and prove the Confederacy, incompetency, and falshood of the Witnesses, that tho' (alas) the Jury found him guilty of Treason, even the Chief Justice and Judges were convinced of his innocency, and at last procured his Pardon and deliverance: Innocency with humility and great ability were his advantages improved, and withall that he had few Enemies

APPENDIX.

A Reply to some Exceptions against our Worcester-shire Agreement, and my Christian Concord. Written by a nameless Author, and sent by Dr. Warmstrye.

My ^{Worthy} Sir,

Salutem & Officia in Christo Jesu Autore Salutis.

Except. **F**OR Christian Concord, Mr. Baxter cannot write more willingly, nor *Sect. 1.* you be more strongly inclined to meet any such motion, then you well know the Hearts of very many of your Brethren, to be already agreed in that. And I believe I have given you evidence in all my former Discourses with you (uncontradicted by any action of mine) that I the meanest of the servants of your Order, do make it the butt and aime of all my weak Studies and Labours in order to the glory and service of God, and Christ our Lord who hath so highly enjoined it. 2. But this bars us not, but obliges us well to consider, whether this *Worcester* Agreement be a true Union in Ecclesiastical Peace, or the carrying on a Schismatical Combination, reaching to enclose in the Episcopal Divines also. 3. That they may now at length by this approve of the Presbyters Declaration to the World, of the no necessity of continuing their Canonical Obedience to their Bishops in Christ, (which was the first wheel that set a work this sad Revolution, the ejecting out of the Church (I mean out of their principal proper place in the Church) the Bishops and Pastors, the Successors of the Apostles in the Church) whether this be so or no; I say, I must request you to judge by considering.

Reply to Sect 1.

I shall not unwillingly believe and acknowledge that your love to Concord is greater than mine, when I see you more zealously seeking it, and hear of your *Motions* and moderate *Rational Attempts* to that end. And I shall begin to hope well of you, when you are but willing to accept such motions from any others, or at least not to hinder the Concord of your Brethren. 2. Schismatical Combinations are against the *United Churches*, or the *United Members* of one particular Church. We unite or combine against no such Churches or Members, nor against any thing but prophaneness and wickedness, and against the disunion, discord, and alienation of Brethren, and the utter neglect of the Ordinances of Christ. Our utmost care and endeavour is to heal a Schism; and if they that do their best to heal it, lamenting it daily as the great sin and calamity of the Churches, and making it the chiefest part of their Studies, with unflinching longings to see it accomplished, looking for no wordly advantage by the work, having no Lordly Honours, nor Dignities of their own to engage for, which might byas them; nay most prodigally casting away their Reputation with all the contenders of every Party, accounting nothing in this world dear to them for the healing of our Divisions, and waiting on God in earnest Prayer daily for success, (concerning all which, the Righteous God is better acquainted with my heart and ways than this Contender) I say if yet we are not only *Schismaticks*, but *Schismatical* in these very attempts, I know not yet how we shall escape that sin. I hope God will not impute that to me which this Writer doth; and that as he will not impute my Prayers and Endeavours against Drunkenness, Covetousness and Contentions of Neighbours, to be indeed Drunkenness, Covetousness, or Contention, so neither will he impute my earnest Prayers and endeavours against Schism and Discord to be Schismatical. But Schism is not the same thing in one Mans mouth as in anothers. It is the unhappiness of each Party or Schismatical Faction, to make to themselves a new Center of union which God never made, and then all must be Schismaticks with them, that unite not in their Center, or at least be not tyed to union by their ligaments. So he is a Schismatick to a Papist that Centers not in the

Pope as the *Principium unitatis*, and visible Head of the Church; and in the *Roman Church* as the *Heart* of the Church Catholick, denominating the whole. He is a Schismatick with *some others* that owns not every Order or Ceremony which they maintain. For my part I should think, that he that centrith in Christ, and holdeth the sound and wholsome Doctrine contained in the Creeds of the Church, and maintaineth love and unity with all Christians, to the utmost extent of his natural capacity, even with all that he is capable of holding Communion with, is no Schismatick, nor his attempts for that end Schismatical Combinations. If there were a Bishop in this Diocess, and he should go one way (suppose he command that all Church Assemblies be at *such a time*, and all worship in *such a form*) and all the Presbyters and People go another way (whether they do well or ill, so the thing itself be tollerable) and will not meet at the time, nor worship God in the form which he prescribeth, I should think I were guilty of Schism if I separated from all these Churches, and guilty of ungodliness if I wholly forsook and forbore all publick worship of God, because I could have none according to the Bishops commanding! Much more if there were no Bishop in the Diocess at all. This seems to be our case, in respect of both Worship and Discipline (at least for the most part). Is that man guilty of no Schisme, nor Impiety, who will rather have no Discipline exercised at all on the profane and scandalous, but all Vice go without controul, and the rage of Mens sins provoke Heaven yet more against us, who will rather have no Ministerial Worship of God, in Prayer or Praise, no Sacraments, no Solemn Assemblies to this end, no Ministerial Teaching of the people, but have all Mens Souls given over to perdition, the bread of life taken from their mouths, and God deprived of all his Worship, then any of this should be done without Bishops? That had rather the Church doors were shut up, and we lived like Heathens, than we should Worship God without a Bishops Commands? and that when we have none to command us.

3. We distinguish of the necessity of Bishops; either it is a necessity *ad bene esse* for the right ordering of the Church when it may be had; or it is a necessity *ad esse* to the very being of a Church, or of Gods Worship, without which we may not offer God any publick Service, or have any Communion with any Congregation that so doth. The former we leave as not fit for our determination; and therefore we do not contradict you in it, nor seek to draw you to own any Declaration against it. The latter we do deny; there is no such necessity of Bishops, as that God can have no Church without them; and that we must rather separate from all our Assemblies, and never offer God any publick Worship, then do it without them, (remembering still, that we speak of those Bishops whom we are charged with rejecting, and not the Pastors of particular Congregations). And in this distinction of necessity, and in this conclusion, I have the consent of the generality of the Protestant Bishops, so far as I know to a Man, as far as their Writings declare to us their Minds; and therefore Episcopal Divines may consent.

Except. to Sect. 2.

1. Whether in this *Worcestershire Association*, whoever will enter into it doth not therein oblige himself to acknowledge those for Presbyters and Pastors of Churches, who profess themselves to have been made such (in a Church where there are and were Bishops that never denyed them Orders) without the Hands, Consent, or Knowledge of the Bishop, yea in a time when Bishops were (without any accusation, before any Ecclesiastical Superiour Synod, or other, (unheard) ejected, laid by, by their own sheep and Presbyters that owed them obedience?

Reply to Sect. 2.

To your first Question I answer, 1. You must distinguish of *punishing and ejecting Bishops* that deserve it, and casting out their Order. 2. Between casting out the appurtenances and corruptions which made up the English sort of Prelacie, as differing from the Primitive, and casting out the Order and Office of Bishops simply in itself. 3. Between those Men that do cast them out, and those that do not. 4. Between a Church that hath Bishops, and one that hath none. 5. Between them that can have Ordination by them, and those that cannot. 6. Between those Ministers of this Association that were Ordained by Bishops, and those that were not. 7. Between the Irregularity and sinfulness of Ordination, and the nullity thereof; and so between a Minister regularly Ordained, and a Minister Irregularly Ordained, who is a Minister still. Hereupon I answer further in these conclusions. 1. That too many of the Bishops lately ejected, did deserve it, is beyond dispute. 2. Whether the Parliament in the state that they were in, had not power to punish them by Imprisonment, or Ejection, as *Solomon* did *Abiathar*, without an Ecclesiastical Superior,

or

or whether the Clergy be exempted from such punishment by the Secular power, till they are delivered up to them by the Ecclesiastical Head, hath been voluminously disputed in the world already. *Sutcliffe, Bilson, Jewel*, and a multitude more have proved, that Kings have power in all Causes, and over all Persons, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil; and that the Pope hath no power of Jurisdiction in *England*, let the Oath of Supremacy judge; and if the Metropolitan of *Canterbury*, or the highest Ecclesiastical Power miscarry, who shall restrain or eject them but the Civil Power, unless we go to the Pope? for more acceptable witnesses I commend to you *Spalatensis*, *Grotius*, and *Saravia*, yea *Fr. de Victoria*, and several *Parisians*. The two former, one *de Republ. Eccles.* the other *de Imperio summarum potestatum*, will never be well answered. If it be said the King did it not. I answer, I think the Authority by whom that much was done, that we now speak of, will be acknowledged sufficient by most that were against the fact, and that fought against the Parliament that understood the Laws. It was long before the King withdrew. 3. Many of those that approved of the Ejection of those unworthy men, yet approved not of the dissolution of the Office; and such may be many (and for ought you know most or all) of the Ministers here Associated. (Though I suppose rather it is otherwise) yet while Men do for peace silence their opinions, who knows what they are? And sure I am, many among us had no hand in the downfall of the Bishops; and whether any at all be lyable in this to your Charge besides my self, (whereof more anon) I know not; most of our Association were in the Universities, in the Wars; and the rest were (some I am sure, if not all) quiet in their Habitations, even in the Kings Quarters, not so much as taking the Covenant; so that I know not how you can except against them as casting out the Bishops. What tell you them of other Mens Actions? could they help it? what if it be in a time when Bishops were so Ejected, when you cannot prove them guilty of it? 4. The Covenant it self doth not reject all Bishops, but only such as stood in *England*, and so concatenated to Chancellors, Deans, &c. and with such an Explication *Mr. Coleman* gave it to the House of Lords. If therefore you could prove, that the Associated Ministers have taken the Covenant, (which you have not done) yet that proves not that they were the Ejectors of the Bishops. 6. There is no Bishop (that we know of) over this Diocese. 7. You cannot prove that those that were Ordained by meer Presbyters, might have had Episcopal Ordination (of which more anon). 8. It is not the Regularity of the Ordination that we desire you to acknowledge, but only its being; so that it is not a nullity. So that you may see how unfaithfully you stated the case; which is rather this, *Whether when the Bishop of this Diocese is dead, and the rest taken down by the Reigning Power, and we know not where to have Episcopal Ordination, or at least, without the great suffering of the Bishops on whom the present Powers will inflict so great a penalty, if they Ordain, if in this case any be Ordained by meer Presbyters, are we bound to judge them no Ministers, yea and to refuse Associating with others for their sakes? Whether our Church doors must be shut up, and Gods publick Worship thrown away, till the Rulers will permit, and the Presbyters and People admit Bishops again; and Ministers and Churches all be null? yea I do no find you prove that our Agreement requires any such acknowledgment, as your self intimateth, of which next.*

Except. Sect. 3.

Mr. Baxter himself I name for one, a Principal of this Association, and protesting it one end of this Association, that they may be acknowledged for true Presbyters and Pastors of their Churches, by all who enter into this Agreement, *vid. p. 14.* and the two last lines, and *p. 15.* for eight lines; also *p. 14. Reas. 11.* and *Reas. 12. p. 47. mid.* and *p. 49. fin.*

Reply to Sect. 3.

For my self I think you have more against me than any other Man in your Association. But yet 1. you have not proved, that I had not Episcopal Ordination, which indeed I had. 2. Nor that I consented to the removal of their Calling. If I did so, yet till you can know it, you have no just ground for your alienation. 3. If I did consent, yet that nulleth not my former Call. 4. You know not if I did, whether I repent or not. 5. No man must be rejected for a fault supposed, without a just Tryal, in all Equity you should hear me speak for my self. I have publickly offered satisfaction to any that are offended with me. 6. What if I only were faulty? would that warrant you to separate from all the rest for my sake? 7. But what do you alledge against me? That I would have an acknowledgment that we are true Presbyters and Pastors? A heinous Crime? that I will not yield to have Gods Church among us unchurched by the Papists, and his Worship cast aside for want

of true Ministers? 8. But what are all these Words of mine to the Agreement? Those are but mine own Thoughts, which none are desired to consent to. You should have produced somewhat from our *Articles of Concord*, and not from my Words.

Except. to Sect. 4.

Do they take in your acknowledged Grounds of all parts, (Episcopal and all) who would have us acknowledge them Presbyters ordained in this Church without Bishops, not by necessity as in the Churches wherein no Protestant Bishop could be had? unless their Christian Charity can take Countenance to say that none of our Bishops were Protestants, and that then they must have had no Ordination at all, or Ordination by Papists (requiring of them the Acknowledging the Popes Ecclesiastical Supremacy) which was the confessed Case of those Protestants beyond Seas, from whence they would fain borrow a Cloak for their Fact: but the Covering is too short, though they argue while the World endures, there is a vast difference betwixt necessity and voluntary Engaging by Covenant, and relinquishing, casting off, and laying by true Catholick, Protestant Bishops.

Reply to Sect. 4.

Yes, Sir; I am confident I take in the Grounds of the Episcopal Protestants: (But I dare not say yours, for I do not know you) nor are you able to manifest the contrary; 1. *Necessity* may justify some things, that else were unjustifiable, and the absence of such *Necessity* may prove them sinful: But if Presbyters may justly ordain in case of necessity, then you will hardly prove our Ordination null, for want of that *Necessity*, though you should prove it irregular. It seems you think that Lay Men may baptize in case of necessity; if so, you may prove it *sinful*, but hardly *null*, where *Necessity* is not. 2. It is an incredible Assertion against the Sun, that all those Protestants beyond Sea, had such a *Necessity*, and could not have Protestant Bishops. Put out Mens Eyes, and then tell them this. Were the Low Countries so far from England that they could not possibly have borrowed a Bishop to Ordain? Was not Bishop Carleton at the Synod of Dort with them? why did not that Synod desire this Curtely? It is said, he protested for Bishops in the open Synod, and that he took their Silence for Consent, and also, that some after told him, that they would have them if they could; as if Silence were any Sign of Consent against their own established Discipline.

Who knows not that their loathness to displease King James, of whom they had then so much need, might well cause them to keep Silence, about that which was not the Business of the Assembly, as long as they held their present Government? and if some said they would have Bishops if they could, it is plain it was but few, for if most had been willing, what hindered them? If you say the Civil Powers, I answer, 1. The Ecclesiasticks so taught them and desired the Presbyterian Government of them. 2. They might have run the hazard of a Persecution as well as we and the civil Rulers of this Nation are as much at least against it as theirs: So some gather from Moulin's Word to Bishop Andrews, and some few other Mens, that the French Churches would fain have Bishops; as also they are said to have offered Obedience to the Papist Bishops, if they would turn Protestants: when as it is known they are against Bishops, and if any particular Persons are for it, it is against the Establishment of their Churches. Perhaps they might think their Form of Government not of such Moment as to reject Episcopacy, if it might come in with such an Advantage as the turning of the Papist Bishops would have brought: But what is that to prove that they would have Bishops and could not? Grotius knew France as well as you, whoever you are; and he tells us another Story of them, *Discuf. Apologet. Rivet*. That they wilfully cast out the Order of Bishops as far as their Authority could reach; what impossibility hath their been these hundred Years for France, Belgia, Helvetia, Geneva, with the rest of the Protestant Churches to have had Bishops if they had been willing? They had Hermannus of Colen, Vergerius of Justinop. came among them, Spalatenfis would have ordained some in his Passage; if no English Bishop could have been got thither, how easy had it been to have sent one to receive Episcopal Consecration here, and then to have gone home and ordained more? It may be you would make us believe the like of the Church of Scotland too, that they would fain have Bishops and could not: If you alledge any Inconvenience that necessitates all these Protestant Churches to continue without Bishops, even to this Day; I say, 3. Our *Necessity* is as great as any of theirs for ought you can manifest to the contrary; for 1. Our Rulers are as much against them. 2. We cannot exercise publicly our Ministerial Office, unless we be ordained according to the Laws of the present Rulers. 3. There is a heavy Penalty ordained to all Ordainers that

that do otherwise. 4. We have no Bishop in our Diocess. 5. We read Canons that null Bishops Ordination out of their Diocesses. 6. We know not of above two Bishops in England, nor where to find the rest that are latent, and we hear those two will not ordain. 7. Divers of them were justly ejected for destroying the Church, and we cannot take them for Bishops. 8. We are but Subjects and a small part of the Ministry, and cannot set up Bishops among our selves, if we were of that Judgment as much as others: But Nations, Commonwealths, and Free-cities might if they would. The Cloak which you say is too short, is indeed much larger than our Case requires: If our Nation, or any part of it, did voluntarily cast off Bishops, so did the Protestant Churches, and continue to keep them out to this Day. But you cannot prove that the Ministers of this Association did cast them off. And for your surmise of the Countenance of our Christian Charity: I answer, we never yet gave you Cause to suppose that we distinguish not between Protestant Bishops and Papists.

Except. to Sect. 5.

An Argument *a Fortiori*, all Logick admits of, but I never heard a Suspicion of any Firmness, in concluding *ab Imbecilliori*, thus: Perhaps, perhaps I say, and as many Moderns would charitably think, they may be true Presbyters, who were ordained by Presbyters, (where, morally to speak, and as to conscientious possibility) there was an impossibility of procuring Orders from any Bishops, but such as would oblige them to betray both Presbyters and Bishops Authority to Papal Usurpation, and arrogated Supremacy; therefore we also, who might have had Ordination by Bishops, and those such, who have as well as we oft hindred that papal Usurpation, yea, had renewed that Duration by an Oath in Synod; a little before these late sad Schisms, and this new attempted Ordination, and chose to be ordained without them contrary to all the Canons of the Church Universal of all Ages, till these last Ages of this Controversy. We, I say, also for all that, are true Pastors and Presbyters, and we will be acknowledged for such in this Agreement, and others to be Popish Divines, lurking under the Name of Episcopal Divines. Lo, here a goodly Consequence, and a Christian Presbyterian Charity.

Reply to Sect. 5.

1. Our Argument is not only *a pari*, but *a fortiori*, as is manifested. 2. You give us reason here to fear that your self are one of those Persons whom we except against, and that it is your own Cause that you strive for, and that your Guilt is it that makes you angry, for you seem to me to intimate to us, that you own not their Opinion that make the Protestant Ministers to be Ministers indeed (and consequently their Churches true organized Churches) for all the necessity which you pretend they had for you make it but a [*perhaps,*] and your double that [*perhaps*] that we may see you own it not, and you say it is [as many would think] as if it were but their Thought, and as if you were none of those many: And it is but [the Moderns] that so think as if you intimated that Antiquity judged otherwise, which doubtless you prefer before the Moderns; and you say, [they would think it] intimating that *Will* prevails against Judgment, or Judgment follows not that Will; [yea, it is charitably] that they would think it, as if Affection misled them: and other Passages afterward do yet further reveal your Mind in this, though you are loath, I perceive, to speak out, because of the harshness of it to Protestants Ears; I therefore again say, 1. Those churches were not, nor are to this Day under any impossibility of having Bishops, if they judged them necessary. 2. That you prove not what you say, that they in this Country might have had Ordination by a Bishop, who were ordained by Presbyters only: We leave therefore our Consequence, and our Christian Presbyterian Charity to a more equal Judge, whether that Man be like to be a Protestant, that taketh the Church of Rome for a true Church, and all the reformed Churches (except the Episcopal, for no true Churches, and that taketh their Priests for Lawful Ministers, and all the Protestant Ministers for none, except those that were ordained by Bishops; nay, that argue, as here you do, to have us (and consequently all so ordained) disclaimed by Pastors and People, and consequently all our Churches nullified, and publick Worship forsaken. Are we so blind as not to see, that you thus not only prefer the Papists before us (as much as a true Ministry before no Ministry, and a true Church before no Church) but hereby would deliver us up into their Hands? If we dispute with them in the hearing of the People, and confess that their Church is true, and ours is not; may not the People easily see that it's better join with them than with us? and would not you your self rather submit to a Mass Priest, than to those whom you take for no Ministers at all? If you say (you would have us submit to
neither

neither, but to the Episcopal) yet 1. It follows nevertheless that the Papists of the two are to be preferred as true Ministers, before them that are none. 2. And if we dispute with the Papist, *which is the true Church*, and set against them only Eleven or Twelve (for so many you reckon on) English Bishops (and if there be any Irish or Scottish) with those of the Clergy that adhere to them (Quality and Number considered) whom the People know not where to find, nor can enjoy, what Success is such a Dispute like to have; either with the People, or with the Adversary? will they not tell us, our Church is invisible, especially when these few Bishops are dead?

Except. to Sect. 6.

2. Whether in this *Worcestershire* Association, whosoever will enter into it doth not therein oblige himself to acknowledge that Presbyters (while there remain alive fourteen, or thirteen, or twelve Catholick Protestant Bishops) may proceed to publick Excommunications, and Absolutions *in foro Ecclesiastico*, without asking those Bishops Consent, allowance, or taking any notice of them. See Resolution 12, 13, 14, 15. and the Scope of the whole Book.

Reply to Sect. 6.

To your second Question I answer, The Term [*Excommunication*] we use not. This Term is used to signify, sometimes a delivering up to Satan, and casting out of the Catholick Church, sometimes only a Ministerial Declaration that such a Person should be avoided by the People, acquainting them with their Duty, and requiring them to perform it: sometimes it signifies the Peoples actual Avoidance. In the former Sense we have let it alone; and that which you call your *Excommunicatio Major* we meddle not with, much less do we usurp a compelling Power for the Execution. The other we know to be consistent with the Principles of Episcopal Protestants (if not also with Papists) yea, even when there is a Bishop resident in the Diocese, it being but part of our teaching and guiding Office as Presbyters of that Congregation; but I have said enough of this in my Explications already.

2. But what if there be twelve latent Bishops in *England* (when for my part I hear not of above two or three) have they Power not only to ordain, but also to govern other Diocesses which have no Bishops? Yea, must they needs govern them?

1. Woe then to the Churches of *England*, that must live under such Guilt devoid of all Government. 2. Woe to the Sinners themselves, that must be left without Christ's Remedy. 3. Woe to particular Christians that must live in the continual Breach of God's known Law, that saith [with such go not to eat, &c.] for want of a Bishop to Execute it: 4. Woe to the few Bishops that be; for if all the Authority be in them, then the Duty and Charge of executing it is only on them; and then they are bound to Impossibilities, one Bishop must Excommunicate all the Offenders in a great part of the Land, when he is not sufficient to the hundredth part of the Work. Then when all the Bishops in *England* are dead, save one or two, they are the sole Pastors of *England*, and all Discipline must be cast away for want of their Sufficiency. Then it seems the Death of one Bishop, or two or three, doth actually devolve their Charge to another, and who knoweth which other? This is new Canon. Not only Protestant Bishops, but some Papists confess, that when a Bishop is dead, the Government remains in the Presbyters till another be chosen: sure they that govern (the People at least) with him whilst he is living (as is confessed) need not look on it as an alien, supereminent, transcendent Work, when he is dead. Bishop Bromball against *Mil. p. 127.* gives People a Judgment of Discretion, and Pastors a Judgment of Direction, and to the chief Pastors a Judgment of Jurisdiction. You may go well, allow us by a Judgment of Direction to tell the People that they should avoid Communion with an open wicked Man, even while a Bishop is over us; *Selden de Syn. c. 8, 9, 10.* and will tell you another Tale of the way of Antiquity in Excommunication and Absolution than you do hear: But of this enough in the Books.

Except. to Sect. 7.

3. Doth not he oblige himself also to acknowledge that not only Presbyters (*incommuni* governing) but one single one of them, may proceed to Excommunication and Absolution *in foro Ecclesiastico*?

Reply to Sect. 7.

Your third Question I answer by a Denial, There is no such Obligation. The Declaration of the Peoples Duty to avoid such an one, is by one; so is every Sermon, so is your Episcopal Excommunication. Doth not one, and that a Presbyter declare or publish it? But for advising and determining of it, we have
tyed

tyed our selves not to do it alone, though for mine own private Opinion I doubt, not easily to prove that one single Bishop or Pastor hath the Power of the Keys, and may do all that we agree to do.

Except. to Sect. 8.

4. That not only one single Presbyter; but one whose Ordination was never by any Bishop to be Presbyter, (where also Bishops were that might have been sought unto) hath that Power also of Excommunication, &c.

Reply to Sect. 8.

Your fourth is answered in the rest, if his Ordination have only in the Judgment of Episcopal Protestants (yea, of some Papists) an Irregularity, but not a Nullity, then he hath Power to do so much as we agree on: Your Exception is as much against his other Ministrations.

Except. to Sect. 9.

I speak only of the Essence of their Association; not insisting on what Mr. Baxter declares to the World, that in some Cases the People (not satisfied with the Bishops or Presbyters Ordination) may accept or take a Man of themselves without any Ordination (by Bishops or Presbyters) to be their Pastor and Presbyter with Power of Excommunication and Absolution in himself alone (without the People) see p. 83.

Reply to Sect. 9.

That this may be done in some Cases, I have lately disputed it with a learned Man of your Party, and convinced him. And methinks Nature should teach you, if you were (unordained, but qualified by Gifts) cast among the *Indians*, that you should not let them perish for want of that publick, constant teaching which is Ministerial, or of Sacraments and Discipline only for want of Ordination; that the Substance of Duty should not be thrown by for want of that Order which was instituted for its Preservation, and not for its Destruction. You dare scarce openly and plainly deny that Necessity warrants the Presbyters of the Reformed Churches to ordain: And I doubt you allow it them then on no other grounds, then what would warrant this that I am now pleading for.

Except. to Sect. 10.

And for any *Votum* or desire of Bishops, Protest. Bishops if they might have them, or access unto them (which was so oft the publick avowed Desire of the chiefest Reformers and Protestants beyond Sea, much unlike the Spirit of our Presbyterians) (see what Mr. Baxter gives us to know, p. 85. where (comparing our present Bishops with a Leader in an Army) he saith, Nay, it is hard trusting that Man again, that hath betrayed us and the Church, *ibid.* These have so apparently falsified their Trust, that if we were fully resolved for Bishops, yet we cannot submit to them for Ordination or Jurisdiction, and then he proves it by Canon (he thinks) that the Presbyters now should not submit to the present Bishops by *Canon Concilii Rhegien. ut perversi ordinatorum nullis denuo ordinationibus intersunt*, and least you may reply, that he speaks not this of all our present Bishops, he immediately subjoins these Words [*Where then shall we have a Bishop to ordain of the old accused Tribe?*] Is not this Christian Filial Duty of Presbyters toward the Bishops their Fathers?

Reply to Sect. 10.

1. For that Desire you again mention of Bishops in the Reformed Churches, it is an unproved, vain Assertion against full Evidence. It is only of a few particular Persons in those Churches that you can prove it: If so many Writings against Bishops and Constitutions, and actual Practice will not prove them willing to be without them; or at least, not necessitated; there is no Proof of any Man's Will or Necessity. 2. What I said, I must needs maintain till you say somewhat to change my Judgment. I am past doubt it's ill trusting the Betrayers and Destroyers of the Church, with the Government of it: And this I did prove, and can with great Ease and Evidence prove it more fully. 3. I pray you do not persuade Men that by [*the old accused Tribe*] I meant all the late English Bishops, they were not all accused of destroying or betraying the Church, that I ever heard of. Where be the Articles that were put in against *Usher, Hall, Davenant, Potter, Westfield, Prideaux, &c.* All those that I call the *accused Tribe* you may find Articles against in Parliament, for their Devastations or Abuses. Should the Arrians, or other Heretick Bishops, say to those that forsook them, as you do of me [is not this Christian, Filial Duty of Presbyters towards the Bishops their Fathers] There is no Duty to any Episcopal Father that will hold against God and his Church. Take heed of making their Sins your own.

Except.

Except. Sect. II.

And elsewhere by Irony, he adds, *O what a rash thing it was to imprison (though when he was imprisoned, I believe it was by the Name of Dr. Wren, or Bishop Wren) for excommunicating, depriving, &c. p. 51. and p. 68.* (To begin at home it is most certain, according to many ancient Canons (which are their Laws) our English Bishops were incapable of ordaining; for they lost their Authority by involving themselves in secular and publick Administrations, Canon 80. *Apostolig.*] N. B. That Canon is 30. beyond the Canons Apostolical, for even the Papists themselves admit but of fifty genuine, and he would eject all our Bishops by the 80th Canon Apostolical: [Lost their Authority also for neglect of instructing their Flocks, most or many of them, and many more for non Residence, &c.]

Reply to Sect. II.

And why not [Wren] without any further Title, as well as Calvin, Luther, Beza, Zanchy, Grotius, &c. 2. Let the indifferent Reader peruse all my words, and blame me if he can. What? seems it so small a matter in your eyes to expel so many thousand Christian Families, and silence and suspend and deprive so many able Ministers, in so small a room, and so short a time? as that it is disobedience to our Fathers not to consent to their punishment? It seems then these silly Lambs must be devoured, not only without resistance, but without complaint, or accusing the Wolves; because they say, they were our Fathers? God never set such Saturnine Fathers over his Church, so as to authorize them in this, or to prohibit a just remedy. He never gave them power for Destruction but for Edification. 3. What I said of our Bishops incapacity upon that reason was expressly *ad hominem*, against mine own Judgment, viz. upon supposition that those Canons are of such force as those imagine against whom I dispute. 4. The Canon 80 *Apost.* was also brought *ad hominem*; for though it be confessed not of equal Antiquity with the rest, yet for that Antiquity they have, it is known how much use those men make of their supposed Authority. But are there not enough others that may evince the point in hand besides that? you may easily know it, and in many Canons that null their Office who come in by the Magistracy.

Exception to Sect. 12.

And whereas we are ready to make good against all the Papists in the world, that our English Protestant Bishops had due Ordination in Queen Eliz. and King Edwards time, by such who had been Ordained in King Henry the Eighth's time; Mr. Baxter tells us, the Popish Bishops who Ordained in the days of Hen. 8. and many Ages before, had no power of Ordination, (and this he speaks as his own judgment) not only from the consequences of his Adversaries; for he adds, this I prove, in that they received their Ordination from no other Bishops of the Province nor Metropolitan, but only from the Pope singly? yet this is all the Argument he hath to overthrow (consequentially upon our objections) the Ordination of those Protestant Bishops, which himself acknowledges Learned, Pious, Reverend Men; and all that Ordained, or were Ordained, in Hen. 8. & 7. and many Ages before, as he saith. And indeed if his Discourse were of any force, not only in our English Church, but also in all the Churches of the West, France, Spain, Polonia, Swedland, Denmark, and throughout the Empire of Germany, for these and those many Ages before which he speaks of, and all this that our new Presbyterians of Enngland, (Volunteers in Ordaining, and being Ordained without Bishops, without pretence of necessity, yea or difficulty, or colour of difficulty, except what themselves had created: (wherein they have as little Communion with the Protestants beyond seas, as they have with the Episcopal Protestants of the true Reformed Church of England) may be acknowledged good and lawful Presbyters and Pastors, with power *conjunctim & divisim*, any one of them alone (as Mr. Baxter thinks) to Excommunicate and Absolve *in foro Ecclesiastico*.

Reply to Sect. 12.

The word [Due] may signifie either such as is not null, or else such as is fully regular, or else such as they had Authority to perform, who did ordain, though they might have some Faults or Irregularities: If you take it in the first Sense, many will yield it, who yet deny it in the last, as supposing in some Cases Ordination Passive may be valid, and so due in the Receiver; when yet Ordination Active, is without all just Authority in the Ordainer: Though this may seem strange, I am ready to give some Reasons for it. It must be in the last Sense, conjunct with the first, that you must take the Word [Due] if you will speak to the point in Hand. 2. I do expressly say there that it is [according to the Doctrine of the Objectors consequentially] that I affirm this (not affirming or denying it to be mine own Judgment) and to that end bring the Proof which

which is mentioned: And yet you are pleased to affirm that I [speak it as my own Judgment, and not only from the Consequences of Adversaries.] Supposing your Grounds, (which I confidently deny) that an uninterrupted Succession of due Authoritative Ordination is necessary absolutely to the Being of the Ministerial Calling; I doubt not but all the unhappy Consequences will be unavoidable which you mention concerning the Churches of all the West: But whether it be you, or I that is to be blamed for those Consequences, it is not your Word only that must determine, and I am willing to try by weight of Reasons.

Except. to Sect. 13.

And now for the Proof of all this, the whole weight is laid by this Book. Upon an Argument *a comparatis*: If they, the Protestants beyond Seas are lawful Pastors and Presbyters (whose Necessity and Plea of Necessity publickly to have been made by those, these our new Presbyterians cannot deny) then our new ordained ones by Presbyters, are Presbyters also (though they want all such Pretence, all colour of Necessity, for themselves were the first Authors of it, to those that ejected them, which yet did not bring a Necessity neither, which we all know) If Necessity be pleaded to be above Ecclesiastical Laws, (as sometimes it hath dispensed even with divine positive Laws themselves) then they *pro imperio* will be above them by their own Magisterial *authoritas* and by Consequence if they will take this to themselves, that whatsoever is lawful to others upon necessity, is, and shall be lawful to themselves without Necessity, they may in the next place, Pope-like, take to themselves to dispense with divine positive Laws, also because necessity has sometimes dispensed with them.

Reply to Sect. 13.

1. You may as well say, we dare not say the Sun Shineth, as that we dare not deny the Protestant Churches to have been without Bishops to this day through necessity against their Wills; when in almost all of them the full Power Civil and Ecclesiastical is supposed to be among themselves; though I deny not but some particular Persons among them would fain have Bishops, yet I think very few, in comparison of those that were willing to be rid of them, when they were received here. 2. You boldly affirm without Proof that the Ministers of this County, who were not ordained by Bishops, were *Ejectors* of them, or Authors of the Necessity. 3. I shewed you before we have more Necessity than you mention, and besides a Necessity whereof we are *not guilty*, there may be a *culpable Necessity* which yet may free our calling from a *nullity*, though not our *selves* from *Sin*. What if God should permit all the Churches of *Ethiopia*, or the *Greeks* to deny the *Jus Divinum* of Episcopacy, (which is possible, as well as to permit the Reformed Churches to do it) and so to set up Ordination by meer Presbyters? (while I speak to you on your own Grounds) I suppose this to be their Error, and so their *Sin*: yet would you presently unchurch them all, and rather have God's Worship forborn, as to the Publick? There be many among us, who are against Diocesan Bishops, who give us good testimony of a sincere Heart, impartial studying of the Point, with as much self-denial and earnest Prayer for God's Direction, as any Episcopal Man that ever I knew; and yet remain against Episcopacy. This kind of Necessity may sure free their Calling from the Charge of Nullity (which needs not this Plea); though it could not free them from the Charge of Error.

Except. to Sect. 14.

Instead of answering one Word to *Ignatius* (God's *Holy Saint* and Martyr) his renowned Epistles (which he knew lately vindicated) or to all the ancient Fathers avowing *in terminis* the *jus divinum* of Bishops above Presbyters, and the Bishops sole Power of ordaining; or producing any to the contrary, he fills up his Books with Citations of modern Mens Writings, which they all wrote charitably for the Patronage of those poor afflicted Protestants, who had no Bishops because they could have none: So that as well his Authorities as his Reasons are all drawn *a loco comparatorum*, arguing weakly from the Privilege of necessity, to their licentiousness, with, or without Necessity, which is one continued Sophism.

Reply to Sect. 14.

1. Though *Ignatius* were both a *Saint* and *Holy*, yet I know not what call I had in those Papers to meddle with him: Unless I must needs dispute the point of Episcopacy, which I did disclaim. 2. As I would not undervalue the late Vindication of *Ignatius*, so I would not have you so far overvalue it, as to think it should so easily and potently prevail (1.) With all those that see not any Cogency in the Arguments, or sufficiency in the Answers to the contrary Objections. (2.) Or with those that will take Scripture only for the Test of this Cause. (3.) Or with those

that are confident that you can never prove that *Ignatius* speaks of *Diocesan* Bishops, but only of the Bishops of particular Churches. 3. Your talk of [all the Ancient Fathers avowing *in terminis* the Bishops sole Power of ordaining] doth but discredit the rest of your Words: You suppose us utter Strangers both to those Fathers, and the English Bishops, who maintain that Presbyters must be their Coadjutors in Ordination. 4. What if I should grant that all the Fathers would have Bishops to have the sole Power of Ordaining ordinarily, and for Order Sake? And that it is a Sin of Disorder where unnecessarily it is done otherwise? that's nothing to the Question that I had in hand; which is, whether such Ordination by Presbyters be not only irregular but null, and whether an uninterrupted Succession be necessary to our Office? 5. I plainly perceive here again, that you are loath to speak out your Mind; but you seem to dissent from these charitable Maintainers of the Protestants: Why else do you set *Ignatius* and the ancient Fathers as the Party that I should have respected instead of these, if you did not think that the Fathers and these Men were contrary? 6. My Business was to prove that [according to the Principles of the Protestant Bishops in England, our Ordination was not null, *eo Nomine*, because without a Bishop] now I am blamed for proving this by Modern Writers, and not Fathers. If you will disclaim the Modern Protestant Bishops do not pretend to be of their Party, but speak plainly: If I (fill up my Book with such Citations) then I hope I was not deficient in bringing the Testimonies of the Protestant Episcopal Divines, and yet many more I could cite to that end. 7. To that of the Protestants Necessity enough is said, till your Words are canonical, or your Proof stronger. I do not think but there are some Protestant Bishops (so called at least) in France and Holland now, that went out of Britain and Ireland, why cannot they ordain them Bishops in their extream Necessity? Why did the angry Bishops so revile poor Calvin, Beza, the Churches of Geneva, Scotland, and many others, for casting out Bishops, and setting up Presbytery, if all were done on a justifiable Necessity? But enough of this.

Except. to Sect. 15.

But that these Authors cited by him may be authentick; all the Protestant Divines of England, are branded as Popish, that since the Reformation have defended against the Pope that Bishops are *jure Divino* (for so I say it was direct Popery that first denied Bishops to be *jure Divino*, witness the Pope's and Papelins canvassing in the Council of Trent, to oppress by Force and Tyranny, the far major and more learned part of the Council that contended for so many Months with Suffrages, Arguments, and Protestations, Protestant like, to have it defined, that Bishops were *jure Divino*, and only the Pope and his Titulars, and Courtiers suffered it not to be propounded, least it should be, as certainly it would have been, defined; for then Popes and Presbyterians could not have lorded it so): Thus the chiefest, and most pious, and learned Bishops of our English Church must be branded for Popish; Bishop Andrews, Mountague, White, &c.

Reply to Sect. 15.

1. If you deny the Authors cited by me to be authentick, pretend not to adhere to the Episcopal Protestants; for sure these are such. 2. You do not well to say that (all the Protestant Bishops are branded as Popish, that since the Reformation have defended against the Pope, that Bishops are *jure Divino*) either shew the Words where I so brand them, or else do not tell us that your Words are true (though in a matter of Fact before your Eyes); we may well question your Argument, when we find you so untrue in reporting a plain Writing. Indeed our late Bishops (and those most that were most suspected to be Popish) did stand most upon the *jus Divinum*, which many of the first did either disclaim or not maintain: But it never came into my Thoughts to brand all for Papists that did own it. Do I not cite Downname, and others, as Protestant Bishops, who yet maintain it? yea, Bishop Andrews, whom you name? this is not fair. 3. As for the Trent Quarrel about Bishops, I say but this if the Spanish Bishops, and the rest that stood for the *jus Divinum* of Episcopacy there, were no Papists, then those that I spoke of in England were none (much less): And I must cry you mercy for so esteeming them.

Except. to Sect. 16.

The 3d Argument is from the uncertainty of Succession, which might have done the Hereticks good Service in the old times, when St. *Irenaeus* and *Tertullian* muster up against them Successions of Catholick Bishops that ever taught as the Church then taught against the Hereticks.

Reply

Reply to Sect. 16.

1. It seems you are confident of an uninterrupted Succession of authoritative Ordination, though you seem to think none authoritative but Episcopal. But so were not the Protestant Bishops, who took the Reformed Churches to have true Ministers, and to be true Churches, when yet Episcopal Ordination is interrupted with them. Such are all those with whose Words, you say, I fill my Book, to whom I may add Men (which is strange) that were thought nearer your own way. As Bishop Bromhall in his late Answer to *Militerius*, who yet would have the Pope to be the *Principium Unitatis* to the Church, and the Answer to *Fontanus's* Letter, said to be Dr. *Stewards*, besides Dr. *Fern*; yea, if you were one of those that would yield that Presbyters may ordain, yet I am still unpersuaded that you are able to prove an uninterrupted Succession of Authoritative Ordination, and if you are able I should heartily thank you if you would perform it; and seeing it is so Necessary, it is not well that no Episcopal Divine will perform it: If you are not able, methinks you should not judge it so necessary; at least except you know them that are able: If you cast it on us to *disprove* that Succession, I refer you to our Answer to *Bellarmino* and others in those Papers, as to that point. 2. As for *Tertullian* and *Irenæus*, and others of the primitive Ages, pleading such Succession, I answer, 1. It is one thing to maintain an uninterrupted Succession, then when and where it was certain, and another to maintain it now, when it is not. 2. It is one thing then to maintain that such a Succession was *de facto*, and another to affirm that it must be, or would be to the end of the World, which those Fathers did not. It was the Scope of *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* not to make an uninterrupted Succession of standing absolute necessity *ad esse Officii*, nor to prophecy that so it should still be, and the Church should never want it; but from the present certainty of such a Succession *de facto*, to prove that the Orthodox Churches had better Evidence of the Soundness of their Faith, than the Hereticks had. If this be not their meaning, I cannot understand them; it was easy then to prove the Succession, and therefore it might be made a Medium against Hereticks, to prove that the Churches had better Evidence than they: But now the Case is altered, both through time and Sin. It might have been proved by Tradition without Scripture, what was sound Doctrine, and what not, before the Scripture was written: An Heretick might have been confuted in the Days of the Apostles without their Writings, and perhaps in a great measure some time after: but it follows not that they may be so to the End of the World. Those that heard it from the Mouth of the Apostles, could tell the Church what Doctrine they taught; but how uncertain a way Tradition would have been to acquaint the World with God's Mind by that time it had passed through the puddle of depraved Ages, even to 1653. God well knew, and therefore provided us a more certain way. So is it also in this Case of Succession, as the Fathers pleaded it against the Hereticks, to prove the Soundness of the Tradition of those Churches.

Except. to Sect. 17.

Against all which, a Quirk it seems lay, that if secretly any of them had had but a secret Canonical Irregularity, all the following Successions were null: But the evident Truth is much otherwise that the Church never annulled the Acts or Ordinations made by Bishops, which the Catholick Church then had accepted and reputed Catholick Bishops; though afterwards they came to know of any Secret Irregularities, or canonical Disablings had they then been urged or prosecuted by any, against those Bishops, and then they should have been accepted for Bishops by the Church no longer.

Reply to Sect. 17.

1. I have proved, and more can do, open and not only secret Irregularities in the Church of Rome's Ordinations, known *a Priore*, and not only after the Ordinations. The Multitude of Protestant Writers, even English Bishops have made that evident enough against the Pope, which you call a Querk; general Councils have condemned Popes as Hereticks and Infidels, and yet they have ordained more. 2. If it were otherwise, yet all your Answer would only prove, that we must sometimes take them for Bishops who were none (when the Nullity is secret) but not that they are Bishops indeed, or have Authority. It is one thing to say that God will make their Acts as useful to the honest Receiver, as if the Ordainer had done it by just Authority: and another to say, that such an Ordainer had Authority, because his Incapacity was not known or judged; that is because it was not then known that he had none. 2. Moreover, if the Catholick Churches Acceptation and Reputation (which you mention would serve turn, then 1. It were well worth

the knowing what you mean by the Catholick Church, do you mean the whole, or only a Part? If the whole, then few Ministers or Bishops must be so accepted, for who is known to all Christians in the World? If a Part, then what Part must it be? what if one Part repute him a true Minister or Bishop, and the other a false or none, which is very common? If you say it is the People over whom he is Pastor, then nothing more common then for them to be divided in their Judgments: If you say it is the greater part, then we shall be at utter Uncertainties for our Succession, as little knowing what the greater part of the People thought of our Predecessors; if you mean the Superior Bishops, then a Metropolitan it seems is the Catholick Church when a Bishop is to be judged of, and it is like a Patriarch for a Metropolitan, and the Pope for him. But as 1. We know not how these judged of our Predecessors. 2. So we little believe that these Mens Judgments can make a Man to be a Bishop that is none, or make him have a Power which else he had not; this is worse than the Doctrine which hangs the Efficacy of the Sacraments on the Priests Intention: It's like the Faith of some that think to make a Falsehood become true by believing it true. 3. And you know it is the Pope whose Succession we are questioning; and which is the Catholick Church that must accept and repute him a true Pope? If the Council of *Basil* were the Catholick Church, then you know how *Eugenius* was reputed; and then where is our Succession? I doubt not but true Christians that are not guilty of the Nullity of the Ordination, nor knew it, may have the Benefit and Blessing of such a Man's Administrations, and they may be valid to the Receiver: But that is on another ground (which I have lately manifested to another in debating this Cause) and not that the Administrator had any true Ministerial Authority from God. Again, I refer you to my Answer to *Bellarmino* and others in those Papers.

Except. to Sect. 18.

V.G. Put case one not baptized thought to have been baptized, had (*per ignorantiam facti*) been promoted to be Bishop, Archbishop or Patriarch, yet so long as the Church knew it not, nor himself perhaps, but did accept him *bona Fide*, though *ipso Facto* had it been known, such had been incapable of Episcopal Order, yet being so accepted by the Catholick Church, Ordinations done by him were not null, nor did he interrupt the Succession, but (*latente omni defectu baptismi*) he was a true Bishop, though after his Death by any Writing they had come to discover it, for the Church as all Judicatures rightly proceeds *secundum allegata & probata*; the same I say of secret *Symony* *V. S.* But on the other side to speak now to the Presbyterian Case.

Reply to Sect. 18.

Nay then put Case the Man were not Ordained, and the Church took him to be Ordained: you say the Church must proceed *secundum allegata & probata*, doth not this give up your Cause, and yield all that I plead for? which is, that an authoritative Ordination, and so an uninterrupted Succession is not simply and absolutely necessary to the being of the Ministry: For you confess your Churches Reputation may serve without it. By the way take heed lest you either make the People to be none of the Catholick Church, or at least, you give a Power to the People to make Ministers Bishops and Popes by their bare Thoughts without Ordination, or so much as Election. But then you will remember, that if Reputation without just Ordination may serve turn, I know not but those among us may be Ministers whom you disclaim: For the Pastors and People of all the Protestant Churches in *Europe* (except your selves here) do take such for Ministers (so far as it is possible by Writings, Professions, and Practices to know their Minds) and I hope they are as good a part of the Catholick Church as the Pope and his Consistory are. If Reputation then will make Pastors without Ordination, we may have as good a Plea as those you plead for. For the case of *Symony* you mention, see what I cited out of *Dr. Hammond*, and you know sure that many Canons make Ordinations null, and the Office null, *ipso Facto*, whether ever the Party be questioned in Judgment or not: such Canons and Laws are equal to Sentences. A Case also may be known that is never questioned and Judged, who could question the Sodomitical unclean murderous Popes, though it was commonly known? I take it for granted therefore that the Knowledge degraded them without a Judgment according to your own Words here (unless one part of them contradict the other.)

Except. to Sect. 19.

The same ancient Church which did make void and annul constantly all Ordinations made by meer Presbyters, whether they Schismatically arrogated to themselves to be Bishops (and were not, nor so reputed by the Church) or otherwise upon any

any Pretention whatsoever (for at that time no necessity could be with any Colour, nor was pretended).

Reply to Sect. 19.

1. But is it the Judgment of the Ancient Church that will serve to degrade or null a Minister of this Age? if so, then all your former Arguing is in the Dust: For though your Popes had none to Judge them Wicked and Uncapable then, yet the ancient Church before them did make void and null the Office and Ordinations of such as they. If it must be a present Power that must do it, we have not yet been called to any Judicature about it. 2. Your Parenthesis seems to intimate that if the Presbyters be but *Reputed* Bishops by the Church, then their Ordinations are not null: All's well on our side then, except you only or the Romanists be the whole Western Church: For not only Pastors and People here do take Presbyters to be Bishops, having Power of Ordination, but so do the rest of the Reformed Churches, or at least most of them: They think that the primitive Bishop was the Bishop of one particular Church, and not of a Diocese, or many Churches. 3. You talk of necessity again, but you would not say, that necessity would have excused them then, if there had been such; though it seems you would be thought to judge of the Reformed Churches as the Protestant Bishops do, or else hide your Judgment in part.

Except. to Sect. 20.

These Three Fallacies are the Summ of all his Arguments, rather popular Calumnies, for want of Argument to cry out, these Men are not Protestants, at least in this, see *pag. 49. fin.* these are Popish who contend for Succession of Ordinations.

Reply to Sect. 20.

I see nothing to forbid me to say that these few frivolous Exceptions, and the Name of Fallacies, Sophisms, &c. is the Summ of your Opposition; and how far you manifest your self to be free from Popery, I leave to others to judge; for I will not, till I know you.

Except. to Sect. 21.

And here give me leave, because there is a Mask of Christian Concord and Charity even to the embracing the Episcopal Party also, pretended in this Union, let me a little give you a taste of the Spirit of this Charity of theirs, whether it be like the true genuine Christian Spirit and Love: Besides the Charity he allows to Bishops which I have writ out unto you in my Second Page, to which you may add, that of *pag. 74.* [The late Bishops, even in the Judgment of all moderate Men that ever I spoke with, did very many of them deserve to be put down, and *More* reckons four, *Wren, Laud, &c.* but come we to the Charity he allows Episcopal Divines (as he calls them).

Reply to Sect. 21.

If by (a Mask) you intimate a dissembling Pretence, he that better knows my Heart than you, will be Judge between you and me concerning this, but I dare not say that my Charity is of as high a Degree as theirs that have more of that Christian Grace: But I bewail any Uncharitableness, and beg Pardon of God and Man. 2. But where found you any *Mask of Concord* in my Book, as with any Bishops but the Protestant Bishops and their Followers? I never extended it to others: Not that I have not Charity to them, or wish not Concord with them, but that it is impossible till they change their Minds. And here I put it to your self, and to all of your own way, to tell me, what you would have wished me and all the Ministers of our Association to have done for Concord with you? and whether you will not confess it impossible till one party change their Minds? for the present Rulers will not have Episcopal Ordination, nor allow any in the Publick Exercise of the Ministry, but those that come in by meer Presbyters (in your Esteem). Many of the Ministers after earnest study and Prayer cannot be satisfied that Episcopacy is *Jure Divino*, or lawful: it is not in their power to change their own Judgments. Till they do change them and procure Episcopal Ordination, you will not take them for any Ministers at all; no nor joyn in the Association least you be guilty of acknowledging them Ministers; what means then have we left for Concord with such as you? Only this, Renounce your Ministry; all must forbear Preaching and Baptizing, and all Ministerial Duties: all forsake the Congregations of Christ here, and throughout *England* that are in the same case, and then you will be at concord with us; but what concord? not as fellow Pastors; that cannot be, when we must first renounce that Office; the meaning then of your desired Concord is this, give up all your Offices and Churches to us, and let

let us alone to have our way, and do all, and then we will have Concord with you as our people whilst you obey us. Truly we have found your Predecessors step Fathers, and hard Task-masters; yet the Lord knows my heart, that I take it far more easie incomparably, and in itself desirable to such as I, to be Ruled then to Rule, to Obey then to Command, so be it we be not commanded to sin against God, and run into Hell. But when we have all forsaken our Churches and Offices for peace with you, is all the work done? 1. How shall we do for peace with God and Conscience, for over-running his work, and starving Souls. 2. How shall we bear the cries of poor People for the Bread of Life? 3. What shall God's Worship and our Congregations do? Who shall supply our Places? are there able faithful Men enough of your Way? O that we could see them! It is not two or three or ten in a Country that would serve turn. If there be enough, why did you permit so many drunken, sottish Readers, and so many hundred wicked Livers, which the Church is not well rid of yet? See the Centuries of those rejected in the Beginning, while Mr. *White* was Chairman, I never owned the casting out of any worthy or tolerable Man for Loyalty; yet what Reproaches did he and others undergo for casting out such a pack of Swearers, or Drunkards, or Adulterers, or the like? is there no Concord to be had with you but by giving up our poor People to such as these again? For my part I love Charity and Peace better than ever I did, but Charity hath Eyes, or is guided by Eyes. I am not a Stranger in *England*, I knew Multitudes of the old Episcopal Clergy that were ignorant or of wicked Lives, and the great Hindrances of the Salvation of their People, when they should seek to save. I knew but here and there one of them that was learned and godly serious Preachers. Those Men I love and honour according to their Worth, as much as any Men of any party: These only did we desire Concord with as Ministers: and alas if it be not to be had without forsaking all our Charges, and giving up a whole Country to so few of these, the Will of the Lord be done; for I will never believe that this is his Will till you bring other Reasons for it then yet any of you all have publicly done. And I warn all honest Episcopal Divines, that they take heed of drawing your Guilt upon them, and of concurring with Men of such dangerous Principles as you are; your way to Concord must be like the Romanists (the greatest Schismatics on the Face of the Earth) who cry up Unity, Unity, but themselves must be the Centre, or it must be only in their Way and on their Terms. They will unite with no Christians in all the World that are not of their Party, (for a Party they are, though they will be called the Catholick Church) and do not you go this way too far? You will have Concord with none as Ministers, but those of your own Party, all the rest must be no Ministers with you, nor their People take them for such. Durst you (whoever you are, for I know you not) be bound to answer for us, and bear us out before God in Judgment, if we should all give up our Places or preach no more? durst you be bound upon pain of Damnation to your selves to save all our People from being condemned for it if they should all renounce and forsake us, and all the Ministerial Worship of God which we perform, and the Churches we guide? Alas it is not your telling us, that the Holy Saint *Ignatius* is lately vindicated, that will satisfy our Consciences in a Case of this Moment, even to leave God unworshipped Publickly, and our People untaught, and let Satan reign, and Souls perish by Thousands for fear of saving them without Episcopal Ordination. If you still say that we should be of your Mind, and be ordained by Bishops, we again say our judgments are not at our Command; we cannot believe what we list, I know multitudes of Anti-Episcopal Men that study as faithfully and seek God's Direction as heartily as any of you all (and yet cannot see the Justness of your Cause, though whether it be just or not, I purposely forbear to pass my Censure) if still you say, it is our Willfulness or Peevishness; I leave you, as Usurpers of God's Prerogative, and pretending to that Knowledge of our Hearts which is a step above the Papal Arrogation of Infallability. Nay, seeing I have gone so far, I will add this; do you not imitate the Papists in the main Point of Recusancy, by which we were wont to know them in *England*? Nay, we had many Church Papists that went not so far? must not you, as they, have People disclaim our Ministry and Assemblies, and not join in them for fear of owning unordained Men. Be not too angry with us, I pray you, if we call not such Protestants; or at least if we take it for impossible to have Concord with them. 2. I must also tell you that are offended at my Saying, that those particular Bishops named, deserved to be cast out, that if you be one that dare own them in their Ways, or would have the Church have such as they, yea, that do not detest and lament their Mischances, seem to your self as Pious as you will, you are no Man for our Company

pany and Concord. Do you complain of me for want of Christian Charity, and yet would you have the Church have such Bishops as would cast out such Men as Aims, Parker, Baines, Bradshaw, Dod, Hilderstam, with Multitudes of as painful, able, Godly Men as the World knew, and leave so many drunken reading Sots, some (thereabouts) Faggot Makers or Rope Makers; many that did (and that lately whether we will or not, till the late Act) get their Living by unlawful Marriages, and such Courses as is a Shame to Mention, yea, would you have Bishops that would do as your Bishop Wren, Pierce, and the others did, whose Accusations are upon Record. For my part I think such Mens destroying the Church was the cause of all our wars and Misery; and he that dare own them in it after all this, is no Man for our Association: I love no Man the worse for being for Bishops, but for being for such Bishops and such Practices I do. They are yet alive, enquire what Men Mr. Dance and Mr. Turner are, who were the Teachers of this Parish, and what the People were then, and what they are now? Grant but Piety, Love and Concord to be better than Ignorance and Debauchery, and then judge of them.

Except. to Sect. 22.

Page 64. Speaking of Episcopal Divines he saith, and if Liberty of Sects and Separations be publickly granted and confirmed to all, you shall soon find that the Party that I am now dealing with, will soon by their Numbers obscure all other Parties that now trouble our Peace, *ibid. pag. 64. n. 13.*

Reply to Sect. 22.

It was my necessary care to distinguish between Protestant Bishops and Popish (of *Cassander's* strain) and it is your Care with all subtilty to obscure the Distinction, that you may involve the honest Party in your Guilt and Snares. That which I there spoke only of Popish Bishops, and their Party (you would intimate that I spake of the Episcopal Protestants; then which nothing less is true, as my Words fully shew. I tell you plainly, such Bishops as *Usher, Hall, Morton, Jewel, &c.* are twenty fold nearer me in Judgment, than they are to you, if you be one of the *Cassandrian* Papists that there I speak against; why then should they not sooner join with us than with you? If ever God set up Episcopal Government where I live (yea though I were unsatisfied of its right) I will obey them in all things not against the Word of God, were it but for Peace and Unity.

Except. to Sect. 23.

They would have all the People take us for no Ministers, &c. and so all God's Worship be neglected in publick, where no Bishops and their Missionaries are, and so when all others are diseased or turned out, the Papists may freely enter; there being none but these few faithful Friends of their own to keep them out; which how well they will do, you may by these conjecture and *n. 15.* of the same Page. But it is a higher Charge than Popery that these Episcopal Doctors that I now speak of are liable to, &c.

Reply to Sect. 23.

Is not this true; How much of it do you plainly maintain in this Writing? I had rather you had freed your selves of the Charge then called it Uncharitable.

Except. to Sect. 24.

Page 66. N. 5. Speaking to those same Men he saith, You must be certain that those same Men had *Intentionem Ordinationis* (if you be right Papists indeed) did ever any one ever hear and read any one single *English* Episcopal Doctor require Intention as necessary to Ordination? If not call you that Speech of Mr. *Baxter's* Christian Charity.

Reply to Sect. 24.

Remember this, that no Protestants, say Presbyters, have no more Power than the Ordainer intended them. You may see by that that I speak to Papists, why then would you intimate that it was to Protestant Bishops?

Except. to Sect. 25.

Page 67. Do not these Mens Grounds leave it certain that Christ hath no true Church or Ministry, or Ordinances or Baptized Christians in *England*, nay in all the Western Church, and perhaps not in the whole World? and then see whether these Popish Divines must not prove Seekers.

Reply to Sect. 25.

O that you would vindicate them from that Charge (though heavy) by proving the uninterrupted canonical Succession from the Apostles.

Except.

Except. to Sect. 26.

Pag. 47. Speaking of some under the Name of Episcopal Divines faith, that they withdraw the People from obeying their Pastors, by pretending a Necessity of Episcopacy, &c. and partly instil into them such Principles as may prepare them for flat Popery; and yet in the next Page 48. faith, that those same Men do themselves (*viz.* Mr. *Chisenball* against *Vane*, Mr. *Waterhouse* for Learning, Zealous Men for Episcopacy) publish to the World what a pack of notorious, ignorant, silly Souls, or wicked unclean Persons those are that are returned Papists. How now can Mr. *Baxter* call those Men that so publish, &c. faithful Friends to *Rome*? pag. 64. See how Uncharitableness betrays and accuses it self in its busy Accusations of others; and must justify them per Force of Truth when it would condemn.

Reply to Sect 26.

Why what is the Scope of this your Writing, but to prove that we are not Pastors? and would you not then draw the People from acknowledging us such? This is like the Man that swears he never swore in his Life; you blame me with charging you with what you contend for. 2. But you do with as little Candor as verity say that in the next Page it is those same Men that I speak of, when I purposely and plainly call these [*Gentlemen of the Episcopal Protestant Party*] as distinct from the *Cassandrian Papists*, and as helping us in the Discovery of the Danger. But I perceive it is your Desire to make Men believe that I took them for all one. But a good Cause needs not such a way of Defence: Did you think that the learned Doctor to whom you wrote would believe you who had my Book at hand, and could see that your Words were false? And is it not strange that upon such a dishonest Foundation you can build such a triumphant Exclamation as follows, [*See how Uncharitableness betrays and accuses it self,*] &c.

Exception to Sect. 27.

Pag. 50. n. 4. [If these that I dispute with will shew themselves openly to be Papists, and plead that Women or Lay-Men may baptize in case of Necessity, &c.] See, see his Magisterial canting crying out Popery upon whatever likes him not: Doth he know whom he here condemns for Papists? Yes he doth, for he tells us, pag. 81. that the 38th Canon *Elibertini Concilii* (and he tells us right) decrees, that in case of necessity a Lay Man may baptize; well an ancient Catholick Council held under the primitive pure Times, whilst Persecution yet exercised the Church; more ancient than the Council of *Nice*, and whereof *Magnus Osius* Confessor was a part, is peacht of Popery too, together with us. Enough of this, I might add much more. All this within the compass of twenty Leaves, from pag. 45. to 85.

Reply to Sect. 27.

All this but a meer Mistake (whether willing or unwilling): I never took this Point alone enough to denominate a Man a Papist; but because it is a Point wherein the Papists generally hold one way, and the Protestants another, I take it to be a fuller Discovery which side the forementioned Persons are of: I durst not say that the Error of Purgatory, or praying for the Dead, or praying to Saints, no, nor Transubstantiation alone is sufficient to denominate a Man a Papist. But yet I think if a Man would degrade our Ministers, and unchurch our Churches, and all the Reformed Churches that have not Bishops and maintain the Romish Ordination, and Church, and yet say he is not a Papist; your Addition of one of these would further the Discovery: I am not ignorant that *Tertullian* and others speak of Lay Mens Baptizing in case of necessity (but not for Women, though *Pameline* would pervert *Tertullian's* Words for that End).

Except. to Sect. 28.

To give you a Taste when he quotes Fathers as he quoted above the 80th Canon Apostolical to eject our Bishops: So also when he would prove that the ancient Church held it lawful for Ministers to impose Hands for the confirming of Parties baptised, pag. 58. for Proof of what he faith he pretends to but Two Authors, *viz.* *Ambrose* in *Ephes.* 4. and *Augustin* *quæst. ex vet. & novo Testam.* mixt: both certainly spurious Pieces, and the latter the Work of an Heretick.

Reply to Sect. 28.

You go the farther the worse: I quoted Bishop *Downname* as one of the Episcopal Protestants, to shew that it is their Judgment, that Ministers ordained without Bishops may be true Ministers: Now because the Bishop brings these two Testimonies on the by about Confirmation and Reconciliation of Penitents, you do (in my Judgment not well). 1. Feign me to be the Speaker of those Words, and the Alledger of those Authors when it was a Bishop; and his Words go cited because

a Bishop. 2. You make me to do it in order to prove the Power of Ministers to impose Hands on the Confirmed and Reconciled, when even Bishop Downname brought in that and these Testimonies thereto, but as subservient to the others. But perhaps I left you some occasion of this mistake, to charge me with the Words of the Bishop: No, none at all, I enclosed his Words with this Mark [—] and after I wrote [so far Bishop Downname] that there might be no place for such an Oversight. But where you talk of [but two Authors] for this I thought you had known how easy it is to bring more: For if it be the Ceremony of Imposing Hands that you would deny to the Presbyters, it was so far from being denied them anciently, that even the English Bishops allowed it them in Ordination, which is the greater. If you mean the Power of Confirming and Reconciling, it's known the Bishops might delegate Presbyters to it; and the *Corepiscopi* used it; yea, Presbyters I think in some Cases. And for Reconciliation, Bishop Usher tells you in the Words I cited, that even Deacons used it or had it: Yet is not the Testimony of those Authors contemptible; that ascribed to Ambrose, is taken by Erasmus to be Remigius or Anselme; by Maldonate to be Remigius, by Brugensis and Bellarmine to be Hillarius Diaconus. And well might Downname alledge them against the Papists when Bellarmine, the Rhemists, Alan, and others so esteem them and quote them, as Ambrose when it serves their turns. And for the Book of *Quest. in vot. & nov. Test.* The Papists citing it (Bellarmine, Harding, Turrian, Eckius, Cope, Rhemists, &c.) Downname might well cite it *ad Hominem*; yea, *ad Rem*, it being matter of Fact that he speaks to, and the Author so ancient, that Hierome seems to take notice of him.

Except. to Sect. 29.

In all this you see I have not disputed the Case with him (but only discovered to you his manner) for that he himself professes he is resolved in this Book to forbear the Dispute, p. 79. *princip. & pag. 77.* he would give us to understand that he hath much more behind that he can say by way of Argument (for this is only crying out, Popery, Popish, &c.) for Presbyters Power of Governing, Excommunicating, ordaining without a Bishop. Let him be intreated to do it, and lay aside his poor kind of calumniating his Adversary, and deal Christianly by Arguments only, and he shall soon be answered, I believe. For the present he may know his Papers prevail not, but only provoke those he writes against.

Reply to Sect. 29.

It's strange that to call a Papist a Papist should be accounted Calumnation! I profess to speak of none but *Cassandrian* Papists. I name none. They that are not such, have no reason to say that I calumniate them, when I professedly accept, and and honour, and seek Reconciliation with them. They that are such, methinks, should not be ashamed of it. It's an ill Religion which a Man must be ashamed of; and an ill Profession that is ashamed of a true Religion. 2. That my Papers prevail not but provoke, is no wonder; 1. The Papists I expected to provoke by discovering their Designs, and attempted not to prevail with them. 2. The Protestants whom I spoke to may be prevailed with for ought you know: All be not of one Spirit. If they be not, I have Comfort in following Peace as far as I could, which they will never find in flying from it. While every Man must be a Pope, and reduce all the World to his infallible Judgment as the only means to Peace, and will agree with none but Men of his own Principles, no wonder if Pacificatory Attempts are frustrate. *Duræus, Acontius, Davenant, Hall, Melancthon, &c.* found that better Labours than mine have been frustrate, for Unity, I bless God, my Success is far more than ever I did expect; but it is with the Sons of Peace.

Except. to Sect. 30.

These things shall be defended against him (through God's Grace): 1. That if there be no Bishop in any Diocese, yet in a National Church, where many Bishops had united themselves to govern parts of one National Church, they ought to have recourse to some neighbour Bishop.

2. That if Presbyters (in defect of Bishops) might Ordain, Excommunicate; yet not one single Presbyter.

3. That such as were never Ordained by Bishops where they might, are none of these Presbyters; none at all.

Reply to Sect. 30.

I am of as quarrellous a Nature as others; but yet I will not be provoked to turn a conciliatory Design into a Contention, and if I would, your Questions are ill fitted to our use. 1. The *First* will necessarily carry us to dispute the *Jus Divinum* of Bishops, which I purposely avoid, and it should be after the last. 2. The *Second*

if I yield it you, is nothing against our Agreement. 3. The *Third* I cannot dispute well till I know what you will yield in the excepted Case. I would desire you, as a more orderly and effectual way to our Ends, to do these three Things: 1. Tell me plainly whether you take the Reformed Churches of *Holland, France, Scotland, Helvetia, Geneva, &c.* for true organized Churches, and their Pastors for true Pastors and Presbyters? and Ordination by Presbyters to be valid in their Case. 2. Seeing you plainly seem to take an uninterrupted Succession of authoritative Ordination to be of flat Necessity to the being of the Ministry, will you give us a clear Proof of such a Succession *de Facto*, either to your self, or any Man now living. I earnestly intreat you deny me not this, nor say it is needless; I have told you the need of it in those Papers. Again I pray you put it not off. 3. Seeing you profess to be for Concord, and yet reject our Terms, as a Schismatical Combination, will you propound your own Terms, the lowest condescending Terms which you can possibly yield to, which may tend to our Closure? If you only contend against *our Way* and will not find a better, nor use any Endeavours of your own in its stead, what Man of Reason will believe your Profession of [the strong Inclination of the Heart to Concord and Peace]? I again intreat you instead of contending, to perform these Three things, which will exceedingly further the much desired Work. And for my part, though you and Millions of Men oppose it, I am resolved, by the Grace of God, to desire, pray, and labour for Peace and the Unity of the Church, upon Honest and Possible, not Romish or Sinful Terms, while I am

Dec. 23. 1653.

Rich. Baxter.

N^o. II. *Mr. Johnson's First Letter to Mr. Baxter, about the Point of Ordination.*

S I R,

BEING very much unsatisfied in the reading of your late Discourse concerning the Interruption of the Succession of the Ministry, I thought good to take Advantage from your own Offer, friendly and freely to debate the Question with you: And I shall lay out my Thoughts to you in this Method; 1. I will give you the Reasons which makes me (if it be Papistical) to abet the Papists in pleading for an uninterrupted Succession. 2. I will reply to your Arguments, whereby you dispute the Succession of the Ministry of *England* to be interrupted. 3. I will offer you some Reasons why an infallible Proof of the Point is not necessary in the Case. 4. I will produce such Arguments as shall put it beyond doubting, and so shall leave indubitable, though not infallible Proof of the Question in your Hands.

1. *First*, I shall give you the Reasons why I plead so seriously for the uninterrupted Succession, and I shall do this in the first place, because all the rest will be Supervacaneous, if it be a Matter of no great Consequence, whether there be a Succession or not. If therefore you can satisfy my Arguments whereby I plead for the Necessity, and give me Reason enough to understand, that an Uninterruption of the Succession is not much material, I will save my self the Trouble of Confuting what you have said against it, and you some Trouble of making a needless Reply.

Now the first Reason which induceth me to believe that it is a matter of much more Consequence than you talk of, is the Seriousness of our Divines in their Endeavours to prove that the Bishops in *Edward VI.* and *Queen Elizabeth's Days* were Ordained by Bishops, against the Calumnies of *Sanders, Kellison, Chalmney*, and other Jesuits, who in their Writings would have bore the World in Hand, that the Succession of the Ministry of *England* had been interrupted at the Reformation, because there were none but Popish Bishops to Ordain them, and they would not, and so none did. But as you know, had devised a Story of the *Nag's-Head Ordination*. Now you also know there hath been much Endeavour made
by

by searching the *Archiva* at *Lambeth* to clear up the Ordination of our first Reformers, that thereby they might invalidate the Papists Calumny of our Succession; being interrupted. But if Succession in Office (for Succession in Doctrine I neither speak of, neither did they plead for) be a matter of so small a Consequence, our learned Country-Men might have saved themselves much Labour and Trouble, and in a few Words have told the Jesuits, that an Uninterruption of Succession was a thing not worth pleading for: But on the other side, we see them acknowledge Succession in Office to be necessary, and contend that there hath been no such Interruption in our Ministry.

II. The Second Argument which persuades me to believe that the pleading for a Succession is of great Moment, is this, *viz.* That without this I do not understand how we that are now Ministers can be said to have our Authority from Christ: For we must have it from him either mediately, or immediately. But we cannot have it mediately from him, if the Succession be interrupted; for if we have it mediately from him, we must have it by the Mediation of some Person, who at length had it immediately from him: But if the Succession be interrupted, we cannot have it from any Person that had it immediately from him, or his Apostles. This is a kind of Contradiction *in adjecto*, and therefore we cannot have it mediately from Christ: If you deny the Consequence, and say, that we may have our Authority from Christ mediately, though we have it not from some Person who had it immediately from him. I demand how; if you say by the Mediation of his written Word. I answer, that the written Word is no fit medium to convey the Authority of the Ministry now a days upon any Men: And that upon this Account; The giving of Authority which we talk of, is an Action terminated upon *sum individuum* in this Age. But the Scriptures meddle not with any of the *Individuums* of these times, and therefore it cannot give any Authority unto any single Person now a days.

The *Major* I think is clear, the *Minor* I prove thus: If the Scripture meddle with any of the *Individuums* of this Age, it doth it either *quoad Nomen*, or *quoad Adjunctum aliud incommunicabile*, or by some general Description which may be personally and particularly applied to some *individuum*. But I am confident you will not say it doth either of the two former ways, neither doth it (say I) by the third way, and therefore not at all. That it doth not give any Authority to any single person by way of general Description I prove thus: If it doth, it must be in some such Form of Words, or Words of equivalent to these. They that are thus and thus qualified may be Ministers of the Word: but there is no such Form of Words in Scripture. There is I confess such a Form of Words in the Scripture as this, They that preach the Word shall be thus and thus qualified. But if any *individuum* shall venture upon the Application of this Proposition, to take the Authority of the Ministry upon himself; The Application I conceive must proceed in this Form. But I am thus, and thus, and thus qualified: therefore I may preach the Word. But this is to proceed *ex omnibus affirmativis* in the second Figure, which you know makes a wild Conclusion. If you say that there is such a Form of Words, which being the *Major*, may be so accommodated to any single Person in the *Minor*, as he may thereby infer this Conclusion; Therefore I, M. J. or I, R. B. have Authority to preach the Gospel, and this without respect to any Action to be performed by some Person, *quasi mediante*; then I will yield that I have been beating the Air all this while. I have said nothing to the first Branch of the first Proposition, concerning our having our Authority immediately from Jesus Christ, neither do I intend till I know that it will be denied.

Authority I conceive to be far different from either Abilities to undergo an Employment, or a willing Mind to undertake it, or Conveniency of Habitation for the Discharge of it, or the Desire of any kind of Men inviting a Man to it: I say, I conceive Authority for the Discharge of any Office to be very far wide from any one of these, or altogether: For a Man may have all these, and yet want Authority. For Example, in civil Matters: A Gentleman may be abundantly qualified to be a Justice of the Peace, he may have a willing Mind to do his Country Service in that way, his Habitation for such an Employment may be more than Convenient, he may be put upon it, and invited to it by his Country Neighbours; and yet for all this, no Man will take him for an Officer in the Commonwealth, till his Name be in the Commission from the Supreme Magistrate, and he taken his Oath as a Stipulation to the supream Magistrate on his Part, for his

‘Faithful Discharge in it. Neither would any understanding Man think himself obliged to obey his Warrants, if he should have the Confidence to issue out any before these compleating Acts be done, notwithstanding all the former Preparations towards it.

‘In like manner to the thing in Hand about Ecclesiastical Officers: A Man, I doubt not, may have competent Qualifications for the Work of the Ministry, he may have a willing Mind to the Employment, he may have an Habitation fit for the Oversight of such a Congregation, he may be invited by them to undertake the Care and Oversight of them; and yet, for all this, till Jesus Christ, the Supreme Governor of his Church, shall by his *Vicarios Episcopos*, put his Name into the Commission and take reciprocal Security from him for his faithful Discharge in it, he neither can, nor ever was esteemed a Minister duly authorized. And therefore, though God as in the Case of a Civil Magistrate, may very sily and properly be said to do all as you urge, I think out of *Spalatensis*: So he may be said in the Case of Ecclesiastical Officers to be said properly and sily to do all; yet he doth not all the Work without the Mediation of his Vice-gerents, and I cannot see but that part of the Work which he hath left for them to do, is as necessary for the compleating and perfecting of the Work, as that which he doth without their Mediation; and by consequence, if that part of the Work be left undone, the whole Work is as imperfect and incomplete, as if this had been done, but the other Parts left undone. Here is in this, I confess, some thing taken *pro confesso*, that Jesus Christ hath some Vice-gerents here on Earth, and that he hath left some part of this Work in their Hands for them to do: Which being a Matter of Fact, shall be proved when I know it is denied.

‘III. But *Thirdly*, My Third Argument is this: I do therefore plead for an interrupted Succession, because it appears to me that most of the Invaders and Intruders upon the Ministerial Office, are very much strengthened and justified in their Schism and Usurpation, if Succession be not material. For I will not deny but many of them are Men competently qualified, and all of them willing to undertake the Work, live conveniently, or will live conveniently to discharge the work, are chosen by a Number of Christians who call them out to it: Now if all this make them Ministers authorized, why do we clamour against them? why do we not give them the Right Hand of Fellowship and Brotherhood in the Work of the Lord? If you say, they take this Course for their Call, when there is no necessity; if you say, this is a Course only to be used in extream Necessity; when either the Parties think that there are no Church Officers in being, or those that are in being be so corrupt and wicked, as either they will not give them Orders, or they dare not take Orders from them. I answer, That this extreme necessity is their Case: They think there be no such things as Christs Church Officers now in being; or if they be, they are such as either will not give them Orders, or such as they dare take no Orders from: And therefore they are still excusable upon such an Hypothesis as you propound. Whereas, do but grant a Succession uninterrupted necessary, it will uncontrollably follow, that they are therefore no Ministers of Christ, because they have not been set a part by such who at length took their Authority from Christ’s own Hands.

‘If you say that there is a necessity of a Dispensation in case of a general Apostacy, although the dispensing with Ordination in such Extremity doth furnish Sectaries with a Foundation to build their Schisms upon. I answer, 1. That we suppose that which yet never fell out, nor ever is likely to fall out. There was never yet such a general Apostacy but Christ kept some Church Officers in being, who might from Age to Age continue the Propagation of the Ministerial Office to his Church. Nay, it is admirably worth our Consideration, that when God stirred up the drouzy World to depart from *Rome’s* Superstitions and Idolatries, he then bowed the Hearts of some of the Church-Officers to go along with them, who might be instrumental for the conveying of the Ministerial Office to the next Generation: and took away the Subject of this over anxious Enquiry, what must we do if all apostatize? what God did then, we may probably hope he will always do in the like Exigency. But if you should be importunate, and demand still what must be done in such a general Apostacy. I answer, I cannot tell either what Impiety or Absurdity would follow, if I should affirm, that in such an extraordinary Dispensation of Providence, the faithful might safely wait for some extraordinary Revelation of God’s Mind what they should do in such an unknown, unprecedented Case. And if this be to turn Seeker, I confess I something incline to

' to it, and should much more if I thought it could iadubitably be proved that
' the Succession hath been interrupted.

' IV. My Fourth Argument is this ; We ought therefore to contend for an un-
' interrupted Succession, because if the Succession be interrupted ; then that Person
' who immediately comes into the Ministry after the Interruption, must come into
' it without Imposition of Hands ; and so if he without Imposition of Hands be
' still a lawful Minister, then it will follow, that Imposition of Hands is a matter
' rather of Convenience than of Necessity. But Imposition of Hands is essential
' to Ordination. I know there are some Schoolmen that contend against this :
' But this is a Question not subjected to any Man's way of reasoning a *Naturâ Rei* :
' For if Christ hath declared, that it is his Mind any Ordinance shall be performed
' after such or such a Manner, it is too much Confidence for any Man to say, or go
' about to prove, that such an Ordinance may be performed as well another Way,
' or after another Manner ; when as the Fitness of the Manner of doing to the
' thing done, is not founded in *Naturâ Rei*, but in *bene placito instituentis*. Foras-
' much therefore as Christ hath revealed to his Church that it is his Mind, or Will
' that his Churches Officers should be set a part by Imposition of Hands, it doth
' therefore follow that Imposition of Hands is necessary and essential to their Sepa-
' ration : If you ask me how I know that it was Christ's Will and Mind, that Im-
' position of Hands should be used in the Ordination of Ministers. I answer, first,
' That if you expect I should shew an express Command for it, I acknowledge there
' is none : Or any implicite Command, I acknowledge I know none : But rejoin
' with all, that the Mind and Will of Christ may be otherwise made known. Those
' Scriptures where Imposition of Hands is spoken of, commented upon by the Uni-
' versal Practice of the Church of Christ from the first Age, until this wild, exor-
' bitant, last Century, seem to me a most clear Evidence what the Will of Christ is
' in that Particular, and will still appear so, till you shew me a better way how to
' discover the Mind of Christ in such Cases as these at this Distance. If you expect
' that I should prove that it hath been the constant, universal Practice of the
' Church of God : I shall likewise do that when I know that it is required, and all
' the rest in the Argument granted.

' And now, Sir, if this Interruption of Succession, being yielded, doth necessa-
' rily cast out some of the Essentials in Ordination, if it strengthens the Hands of
' Intruders, if it hinders us from having our Authority from Christ ; if our learned
' Country-men have taken so much Pains to clear up an Uninterruption, then I
' think it follows, that it is a Matter worth the pleading for : Which is the only
' *omne idcirco de qua* of this Paper.

M. Johnson.

Mr. Baxter's Reply to Mr. Johnson, against the absolute Necessity
of Ordination, and of an uninterrupted Succession thereof from
the Apostles, to the Being of the Ministerial Office.

Brother,

I Return you this Answer to yours, but on this Condition, that before you make
any Reply to it, you perform the other Parts of your undertaken Task, or at
least, the two last ; for I think it a far safer way in such Cases as this, to argue a
non facto ad non institutum (the Church hath not had such an uninterrupted Succes-
sion : Ergo, God hath not made it absolutely necessary) than from a supposed In-
stitution to an answerable Event (God hath made it absolutely necessary : Ergo,
the Church hath enjoined it) ; because it is incomparably more easy to discern the
Matter of such publick Fact, than to discern the meaning of those Texts which
will be alledged by each Party in these controverted circumstantial Points : And
you know we must argue a *notiore ad minus notum*, and not contrarily. I could wish
the Question had been exactly stated by joint Consent, to avoid tedious Explicati-
ons and Excursions. We must first distinguish the Succession of Office, and Suc-
cession of Ordination to that Office : Our Question is not directly of the former,
for

for even the Usurper succeedeth in the Office as a Usurper, and it is part of our Controversy, whether the later (Succession of Ordination) be of flat Necessity to the former (Succession in Office). It being then the Necessity of an uninterrupted Succession of Ordination that we enquire after, it must be known what we mean by Ordination. *Kαθίστημι*, the Word commonly used is but *Constituere*: Ordination in General then is any Constitution of a Man in the Office of the Ministry. Here we must distinguish between the Constitution it self, and the *Modum Constituendi*: It's one thing to ask whether Ordination be necessary; and another, whether Imposition of Hands, or present Fasting and Prayer be necessary; yea, or the Presence of the Person Ordaining; seeing a Man may be Ordained, Constituted or authorised, *per literas absentis*, and not only *per manus vel verba presentis*, whether this Mode be as meet as any, we now question not. Also its one thing to ask whether God's Ordination be necessary, and another, whether Man's be necessary. Also it is one thing to enquire of the Necessity of the Fact of Ordaining; and another, of the Necessity of a just Authority in the Ordainer to do it; where it will be needful to consider what is of Necessity to the Constitution of such Authority, and what destroys it: Before all which it would be necessary to know what the Ordainer's Work is, and to what and how far his Power extends: But this I am not now to meddle in. That a Divine Ordination is of Necessity, to the Legitimation of our Calling *in foro Dei*, I grant; as also, *in foro Conscientie Ministrantis*. That authoritative Ordination of Men, is necessary *Ordinis Gratiâ*, when it may be obtained, and where God's Providence doth not make it naturally, or morally impossible, I also grant. That Imposition of Hands with solemn Prayer, is the most convenient manner, and necessary for the Ordainer to use, *Necessitate Præcepti & Medii ad bene esse Ordinationis*, I also grant. That the Power of Ordaining is ordinarily only in the Hands of Christ's Ecclesiastical Ministers, I acknowledge (whether Bishops or Presbyters we now question not) and that it is not dissolved to any others, but in Case of Necessity. The Things then that I deny are, that Imposition of Hands, or present Prayer, or the Presence of the Ordainer are of Necessity to our Office. That the true, just Authority of an Ecclesiastical Ordainer is of Necessity to the being of our Office: And consequently, that an uninterrupted Succession of Just, Authoritative, Ecclesiastical Ordination from the Apostles, is of absolute necessity to the being of our Calling. Nay, that any Authoritative Human Ordination at all, besides the Peoples meer Consent is of such absolute, indispensable Necessity *ad esse Officii*; all this I deny. And my Opinion is, that in Case of a failing of all Ecclesiastical Authoritative Ordination, the Magistrates Ordination may suffice *ad esse Officii*: And in case both fail, the Peoples meer Acceptance, Consent, or Election may suffice, supposing the Person meetly qualified. And whether you will call this act of the People a Constitution, or Ordination, or not, I am indifferent. Certainly *Kαθίστημι* oft signifies the Constituting, which is not an Act of Government, or superior Authority. But no Term hath so much need of Explication as the Word (Office) or (Ministry) which is the *Terminus* of Ordination. An Office is a stated Power or Authority, or Faculty with Duty of doing certain Works to certain Ends. The Ministerial Office of a Presbyter, is to be differenced *ab objecto & a fine*. The Authority and the Duty in a lawful Officer go together: Such a one only is in *sensu primario & proprio* an Officer: But he that is a Usurper, or hath no lawful Call, may yet both 1. Have all the Duty of that Office lying upon him, and by his own Intrusion oblige himself to the Performance, and yet want the true Authority for performing it, seeing he came in without God's Call, and there is no Power but of God. 2. And he may have the Name of an Officer, though given him but analogically, or in *sensu secundario & ecclesiastico*. 3. And the Church may owe him that Respect and Obedience due to a lawful Officer (the Reason is, because it is one thing to know who is a truly lawful Officer; as in Matter of Membership, I am bound to use many as true Christians, even all that have the Profession of such) who yet are not such: So am I bound to take all those for lawful Officers that have the external Tokens of such, seeing we cannot know any further; though they be not such indeed). 4. And all that Man's Ministerial Actions are valid to the Church that doth her Duty in observing him, and yet they are all null or unlawful, and flat Sins to the Performer. The Reason of the later is, both because no Man can lawfully do that which he hath no Authority given him for, and because *nemini ex proprio crimine debetur beneficium*; and *Ergo*, his Usurpation cannot secure him. The Reason of the former is, because Duty and Benefit go together, and therefore the Church that performeth but her Duty in taking those to be truly called Pastors that seem so to be,

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having those Tokens which she is bound to judge by as probable, must needs have the Benefit of his Ministry in their way of Duty; for God requireth no Duty in vain: As also because *nemini debetur poena ex aliena culpa, qua talis est.* Now whether we shall dispute *de necessitate ordinationis ad officium verum & legitimum proprie & primario sic dictum, & in foro Dei?* Or only as *ad Officium analogicum secundario & minus proprie in foro tantum ecclesiae sic dictum?* is to be considered. How far your Sense will concur I know not, but in respect of both these do I hold my former Negations. Yet further, before I either answer your Arguments, or determine of the Sense of our Question, it is very necessary that the end of our Enquiry be understood, which in order must go before the means. I take it for granted, that you do not dispute this question as necessary to be determined in order to our Association, before you can join with the present Ministry: Or yet as necessary to the Determination of that further Question, whether those are true Ministers that are not Ordained by Bishops? and those true Organized Churches that have only such Ministers? for if I thought this were your end, I would dispute many other Questions first, before we came to this; and try first whether you could prove that the Presbyterian Churches cannot produce a Succession of true Ordination, on the same Grounds as the Episcopal for the main. But I suppose your Ends are some other, and in special those mentioned in your Paper: I conjecture that I shall nearest approach your Sense, if I state the Question thus; Whether an Ordination by Ecclesiastical Men, having just Authority thereto, be in all Times and Cases since the Apostles of absolute Necessity to the very being of the Ministerial Office, both *coram Deo, & coram Ecclesia?* and consequently an uninterrupted Succession of such Ordination be of the same Necessity? For if I should put the Question about Imposition of Hands, or *de modo aliquo ordinandi,* I know not but I might miss of your Sense on one Side; and on the other, if I should extend it to all Ordination, whether by Magistrates or others.

Ad 1^{um}. Your First Argument I suppose should be formed thus: That which the English Bishops thought necessary to prove against the Papists, that is necessary to be proved against them: But the English Bishops thought it necessary against the Papists to prove the Non-interruption of their Succession in just Ordination: *Ergo, Resp. 1. Concedo totum:* It was necessary to prove it against the Papists arguing *ad Hominem,* because it is the way of fuller Conviction and Satisfaction when a Man can confute an Adversary on his own Grounds. It will much shorten the Dispute when we shew them, that though we should grant the Necessity of such Succession, yet we need not grant the Nullity of our Calling. 2. I deny that the English Bishops much less the Church of England did ever judge it necessary any farther than *ad Hominem:* 1. Because it is apparent that they do ordinarily in their Writings speak against the Papists supposed Necessity of Ordination, as I instanced out of some of them in my Book. It is known to be a Point wherein the Protestants have commonly opposed the Papists. 2. It is known to be but the later declining Generation of Bishops, such as *Montague, Laud,* and their Confederates, most in King Charles his Days, very few in King James's, and scarce any at all in Queen Elizabeth's, that do join with the Papists in pleading the Necessity of Succession: Even such Men as were as zealous against Queen Elizabeth's Episcopal Protestants, as against the Papists, at least many of them. 3. The rest do expressly mention Succession, and confute the Fable of the *Nag's-Head Ordination* in *Cheapside,* to prove the Papists Slanderers: So much to your *Minor.* 3. If that will not serve, I deny your *Major:* All is not necessary that they thought necessary: Protestants pretend not to Infallibility in Controversals. Many more, perhaps ten to one at least, of the English Clergy held it not necessary, unless as aforesaid.

Ad 2^{um}. Your second Argument hath all the Strength in it, or rather shew of Strength: first we must needs distinguish of your Terms (Mediately and Immediately). A Constitution may be said to be from Christ mediately, either in Respect to a mediating Person, or to some mediating Sign only. Also it may be said to be *mediante persona;* 1. when the Person is the *causa totalis subordinata constituendi,* as having himself received the Power from God, and being as from himself to convey it unto Man. 2. Or when the Person is but *Causa per accidens.* 3. Or when he is only *Causa sive qua non, vel quatenus impedimenta removit, vel quatenus ejus Actiones sunt conditiones necessariae.* And so I answer, 1. Immediately in the first absolute Sense & *excludendo personas & res,* no Man ever had any Right communicated, or Duty imposed on him by God, unless perhaps the immediate Impress, or supernatural Revelation of the Holy Ghost to some Prophet or Apostle might be said to do this. Moses himself had the Ten Commandments written in Stone, which

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were *signa mediantia*. Those that heard God speak (if any immediately without Angelical Interposition) did receive God's Commands *mediate verborum signo*. So did the Apostles that which they had from the Mouth of Christ. 2. God is so absolutely the Fountain of all Power, that no Man can either have or give any Power, but derivatively from him, and by his Commission: Man being no farther the Efficient of Power, than he is so constituted of God; the general way of his giving it, must be by the Signification of God's Will; and so far as that can be sufficiently discovered, there needs no more to the Conveyance of Power. Whether Men be properly efficient Causes of Church Power at all, is a very hard Question, especially as to those over whom they have no superior governing Power. As *Spalatenſis* hath taken great pains to prove that Kings or other Sovereigns of the Commonwealth have their Commission, and Power immediately from God, though the People sometimes may choole the Man (for the Power was not given to the People first, and then they give it the King: but God lets them name the Man, on whom he will immediately confer it) so possibly may it be in Ordination of Church-Officers. Three ways do Men mediate in the Nomination of the Person; 1. When they have Authority of Regiment over others, and *ex plenitudine potestatis* do convey efficiently to inferior Officers the Power that these have. Thus doth the supream Rector of the Commonwealth to his Officers; and *Ergo*, they are called the Kings Officers, and he hath the choice of the very Species, as well as of the individual Officers. Now this way of mediating is not always, if at all necessary or possible in the Church; for the Papists themselves confess, that the Pope is Ordained or authorized without this way of Efficiency: for none have a Papal Power to convey to him; His Ordination cannot be *Actus Superioris*. And the Council of *Trent* could not agree whether it were not the Case of all Bishops to hold their Office immediately from Christ, though under the Pope, or whether they had their Power immediately from the Pope as the prime Seat on Earth, of all Church Power who is to convey their Parts to others. How the Spanish Bishops held up their Cause is known: And it was the old Doctrine of the Church, that all Bishops were equal, and had no Power one over another, but all held their Power directly from Christ, as *Cyprian* told them in the Council of *Carthage*. Add to this, that the true old Apostolical Episcopacy was in each particular Church, and not over many Churches together (I speak of fixed Bishops) till the matter becoming too big to be capable of the old Form, *Corruptio unius fuit generatio alterius*: and they that upon the increase of Christians, should have helpt the Swarm into a new Hive, did, through natural Ambition of ruling over many, retaine divers Churches under their Charge, and then ceased to be of the Primitive sort of Bishops: *Non eadem fuit res, non munus idem; etiamsi idem nomen retinerent*. So that truly our Parish Ministers, who are sole or chief Pastors of that Church are the old sort of Bishops; for as *Ambrose*, and after him, *Grotius* argues, *qui ante se alterum non habebat, Episcopus erat*: That is, *in eadem Ecclesia qui superiorem non habet*. So that not only all Diocesan Bishops, but also all Parochial Bishops are Ordained *per pares*, and so not by a governing Communication of Power; which is that second way of Ordination, when men that are of equal Authority have the Nomination of the Person. Now whether or no he that ordaineth an Inferior as a Deacon, or any other, do convey Authority by a proper Efficiency, as having that first in himself which he doth Convey; yet in the Ordination of Equals, it seems not to be so, for they have no Government over the particular Persons whom they Ordain, or Churches to whom they Ordain them; nor could they themselves exercise that governing Power over that other Congregation, which they appoint another to; so that they seem to be but *Causæ Morales*, or *sine quibus non*, as he that sets the Wood to the Fire is of its burning, or as he that openeth you the Door is of your bringing any thing into the House: So that if you will call the Ordainer of an Inferior *causam equivocam*, and the Ordainer of an Equal, *causam univocam*, yet it is but as they morally and improperly cause. The Third way of Mediating in the Nomination of the Person, is by the meer Election of Inferiors, as the Apostles did bid the Church of *Hierusalem* choole out seven Men whom they might constitute Deacons. I have been tedious, perhaps, without need on this; but the Summ is this, that a subordinate efficient Cause is no necessary Medium for the conveyance of Power, if at all, yet not always (I mean a Person) but the *Mediatio Signi Voluntatis Divinae*, may oft serve without any more; or plainly in several Cases, *mediatio legis cum personæ qualificatione* may suffice, *sine mediatione judicis*. But to come closer, where you say (the written Word is no fit Medium) I answer, 1. The written Word in case of a failing of Ordainers is a sufficient mediate Instrument; but though

though in *quo genere* it be sufficient, yet other things must concur in their kind also, *viz.* For the Qualification of the Subject; whereof one is the effect of Nature, Art, and Grace, that is Abilities; another of the Spirit, that is Willingness, which may also be moved by other Causes; and the third of Providence, *viz.* Opportunity. 2. Magistrates Constitution in the said Case of Ministerial failing, is a further Medium distinct from Scripture. So that if Ministers fail, Magistrates are the Judges; if both fail, the People have *sine regimine iudicium discretionis*: Their Judgment of Discretion hath a sufficient Object and Discovery of God's efficient Constitution. 1. In the Law, which is then the instrumental Efficient. 2. In the Persons Abilities. 3. His Willingness. 4. The Peoples own Willingness. 5. Opportunity. You add (the giving of Authority which we talk of is an Action terminated upon an *Individuum* in this Age: But the Scripture meddles not with any of the *Individuums* of these Times: *Ergo*) I suppose by (meddles not with) you mean (terminateth it not on). The *Minor*, which you knew I would deny, you prove thus (if it do, either *quoad nomen*, or *quoad adjunctum aliud incommunicabile*, or *per descriptionem*) I answer, *per descriptionem ab adjunctis*, but it is not always necessary that that they be incommunicable, at least most of them; for God may possibly propound to the People more than one or two that may seem fit, and leave them to choose, and so their Choice shall be the thing that makes the difference, and God thereupon convey the Power. You add (if the Word do it by description, it must be by some such Form of Words; They that are thus and thus qualified may be Ministers of the Word: But there is no such Form: *Ergo*) I answer, I suppose that by (Form) you mean, *quoad sensum*, and not *quoad verba*. And then I say, there is such a Sentence in the Law as this, If by (thus and thus Qualified) you include all the Signs that were before expressed. And because we are now at the Quick, I will not put you off with the bare part of a Respondent, but give you the Reasons of my denying your *Minor*. I first suppose it granted, that God hath in his Law determined 1. *De genere*, that there shall be Ministers. 2. *De specie*, that there shall be such sorts of Ministers in his Church, and that not only *quoad nomen*, but *quoad definitionem*, & *differentiam constitutivam*, that is the Nature of their Work and Power, the Object about which, and the end to which it is to be employed. 3. That the Persons are described from their necessary Qualifications, who shall be Subjects of this Form, 1 *Tim.* 3. *Tit.* 1. and in other Places. 4. That all that is now left to be done is but to judge and determine of the particular Person, who is most capable of this Form, and so far to be the Medium of his receiving the Power. 5. That this Judging and Determination must be *per signa*, from the Persons Qualifications, agreeing to the Rule. 6. That God hath made Ecclesiastical Officers the ordinary authoritative Judges of this Question, Who is the qualified Person? Thus much I conjecture that we are agreed in; so that the Form in the Law is not only, [They that Preach the Word, shall be thus and thus qualified,] but [Men thus and thus qualified shall be appointed to Preach the Word:] Now that which I am to prove is, that the first part of the Constitution remains in force (that there shall be Ministers thus qualified) though the other Part, concerning the way of their Ordination may cease: and that Magistrates Designation, or Peoples Election upon the discerning of the Qualifications is a sufficient Nomination of the Person: and so God doth by his Law convey the Power as truly to the Person thus Nominated, as he doth to the Person Nominated by a Bishop ordinarily: The same Law being God's only Instrument of this Conveyance, whoever nominates. To this end I shall lay down divers Arguments, and though I conclude not still the same thing, you shall see that all doth, *ad eundem scopum collimare*; and that either the Obligation to regular ministerial Ordination may cease, or that all ways cease not when that ceaseth, or that the other ways are sufficient for Nomination of the individual Person, and so of preserving the Existence of the Species, for these three are the things to be proved.

1. *Cessante materia cessat obligatio, sed hic vel cessat vel cessare potest materia: Ergo*, The *Major* is past question: The *Minor* is proved, 1. From the Silence of Scripture; God hath no where obliged himself to give all Churches the Opportunity of regular Ministerial Ordination. 2. From undeniable Experience of many Places that could not have Regular Ordination, not only through the Imperfection of their own Understandings, not able after utmost Industry, to know which was the regular Way, (for that I stick not on) but also the moral or natural Impossibility of the thing; some living where they could have no Ordination, but upon sinful Terms, as by wicked Oaths or Professions; as it is throughout the Romish Church, and, *Ergo*, There is a moral Impossibility; for *turpe & inhonestum est impossibile*,

faith the Law. Some being cast in most remote parts of the World, where no Ministers are, and many where no Bishops are, nor can be had in any competent time, and uncertain, whether at all. And the Possibility of such a thing is evident in Nature, though it never had been till this Day.

2. *Cessante fine cessat Obligatio; sed hic cessat vel cessare potest finis: Ergo*, The Minor only is to be proved. The End why I am obliged to seek Ordination rather from an Ecclesiastical Officer, than from a Magistrate, or to take the other forementioned Courses, it is because God hath appointed him, *Ordinis gratia*, as one that ought to be the fittest to do it, least by Mens voluntary Intrusion, or the Constitution of others less able to judge, the Church should be wronged. Now in case the regular Ordainers do prove unsufficient or wicked, these Ends fail, as in the Church of Rome, where none shall be admitted that will not swear to do wickedly, and to false Ways. And in the great *Arrian* Defection, when scarce Six or Seven Bishops were to be found that did not turn *Arrians*, among whom, the Bishop of Rome was one that revolted; and they would ordain none but those that would be of their Way, and so would engage Men against Christ. God did not give them Power to destroy the Church, but to preserve Order and propagate it. They can do nothing (by any Power from God) against the Truth, but for the Truth: When *Ergo*, They will not ordain to the Preservation, but to the apparent Destruction of the Church, we are not obliged to receive their Ordination: And that the failing of regular Ministerial Ordination doth not destroy the Ordination or Law of God *de Specie conservandâ*, and that it was never the Will of God, that there should be no Ministry at all longer than they might be so regularly Ordained, appears thus; 1. The Office of the Ministry is of standing Necessity to the very Being of a Political Church, whereas the Ecclesiastical Authoritative Ordination is but necessary to the well being and ordering of it. *Ergo*, the failing of the later causeth not a failing of the former. The Reason of the Consequence may appear in that God hath oft suffered his Church in all Ages, to fall into Disorders and Distempers, when yet he hath preserved the Being. 2. God hath not inseparably tyed a necessary certain End, to one only mutable, uncertain means. But the Office of the Ministry is the necessary, certain End of Regular Ecclesiastical Ordination (*viz.* by one in Just Power) and this is a mutable, uncertain means: *Ergo*, God hath not tyed the Office of the Ministry to this alone. The Necessity of the Ministry and the certain Continuance of it to the Church, I suppose, will be granted; even to every Church, while it remains a Church Political. The Uncertainty and Mutability of that means is before proved. 3. God hath not put it into the Power of Bishops (or other Ordainers) to destroy his Church for ever; but if the Ministry were inseparably annexed to their authoritative Ordination, it would be so: *Ergo*, It is in the Power of their Wills, whether they will ordain any other Bishops to succeed them; which if they should not do, the Succession is interrupted, and the Office must for ever fail: If you say, it is not to be supposed that all will deny to Ordain others. I answer 1. What Promise or Certainty of the contrary? 2. It is not possible their own Judgments may be turned against Bishops, and so renounce that Calling; or may they not turn most of them Heretical, and so will ordain none that will not be so too. As it was actually when the whole World turned *Arrian*; except six or seven Bishops, there were none left, and a tenth Part, nay the Hundredth part of the Church could not have recourse to six or seven persecuted Bishops, hidden in Wildernesses or Corners, or Fugitives that Men knew not where to find. And that it was then unlawful to have submitted to the *Arrians* Ordination, on their Terms, I suppose will not be denied. And the few that do not turn Hereticks, may yet clog their Ordinations with such unlawful Impositions and Engagements, as that no Man fearing God may justly submit to them, which is, at best, the Case of all the Romish Church (as is said). So that if all Men else obey God, they must not be Ordained by these Men, and consequently these Men have Power to destroy the Church, which if it were affirmed but of the Churches in one Nation, is not true: No, nor of one Congregation; for the Sense of the Precept for Ordination is this, [That the Churches may be edified and well guided, and my Worship rightly performed, do you ordain Elders, &c.] 4. God hath made it indispensably necessary to his People to the World's End, to assemble in solemn Congregations, and then to perform his publick Worship, *viz.* In Prayer, Praises, Sacraments, Preaching and Hearing, &c. But without the Ministry this cannot be performed: *Ergo*, he hath made it indispensably necessary that they have a Ministry: and consequently the failing of Authoritative, Ecclesiastical Ordination doth not destroy the Ministry. Both by necessity of Precept, and of Means, is Publick
Worship

Worship necessary to the World's End. Ordinary teaching publicly and being the Mouth of the People in Praising God, and Administering Sacraments, and blessing the People, &c. are Ministerial Actions. Now suppose you come into a Nation or Country where such Ordination fails (as if you had lived in the Reign of the *Arriani*) durst you absolve all the Churches from all God's Publick Worship? Durst you have said to whole Countries, Never Assemble to Worship God by Solemn Praises; Never baptize any; Never communicate in the Lord's Supper? This were to contradict a Precept in Force, that binds them to do what you forbid them, and it were to destroy their Souls, and bid them forsake God, and quench his Graces: For without God's Publick Ministerial Ordinances, Grace and Christianity it self could not be long continued, at least, ordinarily, and in many. Witness the Unchristianing of the vast Kingdom of *Nubia*, for want of Ministers. If you would have such to appoint Private Men to do these Things *pro tempore*, in this Case of Necessity, that is, to grant all; for then the People do make those Private Men Ministers, *pro tempore*, whether they give them that name or not, for the Office is but Power to do those Works which belong thereto; and if they have Power to do the Work, they have the Office. The like may be said of those Reformed Christians that live under the Romish Power; if they must have no Ministers, they must have no Worship or Sacraments, which Ministers are to perform. If they must have Ministers either Romish or Reformed. Not Romish, for they cannot follow them, or join with them, but by known sinning in wicked Engagements and wicked Actions. Not Reformed if there be a Necessity of Authoritative Ordination: For the Romish Bishops (if they have Authority) will not Ordain without forcing Men to open Sin; nor may any Pious Man submit to their Ordinations on their Terms: and many People cannot have Reformed Bishops (no nor Presbyters) to ordain them. 5. The Law of Nature, and the express, unchangable, written Word agreeing thereto, do require Men to do the Offices of Ministers who have a fitness for it, and where there is an undeniable Necessity of their Help. But the failing of Authoritative, Ecclesiastical Ordination will not dispence with the Law of Nature, and the express moral written Law agreeing therewith: *Ergo*, It will not dispence with such Men for the neglect of such Ministerial Works. I think none will question the *Minor*. For the *Major*, understand, that those whom I call fit, are they that have the Qualifications which I mentioned before. Here I take it as undenyable, that Duty and Power to perform it, so go together, that God never calleth Man to Duty but he gives him this sort of Power, that is Authority; for the very Command to do the Work doth give Authority to do it: Man may oblige himself without a Call, and so have no Authority; but whosoever is required of God to do it, hath *eo Nomine*, Authority to do it. And the Office of the Ministry is but the Duty and Authority of performing the Works of the Ministry. Moreover, the Power is for the Work's sake, and not the Work for the Powers sake as the End: So that if I prove once that the Duty is required of unordained Men, I do thereby prove that the Power is given them. Now that that Duty is required appears thus: The greatest Works of Mercy to Mens Souls, and of glorifying God, are such as Men are obliged to by the Law of Nature, if they have Ability and Opportunity, and there be a Necessity. But the Works of the Ministry are the greatest Works of Mercy to Mens Souls, and Glory to God: *Ergo*, The *Minor* is proved by the Parts. The Publick Preaching of the Lord Jesus to a Heathen People, as the Jesuits have long been doing in the *Indies*, and the Discipling Men to Christ, and baptizing them, is the greatest Work of Mercy imaginable: Whereto add, the teaching them to observe all things whatsoever Christ hath commanded; and it makes up the whole absolutely necessary in all its Parts: 1. The Greatness appears, in that Men cannot be saved ordinarily without it: It is to save Men from Everlasting Torments, and help them to Everlasting Glory. 2. It is that which Christ himself did; yea, made his Office to seek and to save that which was lost. 3. It is that which he ordained the Ministry for; yea, giveth us his Gifts for; yea, upholds all things for, and makes other Mercies subordinate to. And that it is as conducive to that Honour that he will have by the Gospel, and Mens Salvation is as clear. For the *Major*; Note, that I suppose Ability and Opportunity, for else they cannot be obliged. Also I suppose, Necessity, that is, that there be not Ordained Men (Authoritatively) enough, competently to do it. And then that it must be done without such Ordination, rather than not at all, is so plain in the Law of Nature, that it needs no Proof. To do good to our Power, especially in so great Necessities and weighty Cases, is a Principle in Nature, that he who is a Man doth find in himself. *A Fortiore*, it's proved that in lesser Cases

les we are bound to do thus ; much more in these so great. If a Man be like to perish through Hunger, or Nakedness, he that is no *Taylor* must make him Cloaths if he can ; and he that is no *Baker* must make him Bread : Or if a Man come into a Country infected with the Plague, or other Epidemical Disease, which he hath Skill in Curing, he is a Murderer if he will not do it, though he be no Physician, while there is no Physician there that can. Every Man that is able is a lawful Physician in case of desperate Necessity. If these Instances serve not, we may go higher : In case of an unexpected Onslaught of the Enemy when the Commanders are asleep, every Souldier may do his Office : In case a General be slain in the Field, or a Collonel, or a Captain, the next Officer may take his Place ; yea, a common Souldier may do it in Necessity : Or if the Commander turn Traytor, the next Officer may take his Place, and command the Souldiers against him. *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, is God's own Law. And *Salus Ecclesie suprema Lex esto*, is no less his, and unchangable, as to all Church-Works (still looking at his Glory herein, as the highest absolutely). He that should say, I would cure these Sick Men, but that I am not in Office a Physician ; or I would do this or that Work to save the City, or the Army, but it is not my Office, or I have no Commission, were not excusable : Yet far more than he that would say, I would Preach Christ to these People, and Baptize them, and acquaint them with his Laws, to save them from Damnation, but that I am not Ordained : Durst you warrant that Man from being condemned for his Neglect ? Nay, durst you encourage him to neglect it ? Nay, durst you adventure to neglect it your self ? What should the People in *New-England* do, if there were not Ministers among the *Indians* ? If there were Protestants cast into *China*, and had the Opportunity as the Jesuits have, what should they do ? To forbear the Ministerial Work till they had a lawful Ordination, were no less than Soul-murder : It would in probability never be had ; for if they travail'd for it to those parts of the World where it might be had, there were no great probability of their Return. If you say, they may teach and baptize as private Men : I answer, If they do but what private Men here are allowed to do, *viz.* to Teach but privately and occasionally, it would be still unnatural, bloody Soul-murder : To speak the Doctrine of Redemption to two or three in a House, when they might speak to Multitudes, and to reach now and then occasionally, when they might do it ordinarily, is cruel destroying of the most. And to Baptize is no private Man's Work. If you would have them Teach both publicly and ordinarily, and Baptize, then you would have them be Ministers under the Name of Private Men ; yea, to do the Work of Apostles or Evangelists.

Certainly the Law of Nature is God's Law, and Evangelical Ceremonies, and points of meer Order do give Place to it, as well as either Mosaical or Secular. God hath as streightly commanded Obedience to Secular Power as to Ecclesiastical : If therefore Matter of Order in Secular Things must stoop to Matters of Substance and Necessity, and the Law of Corporations to the Law of Nature, so it must do here. The Gospel Crosseth not, nor obliterate Natural Principles : And to love our Neighbours as our self, and do him good, especially to the Everlasting Saving of his Soul, are too deep in Nature to be questioned, or to stoop to a Point of meer Order. If you say, That the same God that requires us to do it, doth require that we do it in his order and way. I answer, No doubt of it ; where that Order may be observed : But where it cannot, God's way revealed to Nature is to do it without, as hath been shewed. And Scripture seconds Nature in this ; Christ tells us, *That this is the second great Commandment, Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self, and on this, with the Love of God, hang all the Law and the Prophets.* To do good to our utmost Power, is a Charge laid on all, *Psal.* 34. 14. and 37. 27. *Gal.* 6. 10. *Ecc.* 9. 10. As every Man hath received the Gift, so must he as a good Steward of God's manifold Grace administer it, *1 Pet.* 4. 10. *The Manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal, 1 Cor.* 12. 7. *All Members of the Body must have the same care one of another, verse 25. And if one Member suffer, the rest must suffer with it, verse 26. and Ergo, do their best to relieve them.* Every good Man is a publick Good ; & *bonum quo communius eo melius.* God's Gifts are so many Talents that must be accounted for, *Matth.* 25. and he that hath best improved them for his Lord, will have the most comfortable Reckoning. These Generals tying Men to do all the Good they can, doth tye them that have Abilities and Opportunities for the Ministry to use them where there is need, and that in Order, as being ordained thereto, where it may be had, and out of Order where it may not, and there is necessity : even as *Paul* bids *Timothy* Preach out of Season ; you will acknowledge that they that have Abilities, where the Church is in necessity, may, and must seek

a right way to use them; and so seeks an Ordination into the Ministry, *1 Tim. 3. 1, 2.* *He that desireth the Office of a Bishop, desireth a good Work.* But God, as he gives no Gifts in vain, so he sets Man upon no vain Endeavours. Those therefore that are bound to seek to be Ministers, are not bound to vain Endeavours; and therefore there is a possibility of Succeeding: But there is very oft no possibility of Authoritative Ecclesiastical Ordination: *Ergo*, There must be a possibility of succeeding some other way; for, *nemo tenetur ad impossibile*: God's Gifts of Light are not to be put under a Bushel. While I live where my Pains may be spared, and others enough may competently supply my Room, I will do nothing disorderly, nor without Authority from Man, so far as belongs to them to convey it; and if they that have Power silence me, I will be silent. But if I live where there is a visible Necessity of my Labours, I will, by God's Help, rather preach without Authority; yea, though I were silenced, than forbear; as knowing that Men have their Power to Edification, and not to Destruction; and I will rather venture to answer before God to the Charge of doing Good, and saving Souls to Christ without Imposition of Hands, or Human Appointment, than the Charge of hiding my Talent as a slothful, evil Servant, and of letting Men go to Hell, and reject Christ for want of a Commission from Man to hinder them, for I know that *He that converteth a Sinner from the Error of his way, hath saved his Soul from death, and covered a multitude of Sins, Jam. 5. 20.* 6. Christ himself hath taught us in Scripture so to interrupt his Laws, as that Ceremonials and meer Positives, do give way to natural Morals and Substantials; and that when two Duties come together and cannot both be performed, the greater must be chosen; and therefore it is so in our present Case. 1. Even under the Law this is oft manifested; to instance but in one; Circumcision it self, which was so far necessary as to be called God's Covenant, and he that neglected it was to be cut off from the People, yet in the Wilderness for forty Years together is dispensed with, and gives place to greater natural Duties. 2. Much more under the Gospel, when God placeth less in External, as choosing such Worshippers as will worship him in Spirit and in Truth. Christ often healeth on the Sabbath Day, and tells them it is lawful to do Good (*viz.* necessary Good) on that Day. He tells them that *David*, when he was Hungry, and they that were with him, did eat the Shew-bread which was not lawful (*viz.* without such Necessity) for him to eat, but only for the Priests: And that the Priests in the Temple do break the Sabbath, and are blameless, and therefore justifies his Disciples for rubbing the Eares of Corn. If the Prophet *Isaiab* under the Law could tell them, that *This was the Fast which the Lord hath chosen to loose the Bands of Wickedness; to undoe the heavy Burdens, and to let the Oppressed go Free, and to break every Yoke, Is. 58. 6, 7.* And the Holy Ghost saith, *I will not reprove thee for thy Sacrifices, or thy Burnt Offerings to have been continually before me, Psal. 50. 8.* How much more, under the Gospel, would God have External and Modals stoop to the Substance? He that tells us there is Joy among the Angels in Heaven over one Sinner that repenteth, would not have that Office that calleth them to Repentance laid by, nor Men forbear the Works of it, for want of a Man rightly ordained himself to say, *Goe*. There is some great Moment in that Lesson which Christ calls the Pharises so emphatically to learn, *Mat. 9. 13.* *But go ye now, and learn what that meaneth, I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*: Nor is Christ very forward to satisfie their Demand, *By what Authority dost thou these things? Mat. 21. 24, 27.* Nay, he flatly refused: 7. An Ordained Minister may have sufficient cause to give over his Calling, without the Will of the Ordainer, or any in his place; therefore he may have sufficient Cause to assume it, without the Will of an Ordainer. The Antecedent is doubtless; Nay, it may be his Duty to give over; as if the People do generally reject him, or if he be called to an Employment where he may be certainly more serviceable, or is fitter for; or when there are many abler to supply his Place if he remove, &c. For the Consequence, perhaps you will say, It follows not, because all must concur to a Man's Call to the Work: But one thing wanting may call him from it. But I answer, The Strength of the Consequence is here; in that as clear a Call at least is necessary to take a Man off a Course of Duty in so needful an Employment, as to put him on: And therefore let us suppose a Parity in other Respects, and look only at that one Reason, The Good of the Church: It is certain, that if I knew I were a great Wrong to the Church by my Continuance (as by keeping out one far better, or the like) I were bound to give over, though without the Ordainers Consent, or against it, if it cannot be had: Therefore it follows, that if my exercising that Office be undoubtedly *Consideratis considerandis* to the great Good of the Church, I may do it without an Ordainer

Ordainer, if Ordination cannot be had : It is the *Onus* and Labor, that is, the first and chief thing considerable in the Ministry, and the *Honos* and Power is but in order to that. 8. If Secular Power may be derived from God, at least, so far as to oblige the Subjects to Obedience, and to give them the Benefits of that Power, and this without any regular authoritative Conveyance from Man, then so may Ecclesiastical Power also. But the Antecedent is true: *Ergo*, The Antecedent is proved. 1. In that Scripture commands us to obey such as the Roman Emperors then were, *Rom. 13.* who had no such Conveyance. 2. Else it would be hard to know what Power to acknowledge : For what Nation is there where the Line of Succession, as to a lawful Conveyance, hath not been interrupted? *William* the Conqueror's Title being bad, so must all that hold from him. King *Stephen's* was worse. The Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* had rather neither of them a good Title, than both. What Nation is there that must not acknowledge the Original from the Sword? I shall not need to answer the Arguments drawn from the Peoples Power to convey it, to any that approveth of the Arguments lately used in *England* against the Parliaments Cause. And I think if it were proved that the People have the Power of making a King, it would soon be proved, that that way of Succession hath been oft enough interrupted. And for the Sword of unjust War, if Violence gives right in one case, why not in another? but this will not, I suppose, be owned. Moreover, if an Interruption of the Succession of Legitimate Conveyance of Power, do leave us incapable of any just Succession hereafter, or any true Power, then either all Commonwealths, or most are dissolved for ever, or out at least, till God immediately shall choose a new. But that is not true : It being a Conclusion destructive to all Civil Government, and all Obedience of Subjects to the World's End. The Consequence is proved in that there is the same Necessity of uninterrupted Succession in Legitimate Conveyance of Secular Power, as is of the fore said Conveyance of Ecclesiastical Power ; for there is no Power but of God. And therefore I would have you here answer all your own Questions, whether King *Charles* did receive his Power immediately from God, or mediately : if mediately, then whether by an uninterrupted Succession of Legitimate Conveyance, or by some Scripture Mediation? And how Scripture which meddles not with the *individua* should confer Power on him as a fit Medium? For my part, I shall answer this as I do the other, I think Providence doth *Signare individuum*. 9. If undeniable Usurpation did not null the Ministerial Actions of the Priests before Christ's Death, then want of Authoritative Ecclesiastical Ordination in case of Necessity will not null the Actions of Church-Governors now. *At verum primum* : *Ergo*, and consequently if their Actions be not null, then their Ordinations are not null. That the Priests then came not in God's way (which was to succeed by Birth from *Aaron*) but that the Priesthood was usurped by others ; yea, commonly bought with Money of the *Romans*, and became at last but annual, if not two at once, is known beyond doubt. That their Actions were not null, as to others, appears by Christ's teaching Men to submit to them, and make use of them, as he did the Lepers, and by many other Passages. The Reason of the Consequence lyeth in the equal necessity of uninterrupted Succession then and now : Yea, the necessity then was far more apparent, in that God had more clearly fixed it to the Tribe of *Levi*, and the Line of *Aaron*, than he hath done now to Ecclesiastical Legitimate Ordination, and because under that Law of Ceremonies (whereof the High-Priesthood was the *Topas* typifying Christ, &c.) God would not so easily dispense with them as now. 10. When God tyeth his People to Duty, there he is ready to give them the Blessing which is its end, if they obey : But God tyeth his People to submit to the Ministerial Actions of some Usurpers : *Ergo*, he is ready to give them the Blessings which are the end of those Actions ; and consequently they are not null to them ; and consequently Ordination is not null to such ; which is one Action. The *Major* is proved before, and indeed needs no Proof. For the *Minor*, God tyeth us to submit to the Ministerial Actions of him that is *in sede* (at least) if we know him not to be an Usurper ; but many may be Usurpers *in sede*, whom yet we know not to be such (nor can well know :) Yea, many such have been already : *Ergo*, If the *Major* be denied, all peoples Ecclesiastical Obedience is unavoidably overthrown. The *Minor* is apparent ; 1. In that it is not the Peoples Duty so much as narrowly to pry into his Call, whom they find *in sede* ; so as to require Satisfaction as to his Just Ordination, if they find him fit for, and faithful in the Ministerial Work. 2. In that the People cannot know it : There is not one of Ten Thousand in *England* could know whether their Bishops were truly Consecrated at all, much less ; whether justly, much less, whether from an uninterrupted Succession of just Ordination

Ordination. No nor do they know whether their Ministers were ever ordained or not : And it hath been known that many have proved Usurpers (especially at Rome) which the Common People could not know ; and therefore could not by such Knowledge be disoblged. 11. If the Administrations of all Usurpers were null, (and so the Ordination of such) then innocent Persons and Churches should suffer (yea, Ruine it self) meerly through other Mens Faults. But no Man is to suffer for other Mens Faults meerly : *Ergo*, The *Minor* is evident. The *Major* is as evident ; 1. It is none of the Churches Fault, or at least, not of each Member, that a Usurper secretly intrudeth and deceiveth them, pretending right when he hath none. At least it is not always and in all Cases their Fault : And yet that the Church would suffer by it, yea, Ruine it self, is apparent ; in that all the Ordination of such Men would be null, and so all their Churches would be no true Organized Political Churches but meer Communities, and all the Baptism and other Administrations of all such Ordained Men would be null. Moreover, it is evidently against common Equity. If the Deputy of Ireland, or the *Pro-rex* of Naples were dead, and one should so counterfeit the King's Hand and Seal, as that the Nobles and People could not discern it, and should annex this to a Grant for the Place, and shew it the People, and claim the Power by it : If this Man continue the exercise of this Power for a Year before the King displace him, or the Deceit be discovered, all his Actions must be valid as to the Benefit of the Commonwealth, though they are Treasonable to himself : And he conveys Power from the King to inferior Officers, who yet never received any himself : So is it in this present Case. 12. If the Ordination of Magistrates did serve turn in case of a failing in the regular way before Christ's Incarnation, then it may do so now. But the former is true : *Ergo*, The Reason of the Consequence is, both that God was as strict in Positives then as now, and that there was as great Necessity then of an uninterrupted Succession for derivation from God, as now there is. Solomon put out Abiathar from being High-Priest, and put Zadock in his stead, 1 King. 2. 27, 35. David and the Captains of the Hosts separated to God's Service those of the Sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should prophesie with Harps, &c. 1 Chron. 25. 1, 6. They were for the Service of the House of God, according to the King's Order, so 1 Chron. 16. 4. so did Solomon, 2 Chron. 8. 14, 15. The Magistrates Power in Church Matters was no Ceremony or Temporary Thing. 13. When any Officers of the Temple were discovered to have no just Title, and thereupon were put out ; yet none of their Actions while they were in Place, were censured null : *Ergo*, if now any be discovered to have no just Title, his former Actions are not to be judged null. The Reason of the Consequence lyeth in the Equality of the Case. The Antecedent is proved from Ezra 2. 62. Neh. 7. 64, 65. They sought their Register among those that were reckoned by Genealogy, but they were not found : therefore were they as polluted put from the Priesthood. So Neh. 13. 29, 30. And therefore the Ordination done before such Ejection, is not null.

And that the individual Person to receive this Power, may be determined of in case of necessity, without an Ecclesiastical Authoritative Determination, may further appear thus : 1. If the individual Person may be determined of ordinarily, or sometimes by the Peoples Election to be presented to the Ministers for their Ordination, or Confirmation, then may the individual Person be determined of by the People to be presented to God immediately, for his Ordination, in case there be no Ordainers to be had. But the Antecedent is true : *Ergo*, the Antecedent is proved, 1. From the Apostles Instruction to the Church of Jerusalem, Act. 6. 3. Choose you, or lock you out seven Men of honest Report, full of the Holy Ghost and Wisdom, whom we may appoint over this Business. They describe the Men, and leave them to nominate them that were such. And if the Church can do this to present to the Apostles, then it seems they are competent Discerners of Such. If the Apostles had said, (We do appoint and authorize the seven Men whom you shall choose, so that they be such and such Men) the Ordination had been as valid, on Supposition of such an Election, as it was when it followed the Election. And if the Apostles might have so done, no doubt, God may so do by his Law : For he doth the same, viz. describe the Persons, and confer the Power, particularly, and on an *Individuum vagum*, and sometimes *quasi signatum* ; and if popular Election can make it an *Individuum determinatum*, then all is done. 2. And the Church hath continued this Custom so far, that Councils decreed Ordinations invalid without Elections of the People ; yea, if they were but afrighted and over-awed, and did it not freely. Inasmuch that Cyprian saith, *Plebs maximam habet, potestatem, vel dignos Sacerdotes elegendi, et indignos recusandi* : Till the bloody bout in the choice of Damasus, it

is known that the Peoples Election was the principle Determiner of the individual Person, or at least did much in it. For the Consequence, the Reason of it lyes here ; in that Scripture may apparently suffice for all, except the Nomination of the Individual, as you seem to intimate in laying the stress of all your Argument upon this, that it meddles with no *Individuum* of these times. The Law gives Authority to that individual Person that is justly nominated or determined of. But a right qualified Man, chosen only by the People, in case there be no Ordainer, is justly determinated of or nominated : *Ergo*, The Law gives Authority to such. Where note, that the Law needs no other Condition to the actuating of its Conveyance, but only the Determination of the recipient Person. Then note, that regularly Officers and People are to join in this Determination of the Person : The People sometime being in electing, and the Officers conclusively determine : and sometimes the Officers begin, and the People after consent ; but both must concur, and all that both can do is, to determine of the Man, whom, God by his Law shall authorize ; though the very determination it self, as by the Officers, is an Act of Authority. Now whenever two Parties are made Con-causes, or are to concur in such Determinations, when one Party faileth, the Power and Duty is solely in the other. At least, it is hence apparent, that there is a possible way left for the determining of *Individuums* in this Age. 2. If the Law do so far describe the Persons to receive Power, as that a Bishop can nominate the Persons by the Light of that Description, then it doth so far describe the Persons as that others may nominate them by the Light of that Description. But the Antecedent is true : *Ergo*, The Antecedent you will own ; or else farewell all Episcopal Ordination : The Consequence is plain, in that others may be able to see that which a Bishop can see ; and in necessity, at least may do it. This therefore wholly answers your Argument against the Law being a sufficient Medium *eo nomine*, because it meddles not with *Individuums* ; for it meddles with none of the Individuals, which Bishops determine of ; and yet it is the Law that conveys the Power when the Bishop hath determined of the Person to receive it (as *Spalatensis* hath largely proved of Kings). Law is God's Instrument of conveying Right, and imposing Duty ; though Men may be the *Media Applicationis*. The Law is to be conceived as in this Form [*I do authorize the Persons that shall be justly determined of according to this Description*] And because Ministerial Determinations are the ordinary regular way, with the Peoples Consent, it is, *q. d.* [*Ordinarily, I do authorize the Persons whom Ecclesiastical Power shall determine of, according to this Description*] : So that it is God by his Law, that gives the Power : As when a Corporation is to choose their Bailiff or Major ; it is the Law or Charter that is the immediate Instrument of effective Conveyance of the Power, though the Choosers are the *Media Applicationis* ; and perhaps some capital Burgeses may have the chief Power in choosing him ordinarily. 3. If the People may *per Judicium Discretionis*, discern whether a Bishop have ordained them one agreeable to the Scripture Description, then may they also discern, whether a Man be agreeable to it, though unordained. But the antecedent is true : *Ergo*, Were not the People to judge of this, then they must receive any Heretick or Infidel without Tryal, if ordained their Bishop. But that is not true. Though the Officers contradict it, yet the People of themselves are bound to reject a Heretick Bishop. 1. It is a general Precept, A Man that is a Heretick avoid ; and with such no not to eat. If a Bishop ordain over this Church, a common unreformed Drunkard, Rayler, &c. The Holy Ghost bids us not to eat, *i. e.* have Communion with him. 2. *Cyprian* determines it, that *Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis & Deum metuens a Peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis Sacrascia miscere*. 4. If the Case may be so plain, who the Person is that God would have, as that there is no room for a Controversy about it, then it may possibly be determined by the meer Light of the Law, without a Judge. But the Case may be so plain : *Ergo*, The Antecedent is proved thus : When these things following visibly concur, then the case is so plain : 1. When the Person is visibly qualified, with Abilities, and Piety, and a Righteous Conversation to Men. 2. When he hath a Will to it. 3. When he hath Opportunity, as having Liberty from secular Power, Proximity, a known Language, Vacancy from other Engagements and Employments of more necessity, &c. 4. When the Peoples Hearts are moved towards him. 5. And when there is no Competitor, or none who equalleth him, or not so many but that all may be chosen, when these concur there is no controversy who should be the Man ; if you say there may be many such, and who knows then which to choose : I Answer 1. Congregations should have many Pastors

stors ordinarily: 2. Providence answereth that Objection for me: It is exceeding hard to find half enough that are competent. God hath not given his Church more than they need; but contrarily, there is need of many more than he hath given. It is therefore all Mens Duties, that have Ability and Opportunity, to be Preachers, if they be not taken up with Employments of greater use to the Church, (as Secular Rulers often are) but they must seek an orderly admission, where it is possible, and not be their own Judges of their fitness, where there are other Judges of God's appointment: Christ bids us to pray the Lord of the Harvest, to send forth Labourers into the Harvest, because the Harvest is great, and the Labourers few. It is visibly true, in a great measure, to this day; what we must pray for, that we must endeavour, that the Labourers may in Number be proportioned to the Work; and we are like to have use for that Prayer still. 3. It is not always that there are too many so apparently fit: And therefore at least when it is not so, the determination of the Individual Person is easie. 4. As the Bishops Determination of one among many is valid, so is the Determination of others in case of Necessity. The Law of Nature, and well ordered Common-wealths doth require, that every Ignorant Man that thinks himself Skilful, should not play the Physician, least he kill Men; nor the School-master, least he delude and corrupt them: And therefore, that there should be some able Men appointed to try and judge who are fit, before they are admitted. I think God's Law of Nature requireth this as evidently, as the written Law requireth, that none be Ministers without Ecclesiastical Ordination, or Approbation; and in case there be many of equal fitness, all must be admitted, except they be too many (which is not seen there neither, for Nature multiplieth not the most noble Parts, as it doth the the Fingers, or the Hairs, &c.) And if there be too many, the Judges must Determine who shall be the Man. Yet the same Law of God in nature doth as evidently teach, that if either the Tryers and Judges be all dead or gone, or enviously resolve to approve of none, but such as are Ignorant or Wicked, that would Poyson and Kill the People, it is Lawful and the indispensable Duty of such as are able, to offer themselves for Practise to the People without the Judges Consent, rather then the Pestilence should sweep them away for want of a Remedy. And there hath scarce yet been found such an Enemy to Mankind, that would forbid such Men to save Mens Lives, for want of Approbation: Or if there were many at once in an Infected City that were thus able, they would rather let all Practise that have opportunity, or let the People go to whom they please, then to forbid all, under pretence of the difficulty of discerning the fittest. As scarce any thing is more Inhumane against Nature, then to prefer a Commission or other Formality, or point of Order, before Mens Lives and Common Good; (which is *finis Reipublice*) so it is yet more Inhumane, as well as Unchristian, and against the evident Law of Nature, and the main scope of Christ's Merciful Doctrine and Example, (who often neglected Formalities to save Mens Lives and Souls, though to the Displeasure of the Pharises) for a Man to prefer a Formality or point of Order, before the Saving of Mens Souls, and the publick Good and Safety of the Church, but of this before. 5. If in case of the want of a lawful Magistrate, or of such as they may lawfully use for Judgments, the People may determine of an individual Person, whom God shall Authorize, though Scripture Name no Individual of this Age, then they may do so also in regard of the Ministry. But the former is true. *Ergo*, 1. Else we should have no Magistrates in the World scarce, but by violent intrusion, which is worse than popular Election. 2. 1 Cor. 6. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Paul would have the *Corinthians* to choose some of the Church of the Saints, to judge between man and man concerning the things of this Life, whereabout they were wont to go to Law before Heathen Judges. This is plainly to the Office of a Magistrate, at least, *quoad partem Judicalem*, tho not *quoad violentam executionem*. They were to choose a wise Man, that should be able to judge between his Brethren, *verse 5*. The consequence is grounded on this, that the Scripture meddles no more with the Individuals for Magistracy, then for Ministry; nor gives ordinarily the power of choosing Sovereigns to the People in the Common-wealth, then the Power of Ordaining Ministers to the People of a particular Church, and the People may determine of one as well (though not so easily) as of the other; but I spoke somewhat of this also before to another Point. I have transgressed the limits of the part of a Respondent on this point, 1. Because I know it is Light, and not Formality of Proceeding that you expect (though it be formality before Light and Safety that you plead for.) 2. Because I know that the whole stress of your Cause lyeth on this Point; and I doubt not to say, that if I answer you well in this one Argument, which you make

your Second, I easily carry the whole Cause. To what you add concerning Authority, I confess, that it is not the same thing with Fitness, &c. but I say, it may be conveyed *sine vicariis Episcopis*. 2. I deny that any Church-Guides are in point of Government *vicarii Christi*. They are nearest it as *Nuncii*, and so may beseech and Require in Christ's Name and Stead; but they are no more his *vicarii*, then the Magistrate is of the Sovereign. They are not *Pro-reges*; nor do they represent his Person. They have not that Power which they convey to others, first in themselves to convey (at least in *ordinando pares*) but are only *media applicandi legem ad personam*.

Ad 3^{um}. To your Third Argument I answer, Invaders of the Ministerial Office may unjustly take Encouragement hence; but no just Encouragement is given them. The best things are Occasions of encouraging Men in Sin, e. g. God's Mercifulness, Christ's Satisfaction, the Preaching of Free-Grace, &c. To your Question, if this be sufficient, why do we not give them the Right Hand of Fellowship? I answer, They despise or neglect God's Order, and therefore deserve not the Hand of Fellowship. If God bid them (go and work in his Vineyard) but for Order's sake (go in at this Door) he that will not go in at this Door is a disobedient Servant, and not to be owned till he reform. But if God himself do nail up this Door, there needs no express Dispensation for our not going in at it; for *nemo tenetur ad impossibile (nisi ipse sit Causa culpabilis impossibilitatis)*: Nor is it necessary that it be expressed that (we go in at another Door) for the Command of going to labour in the Vineyard is not abrogated by the locking up of that Door; seeing as it was opened *non ut fiat opus* directly, *sed ut sic fiat*; so it is nailed up *non ne fiat, sed ne sic fiat*; and therefore the Command requires us to go in at another. If by Law every Physician that Practiceth in London, must be approved by the Colledge, he deserves to be punished, and not taken for a Physician, that will profess and practice it without the Approbation of the Colledge; and every wise Patient will fear least he be Conscious of such Unworthiness, as that he dares not venture a Tryal, or at the best, he is a disobedient Subject. But if the Colledge of Physicians be dead or dissolved, any worthy Man may profess and practice without their Approbation, and as the Law of Nature binds him to do Good, so the Obligation that limited him is *ipso facto* dissolved, *cessante materia*; where you say that (this extream necessity is their Case). I answer, Nothing more untrue: They slight and despise Ordination; they may be ordained if they would submit themselves to tryal, if they be found fit: But they will not. Their false Imaginations create no necessity; but a necessity of laying them by, and receiving the Truth, which is imposed on them by God; or if they will call it a Necessity that is imposed on them by their Error, it is but a Necessity of not being ordained while they judge it sinful (which yet is none, because they are still bound to lay by that Conceit) but not a Necessity of being Ministers in the mean-time without it: Besides that, as it is a Necessity of Suspension and Forbearance, and not of Acting, so it is themselves that are the culpable Cause of it: and *excuspa propria nemini debetur commodum*. If *Vaux* think he must blow up the Parliament, and *Ravailliac* that he must stab a King, doth this necessitate them? Such a Necessity as every wicked Man brings on himself of sinning by a Custom in Sin, which aggravates, and not excuseth his Fault, which is evident when the Case is made plain by God, and only their Negligence, or sinful Prejudice hindereth them from Recovery out of their Error: For the (*Grant*) that you desire, I say I am loath to yield that Christ hath no known Ministry on Earth, that I may keep out Invaders. To your Case about Apostacy, I answer, There are many other Cases that may necessitate an Entrance into the Ministry without Ordination; besides universal Apostacy. 1. So great an Apostacy as was in the *Arrian* Prevalency. 2. Such unlawful Ingredients as are in the Romish Ordination. 3. The Death, or the violent Proscription of the Ordainers in one Kingdom. For if all that are found to work in the Vineyard, to exercise the Ministry, must but go to another Land for it, Poverty, Weakness, Magistrates Prohibition may so restrain them, that not one of a Hundred could enter when God doth by the Churches Necessity call to it. Much less could all the World travail for Ordination to some Corner of the Earth. As for the Churches Officers which you mention, that went along in Reformation, it's true of Presbyters; they were the Leaders; but so few Bishops out of *England*, that the Reformed Churches were forced to go on, without their Ordination. But to this Day, there is a necessity of Preaching without Ordination, by legitimate Church Guides, in many Parts of the World; and I doubt not, but it is the great Sin of many that it is neglected. I suppose did you consider well but the Sense of the Law Natural, and Supernaturally revealed, you would not

not be so inclinable to turn Seeker, nor to expect new Miracles, Apostles, or Revelations upon the Supposition you make; and for all your Words, if it came to the Practice, I do not believe that you have so hard a Heart, so unmerciful a Nature, as to leave this one Nation, much less all the World, to that apparent danger of Everlasting Damnation, and God's publick Worship to be utterly cast out, if I can but prove that the Succession of Legitimate Church Ordination is interrupted.

Ad 4^{um}. To your Fourth Argument, I answer, I am as far from believing Imposition of Hands essential to Ordination, as any of the rest. The Bishop that was last save one in this Diocese was so lame of the Gout, that he could not move his Hand to ones Head, and though his Chaplain did his best to help him, yet I could not well tell whether I might call it Imposition of Hands when I saw it: Yet I never heard any on that Ground, suspect a nullity in his Ordination: Nor do I think that a Bishop loseth all his Power of Ordination if he lose his Hands, or the Motion of them. 1. Imposition of Hands was an old Custom in a Superiors Act of Benediction, or setting a part to Office and conveying Power, and not newly instituted by Christ, but continued as a well known Sign, and therefore not of such Necessity as you imagin. 2. The End will shew much the degree of Necessity. If it be evident that the End was but the Solemnizing of the Work by a convenient Ceremony, then it is not essential to Ordination or Authorizing: But, &c. *Ergo*, 3. God did not lay such a stress on Ceremonies, no not under the Ceremonial Law, no not on the great initiating Sign and Seal of Circumcision, without which, Men were entered, and continued in his Church for Forty Years in the Wilderness. Your Argument is, (Christ hath revealed to his Church that it is his Mind or Will that his Church's Officers be set apart by Imposition of Hands: *Ergo*, It followeth that Imposition of Hands is necessary and essential to their separation). *Ans^w.* *Negatur sequela*: It follows a *præcepto*, only that it's necessary *Necessitate præcepti*, and if you will, *Necessitate mediæ*, if you speak not of absolute Necessity *ad esse Ordinationis*, but a lower Necessity, as of a mutable means, and *ad bene esse*. Do you think this is good arguing? (The Holy Ghost hath revealed it to be the Will of Christ, that a Bishop must be blameless, and having faithful Children, and be not soon angry, *Tit. 1. 6, 7. One that ruleth well his own House, having his Children in subjection with all Gravity, 1 Tim. 3. 4, 5, 6. Ergo*, It is essential to a Bishop, to have faithful Children to be blameless, not to be soon angry, &c.) O, what an Interruption then is made in the Succession! or is this good arguing? (It is the Will of Christ that a Christian should not speak an idle Word: *Ergo*, He that speaks an idle Word is not a Christian). Next you suppose your self questioned (How you know that it was Christ's Mind and Will, that Imposition of Hands should be used in the Ordination of Ministers?) and you confess, 1. That you (have neither express, nor implicate Command for it.) 2. But conclude, that Christ's Mind may be otherwise known; I confess, I like this Passage worse than all the rest of your Writing. 1. I can find both implicate, and in a large sense explicate Commands for it in the Word of God, *1 Tim. 5. 22. Heb. 6. 2. 1 Tim. 4. 14.* at least an implicate, that is unquestionably plain. 2. If you had confessed as readily only this, that there was no Word of God implicate, or explicate to prove the Essentiality of Imposition of Hands to Ordination, then I should have believed you: But you will needs do more, and do much to destroy the very Duty of Imposition, while you are pleading it so essential (so unhappy are extream Courses, and so sure a way is overdoing to undoing): Yet with me you give up the Cause of the supposed Essentiality in disclaiming Scripture Precept, implicate. 3. I perceive it is your Judgment that there are Duties essential to Ordination, and consequently without which, in your Judgment, there is no Ministry, and no Church, which have no Command in Scripture, no not so much as implicate: And consequently, that Scripture is not God's only Word for revealing supernaturally, or his sufficient Law for obliging to Duties of universal standing necessity; but he hath another Word called Tradition, which revealeth one part of his Mind as the Scripture doth the other, and another Law obliging as aforesaid. This is the great Master Difference between the Reformed Churches and the Romanists; of which so much is said by *Whittaker, Chamier, Baronius*, and Multitudes more; that it's merely vain for me to meddle with it: For I take it for granted, that you would not venture to disclaim the Reformed Churches in this Point, till you had well read the chief of their Writers: That were to venture your Peace and Safety, to save you a Labour: At least, I hope you have read *Chillingworth*. Yet I must tell you, that some moderate Papists confess, that the written Word containeth all things of absolute necessity to Salvation; but I doubt you do not so; for I think you will say that ordinarily there is

no Salvation without the Church and Ministry, and no Ministry without Ordination, and no Ordination without Imposition of Hands, and no Imposition of Hands by any Scripture Command, so much as implicate. Yea, it seems you take not up this Course on any strongly-apparent Necessity, when such Cases as this will put you on it; and you are so willing to make the Scripture silent, where it speaks plainly, that you may prove a necessity of another Word. I do confess the necessity of Tradition to deliver us safe the Scripture it self, the Cabinet with the Treasure, and the certainty of Tradition in seconding Scripture by handing down to us the Articles of our Creed, and Substance of Christianity, in and against which, the Church cannot err *in sensu composito*, because so erring unchurcheth it: But this will not prove the necessity of another Law besides the written Law, for it is *opus subordinatum*: It is not the part of a Law, nor belongs to it's sufficiency to publish, promulgate, or conserve it self. But it belongs to it's Sufficiency to contain all the standing matter of Duty, *in Specie*, where the Species is permanently due, and *in genere* only with Directions for determining of the Species, when the said Species is of uncertain, unconstant, mutable Dueness; He that saith a Duty of so great and standing necessity, is not so much as implicitly commanded in Scripture, doth plainly say, that besides the Scripture, which is insufficient, God hath either another more perfect Law for Supernaturals, or else, another part to add to the Scripture to make it perfect. Your Addition mollifieth the Matter in Terms, but I doubt scarce in Sense, for when you say that (the Text where Imposition of Hands is spoken of commented upon by the universal Practice of the Church from the first Age, till this wild exorbitant last Century, seems a clear Evidence what the Will of Christ is, &c.) I very much like the Words and Sense which they in propriety express, *viz.* That in a Matter of Fact, where Scripture is obscure, the Practice of the first, second, or third Centuries may be an excellent Commentary; that is, a help to understand them; much more the Practice of the universal Church in all Ages. But I must tell you, that it is not the Work of a Commentary on the Laws expressly to add such Precepts, about matters of such very great Concernment, as is the very being of the Republick; which are neither expressly, or implicitly in the Law it self, I must judge therefore, that you make the Churches Practice a real Law, though you thought meet to give it but the Title of a Comment. And I scarce approve of your comparative Terms of the Centuries as bad as this is? What! hath this Century, which hath been the only reforming Age, been worse than that before it, whose Corruptions it reformed? and worse than that of which Bellarmine saith, *Hoc seculo nullum extitit indoctius vel infelicius quo qui Mathematicæ aut Philosophiæ operam dabat, Magnus vulgo putabatur*: and that of which Es-penceus saith, that *Græcè nosse suspectum fuerit, Hebraicum prope Hæreticum*? What worse than the four or five foregoing Centuries, wherein Murderers, Traytors, common Whoremongers, Sodomites, Hereticks were the pretended Heads of the Church, and grossly ignorant, superstitious and wicked ones were the conspicuous part of the Body. Will you appeal from this Century to those? Did you not even now confess, that (it is admirably worth our Consideration that when God stirred up the drowzy World to depart from Rome's Superstitions and Idolatries, he bowed the Hearts of some of the Church-Officers to go along with them) Rome then was idolatrous. We departed from it, God stirred Men up, and bowed their Hearts thereto: I confess you may say as much for the proving of the Universal Churches Practice, in this Point, as in most, it being of constant and solemn use, and none that I know of, that ever opposed it. But if you hold this universal Practice to be the other part of God's Law, and do lay any thing much on it in other Points, especially in Doctrinals, I would advise you to get better Proof of the Universality than others use to bring, who go that way. As the Romish Church is not the the Universal, nor the Romish and Greek together, so the Opinion of four or five, or more Fathers is no Evidence, of the Judgment of the universal Church: Till they are better agreed with themselves and one another; it is hard taking a view of the Judgment of the Church universal in them, in controverted Points. Till Origen, Tertullian, &c. cease to be accounted Hereticks; till Firmilianus, Cyprian, and the Council of Carthage be better agreed with Stephen Bishop of Rome, till Rufinus cease to be a Heretick to Hierom, and many the like Discords; it's hard seeing the Face of the Church universal in this Glass. I was but even now reading in Hierom, where he tells Austin, that there were *quædam Hæretica* in his Writings against him; when yet to the impartial Reader, the angry Man, that morosus Senex, had the unsounder Cause. As long as the Writings of Clem. Alexandr. Origen, Tatianus, pretended Dyonisius, Lactantius, with so many more, do tot erroribus scatere, as long as many Councils have so erred, and Council is a great Council, and some things

things are imposed by them, under the terrible Penalty of Anathematizing, which *Rome* itself doth take unlawful to be observed, these are not perfect Indices of the Mind of Christ or the universal Church. Read *Baronius* himself, *Tom. 3.* what abundance of Errors in History he chargeth upon *Epiphanius* and others. I suppose you to have read *Daille*, and the Lord *Digby* on this; yet think not that I would detract from the due Estimation of the Fathers, or Councils, or from the necessity of Tradition to the use which I have expressed in the Preface to the Second part of my Book of *Rest.* But I know not well in the matter of Not-kneeling and Not-fasting on the Lord's Day, Not-reading the Books of Heathens, &c. how a Man should obey both the former Councils, and the present Church of *Rome* itself; yea, or how in matter of giving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to Infants, and other things the present Church and the former do agree. And I would know, whether it was not the Practice of that which you call the universal Church then, which the following Ages did alter and contradict. But all this part of the Answer is but occasional as to your Amplifications, and not to the matter under debate. I further answer you therefore, that the universal Practice of the Church doth prove no more but that it was done, and therefore by them judged a Duty to be done, and so not to be omitted while they could use it; all which I grant you. I am not one that would have Ordination used without Imposition, but in case of necessity: But it follows not from all this, that it is essential to Ordination; suppose a Church institute a new Ceremony, that every Bishop ordained shall have a Helmet on, to signify that he must fight valiantly as a Captain under Christ, and the Ordainer must lay his Hands on this: If I can prove that it hath been the universal Practice of the Church *in nudum apertum caput manus imponere*, doth it follow that this is essential, and the contrary null? If you ask, what necessity there can be of Ordination *sine manum impositione*? I answer, very great and ordinary: *viz. ut absentes ordinentur*; for want of which the Church hath suffered, and may suffer very much. When a Man is in remote Parts of the World, and perhaps too scrupulous of playing the Bishop without Ordination, if he must travel over Land and Sea for Ordination, his Life may be gone, or most of it spent, while he is seeking Authority to use it for his Master. If a few only of the Ordainers were left in a Country, or in many Nations, and those imprisoned or forced to hide themselves, they might by an Instrument under their Hands Ordain, when they could not at all, or to one of a hundred by Imposition of Hands. But yet all this is but the least necessary part of my Answer to your Argument. To your Consequence therefore, I answer by denying it: If the Succession be interrupted, what necessity is there that the next must come in without Imposition of Hands, what shew of such a Consequence? May not the illegitimate Ordainer *imponere manus*? Or may he not himself enter by Imposition of Hands, and yet be illegitimate, and his Calling null? If you think not only Imposition to be essential, but also that nothing else is essential, or that all are true Ministers that are ordained by a lawful Bishop *per manum impositionem*, then do you egregiously *tibi ipsi imponere*. Suppose a lawful Bishop should ordain a Man into an unlawful Office, as to be the universal Bishop; or should ordain a known Heathen to be a Bishop by Imposition of Hands; were not this null? Yea, and many a lower case (as in case of Symony, &c.) if Councils be of any Authority. Here then the Succession is interrupted, and yet this Man may Ordain others by Imposition of Hands: Suppose in the case of Pope *Jone*, the Succession interrupted for want of a capable Sex, and yet she might Ordain by Imposition of Hands. Lastly, I answer, This Argument can pretend to prove no more than the former, That Ordination is essential to the Call of the Ministry: *Ergo*, So far as that is disproved, so far is this. And indeed, it had been stronger arguing a *Necessitate Ordinationis ad necessitatem impositionis manuum*, than *e contra*; because all Arguing should be a *Notiore*: But sure the Necessity of Imposition of Hands is *minus notum*, then the necessity of Ordination: Many a Thousand will yield that Ordination is essential (I believe) that will not yield it of that Imposition.

Having done with all that I find in this Paper, I add this cross Argument for the enervating of all (or if you will of your Second, which is all). If your Arguments do tend as well to prove the absolute Necessity of an uninterrupted Succession *quoad modum*, as to every Mode and Circumstance in Ordination, which the Apostles have required as due, without express Dispensation for Omission, as of legitimate Ecclesiastical Ordination it self; then they are unsound. *At verum primum*: *Ergo*, The Antecedent is proved thus: The full Strength of all your Arguments is here. Christ or his Apostles (or the Church since) have mentioned no other way of Conveying Ministerial Power, but by Ordination and Imposition of Hands:

Ergo,

Ergo, There is no other way ; and this is necessary *ad esse Officii* : As strongly may we argue for any Mode or convenient Circumstance so required or used. As Christ or his Apostles mention no way of Ordination or of conveying the Ministerial Power, but with Prayer conjunct, or but with Imposition of Hands on the bare Head, or but in the Syriack, Hebrew, Greek, or Latin Tongues, or but on a Man that is vigilant, sober, and of good Behaviour, &c. *Ergo*, There is no other way : *Ergo*, This is of absolute Necessity, *ad esse Officii*. But this is no good arguing ; *Ergo*, No more is yours. It is as bad as if one had thus argued with the Israelites in the Wilderness. (God hath mentioned no other way of Covenant Engagement, or Church Entrance, but by Circumcision : *Ergo*, there is no other. *Ergo*, this is necessary *ad esse fœderis in Ecclesiâ*.) They are no good *Juris Consulti Christiani*, i. e. Theology that know not that some Cases must be judged, and some Laws interpreted, καὶ ἐρμηνεύειν, which yet is but according to the true Sense of that Law ; as Christ taught the Pharisees in the Case of David, the Priests, and his Disciples rubbing the Ears of Corn.

I conclude all as I begun, desiring that if this satisfy you not, you would perform the other Parts of your Undertaking, before, or with your Reply to this, and blame not me, who am past all doubt of an Interruption of Succession in a great part of the Churches, especially of the Romish, and uncertain of a Non-interruption in any Church on Earth, and despair of ever being certain, to be as loath to yield that Christ hath no Church Ministry or Ministerial Ordinances, or at least none in so large a part of the professed Church, or that we are uncertain whether he hath any at all ; as you are loath to yield to the immediate Authorizing Efficacy of the Law, or to the Sufficiency of the Magistrates, or Peoples Mediation in case of necessity, or to an Occasion of encouraging Usurpers of the Ministry.

Tertullian de Baptismo, Cap. 17.

Supereſt ad concludendam materiā de obſervatione quoque dandi & accipiendi Baptiſmum communeſacere. Dandi quidem juſ habet ſummus Sacerdos, qui eſt Epiſcopus : De hinc Preſbyteri & Diaconi ; non tamen ſine Epiſcopi autoritate propter eccleſiæ honorem : quo ſalvo, ſalva pax eſt. Alioquin etiam laicis juſ eſt. Quod enim ex æquo accipitur, ex æquo dari poteſt, niſi Epiſcopi jam aut Preſbyteri aut Diaconi vocanter, dicentes, Domini ſermo non debet abſcondi ab ullo. Proinde & baptiſmus æquè Dei cenſus, ab omnibus exerceri poteſt : ſed quanto magis Laicis diſciplina verecundiæ & modeſtiæ incumbit, quæ ea majoribus competat, ne ſibi adſumant dicatum Epiſcopi officium Epiſcopatus. Emulatio ſchiſmatis matur : Omnia liſcere dixit ſanctiſſimus Apoſtolus, ſed non omnia expedire. Sufficiat ſcilicet in neceſſitatibus, ut utaris, ſicubi, aut loci, aut temporis, aut perſonæ conditio compellit. Tunc enim conſtantia ſuccurrentis excipitur, quam urget circumſtantia periclitantis. Quoniam reus erit perſonæ ſi ſuper ſederit præſtare quod libere potuit. Petulantia autem mulierum quæ uſurpavit docere, utiq; non etiam tingendi juſ ſibi pariet, &c. Had there been here no mention of the Epiſcopal Office or of teaching, the Arguments would hold for it a fortiore. Chriſt hath put Baptizing in the Apoſtolical commiſſion, appropriating that to them, as much as the reſt. Yet whether all this of Tertullian be approvable I now diſpute not. But here you ſee the way of Antiquity, vide Pamelii annotat. in loc. ubi ſimilia citantur ex Ambroſi, Clem. Conſtitut. Hieronymo, Hylario, Iſidoro. And it is not only the Papiſts that are ſtill for Womens baptizing in caſe of Neceſſity (Pamelius would force Tertullian to their Senſe, contrary to the whole Scope of his Words) but many other, and that very long ago, and Lay-men were wont to preach in the Church then, how much more (as Edeſius and Frumentius) among Infidels, Concil. Carthag. 4. alias 5. Can. 98. Laicus præſentibus clericis niſi iſſis rogantibus Docere non audiat. Origen did uſually expound the Scriptures publickly, before he was ordained, and was encouraged in it by the Biſhops themſelves, of which Baronius himſelf ſpeaks in theſe Words (ad annum Chriſti 230. pag. 377.) Licet nondum Preſbyterii gradu potiùs, ab Epiſcopis qui ibi erant, non ad diſputandum ſolum, ſed ad Scripturas etiam apperendas, magnopere in communi Eccleſiæ conſeſſu rogatus eſt. Quod quidem poterit eſſe perſpicuum ex iis quæ Alexander Hieroſolymorum Epiſcopus & Theoctiſtus Epiſcopus Cæſariæ ad demetrium in Origenis deſenſione ſic fere reſpondebant. Quod autem in litris adjunxeris, nunquam antea auditum, neque jam uſurpatum ut Laici præſentibus Epiſcopis diſputarent, Scripturaſq; exponerent ; in eo mihi neſcio quomodo videris perſpicue falſa dixiſſe. Nam ubi idonei & habiles reperiuntur, qui Fratribus in verbo Dei adjumento ſint, a ſanctis Epiſcopis rogantur, ut Populum in verbo inſtituant : ſicut Larandis Evelpis a Neone, Iconii Paulinus a Celſo, & apud Synados Theodorus ab Artico, qui omnes beati & pii Fratres erant. At veriſimile eſt, quamvis nobis obſcurum

scorum & minime cognitum sit illud item in aliis locis fieri) hæc illi. And if Lay-Men might expound Scriptures, and teach publicly and ordinarily in the Presence of the Bishop, and baptize in case of necessity (as *Tertul.*) how much more may they in a case of necessity undertake the Ministerial Office without Legitimate Ecclesiastical Ordination: and if all these Acts of Lay-Men be not null, then the Ordination of a Man not lawfully ordained himself must be valid in case of a greater necessity. This is the confident Opinion of the generality of Protestants. The *Lutherans, Helvetians*, and many others say, a regular Call is by Magistrates, Ministers and People; yet that it's valid, if one part fail: *Lege Forb's Defence of Call. l. 28. pag. 60. voer. desperat caus. pag. 266, 267. Johan. Darts de Hierarch. Eccles. p. 10.* To conclude, as it seems *Matthias* and the other Apostles were ordained without Imposition of Hands, so *Gregory Thaumaturgus* was ordained by *Phædimus* both against his Will, and when he was distant three Days Journey; as *Gregory Nyssen* saith in his *Orat. de Vita Thaum.* when *Gregory* avoided the Hands of the Bishop, he by Prayer and solemn Words sets him a part to the Priesthood, & loco *Manus Impositionis Gregorio adhibet Sermonem, Deo Conferens eum qui Corpore coram non adesset, & illam ei Civitatem destinans atque attribuens quam contigerat, &c.*) This *Nyssen* speaks of as true Ordination, and the Form shews that it was a constituting him in that Office, Bishop of *Neocæsarea*: though *Baronius* finding this Pinch upon his Cause, would fain persuade us that this could yet be no Ordination till afterwards when he came in and submitted to the Solemnities (*Baron. in An. 233. p. 407, 408.*) we will not contend about the Word Ordination, but it was an authoritative Consecration to God as a Bishop, and a Constituting him over that Church by Prayer and solemn Words of Consecration. And it seems *Apollos*, and many others preached in the Apostles Days without Ordination. But our Divines having dealt so much with the Papists on this Subject, I suppose you may see more in their Writings, than you can expect from

Sept. 9. 1653

Your Brother

and Fellow Servant,

Rich. Baxter.

Mr. Johnson's Second Letter to Mr. Baxter.

S I R,

I Have here enclosed sent you back the Papers which I borrowed of you, and I have been so scrupulous in sending them back exactly the same as they were first sent to you, that I have not so much as mended some Errata which I observed (in the Copying them over) to have slipt my Pen when I wrote them first.

I have since I received my own Papers, perused the Answer which you make to them; but what I am like to return, I cannot guess: For I cannot yet tell whether you have satisfied my Arguments or not. This I know, and shall not be ashamed to confess, that if you have, I have not yet Wit enough to understand you. But before I will say you have not, I will a little more consider your Answer, and try my own Reason a little farther. Only this I will venture to say in the mean time, that if I can any whit judge of my own Heart, I never enquired more unbiassedly after any Truth, than I do after this present Question; and therefore I do not doubt, but if Light be before me, I shall at length see it, though for the present it be hid from me: For as I said (if I know my own Heart) I can sincerely say, that in this Question I could be well content to find the Truth, though it ran cross against every Line in my own Papers. But I must needs confess, if I have Truth on my side in this Question, and after the most diligent Examination which I can make, it shall still appear: that to plead for an uninterrupted Succession be of absolute necessity for the justifying of our Ministry, I shall never dispute the other Matters with the like indifferency. For in this combat I could be content to take a foil, and it is in a manner all one to me, whither of us get the better. But in the other matters which I am after to proceed upon, I have many temptations before me to be afraid of owning Truth, if I should meet with her out of my own Quarters.

Quarters. And therefore beside the Pains which it will cost me to discharge the Task, the very Fear which I shall be in least I should miscarry in the Managing, makes me more than willing to take a Superedeas here. But if this cannot be done, you shall have the rest which I promised, performed in the same order as your self have stipulated, viz. before I make any Reply to yours, I shall endeavour to discharge the three other Particulars which remain behind, and all in due time from,

S I R,

Wamborn, Octob. 6.

1653.

Your Fellow-labourer,

and Enquirer after Truth,

M. Johnson.

For my Reverend, &c. very worthy Friend, Mr. Baxter, Minister of the Word at Kidderminster, These.

Mr. Johnson's Third Letter to Mr. Baxter.

S I R,

IN my late Letter which I sent you, I told you, That I could not resolve myself whether you had answered my Arguments or not, but intended to try my own Reason a little farther, before I would say positively that you had not. And now upon further Consideration, I return you this to your whole Discourse: 1. Whereas you say to my first Argument that it was necessary for our English Bishops to prove an interrupted Succession against the Papists, because they might thereby argue *ad hominem* more strongly against them. I answer, That such learned Men as I have had the luck to meet withal, do not intend their Arguments or their Pains to any such end, and I prove that sufficiently thus. Because they that do use such kind of Replies do usually frame their Answers thus: 1. That there is no necessity of such a Succession. But, *Secondly*, If there was a necessity, yet the nullity of our Calling would not follow, because we can prove such a Succession. But say I, the learned Authors which I have hitherto met withal, have no such Concessions: And because you seem often to hint some such thing, I desire you would point me out to some English Bishop, who having written about this Subject, do concede, that a Succession in Office, or a Succession of legitimate Ordination is not necessary. And I do the more confidently require this from you, because I have it from * one who is much better acquainted with Authors than myself, that the Socinian Faction were the first that ever owned that Assertion. And if he be able to make good what he saith, you gain as little Credit by abetting such a Faction as they are, in your Assertions, as we get by abetting the Papists, while we plead for the quite contrary.

* Dr. Hammond in his Six Queries, p. 367.

But *Secondly*, Whereas you deny the Consequence, and tell me that all which they thought necessary is not necessary, they being not infallible. I answer, that you lay more stress upon my first Argument than I intended: For I never intended to argue thus: That therefore it was infallably necessary because they thought it necessary, but that it was a good inducing Motive to persuade that it was a matter of more consequence than your Papers made of it, since learned Men took so much Pains about it: And though this indeed will not extend to a Demonstration, yet it may serve as far as I intended it, viz. as far as an Argument will reach, drawn only from that inartificial Topick a *Testimonio*, which you know in all contests is familiarly used, and not to be rejected if the *Testes* be Men of Worth and Learning. And if so, then this Argument will stand good so far as it will serve, or was intended, notwithstanding any thing that hath been said to the Contrary.

To

‘To the Second Argument, Whereas you doubt not to say, That if you answer me well in this, you carry the whole Cause afore you. I shall so far gratify you as to acknowledge that you have sufficiently answered it, though I must also profess that I cannot find wherein you have given a formal answer to it. For the Apex, or the Quick of the Argument (as you are pleased to phrase it) was laid down in this Proposition [That there is no where in Scripture such a Form of Words as these. [That they that are thus and thus qualified may Preach the Word.] Now to this you answer, That there is *quoad sensum*. And I reply, That this will serve my turn, if you do but make it out: But I say, that I cannot find it in your Papers. You urge six Particulars presently, from whence, I suppose, you intend to do it. But at length, your self fall beside the Question in the winding them up. For whereas you say, that the Form in the Law was not only thus: [That they that Preach the Word must be thus and thus qualified;] but [That they that are thus and thus qualified may be appointed to Preach the Word] I think you are beside the Question. For I did not engage you to prove that there were in Scripture such a Form of Words as this: [But they that are thus and thus Qualified shall be appointed to Preach] but [That Men thus and thus qualified may Preach the Word, or have in being so qualified, Authority to preach the Word.] betwixt which two Propositions I conceive there is much Difference: It is one thing to say, [That they that are thus and thus qualified may be appointed, that is, may have Authority given them to preach the Word.], And it is a far different thing to say, [That they that are thus and thus qualified may preach or have *de facto* Authority to Preach, being so qualified.] And being used as Mediums in a Syllogism will produce very different Conclusions. For Example, Suppose we could find such a Form of Words in Scripture as these, [That they that are thus and thus qualified may preach the Word:] And make this the *Major* in the Syllogism. Then any single Person or *Individuum* as could infallibly frame himself into the Assumption thus, [But I am thus and thus qualified] might infallibly also make out his Commission to preach into this Conclusion: *Ergo*, I have Authority to preach the Word. And without any thing to do with further Ordination might presently go about the Work: The Word giving him his Commission, and I confess were there such a Form, would be a sufficient Medium to convey Authority as a sufficient Discoverer of the Will of God concerning such an Individuum. But then, if there be only such a Form as this; [They that are thus and thus qualified shall be appointed to Preach the Word:] Then any single Person or *Individuum*, having first fitted himself into the *Minor* thus, [But I am thus and thus qualified] could make no other Conclusion but this: *Ergo*, I may be appointed to Preach the Word; which Conclusion, as I never did deny, so it is little Advantage for you to have proved: For the Question is not whether the Word doth direct who shall be appointed to Preach: But whether the Word doth immediately, by an immediate Application of something immediately, by an immediate Application of something in its self to an *Individuum*, convey Authority into that *Individuum* to Preach, so as there shall be no need of further appointing or commissioning from Church-Officers: which it would have done if there had been such a Sense in the Word as I required. But no such matter, though there should be such a Sense as you produce: For I cannot yield that which you conceive we are both agreed in; *viz.* That when the Word hath described the Qualifications of the Minister, that then there is no more to do but to discern or judge who is the Man that hath those Qualifications; for though the Bishop should judge such or such an *Individuum* to be fitly qualified for the Ministry, as discerning the Qualifications which the Word requires in him; yet till he hath by Imposition of Hands, Fasting and Prayer, set him a part for the Work, he is yet no Minister to my understanding, whatever he may be to yours.

‘But, Sir, I confess, though you have not *formaliter* answered this Argument, yet you have given me so much Light from your most excellent Discourse which you make from your *quinto* to the End of this Second Arguments Reply, that I can answer it my self. And therefore I shall, as I said at the beginning, acknowledge that you have both satisfied it, and my own scrupulous Mind about this Question: And I do fully consent with you, that though the Succession of Ordination might be interrupted, yet we may draw our Authority from Christ by the Mediation of the written Word, or indeed by the very Law of Nature, which was a thing I confess I had not (as your self seems to tax me) duly considered. But now, having well weighted what Strefs both Laws lay upon all Men to do what good they can when they have an Opportunity and there be a necessity of

their Help. I do not doubt but a Man may have a sufficient Discovery of the Will of Christ calling him out to Duty, and by Consequence giving him sufficient Authority for that Work, though he may want the regular entrance into it. And therefore since I see a way to justify the Ministry, and to derive our Authority from Christ, though the Succession should be interrupted (though also in the mean I think all the Men alive may be defied to make full Proof either that the Succession ever was, or ever shall be interrupted) I shall neither trouble you nor myself any farther about a business to so little purpose. But superceding from all the rest of my promised Task shall only add something concerning your Reply to my third Argument; and that is this: To my Question that I make in the Behalf of the Invaders of our Office, why we Clamour so much against them, why we give them not the Right Hand of Fellowship? you answer, We do not, we may not give them the Right Hand of Fellowship, because they come not into the Vineyard by the Door. But I Reply from your own Principles that it is for them morally impossible to come in by the Door, the Door to them being by Providence nailed up: The Men which you call Church Officers being either such as will not give them a Commission, or such as they dare not take a Commission from, as conceiving them not lawful Ministers, and because they cannot have their Orders from them *salvâ conscientiâ*, it becomes impossible to them, *quia omne turpe & inhonestum est impossibile*. And so, though you say, nothing is more untrue, yet to me, nothing seems more evident, than that the case of extream Necessity is their case. The Anabaptist for Example; he cannot be ordained by a Bishop, he dare not, because he judges the very Order to be Antichristian: The Presbytery, if he have any better Opinion of them, yet they think so ill of him, that they will not give him Orders. Either therefore, though he be never so well qualified for the Work, he must take his Call from the Company of Brethren, or he must take it upon his own discerning the Qualifications in himself, or he must not Preach at all, though he sees the Church of Christ have never so much need of his Help. Now if you say that in such a Case a Man may not bury his Talent when the Church hath need of his Help, and he an Opportunity to give it; but he may either take it upon himself, or the People may be the Judges to call him out to it, or the Magistrate either. Then they have the same Authority which we must have if the Succession be interrupted, and the Door of the Vineyard nailed up by Providence: and so their Authority seems built upon your own Principles. Now to all this if you say, that it is their Error to be Anabaptists, and it is their Error to Judge the visible Ministry of England to be no Church-Offices, and that it is their Duty to quit themselves of these Errors, that they may be in a Capacity to receive Ordinations, and the Presbytery in a Capacity to Ordain them, as you do in effect say. To this I answer, that I think, as well as you, that these are their Errors, and that these Errors ought to be laid aside. But yet, this being said, doth not absolve them from the case of extream Necessity which I speak of. An erroneous Conscience binding as strongly as a sound; and an Error appearing Truth, lays as great a Necessity upon the Party to frame his Practice to it as Truth: And so the Necessity becomes still as importunate. Methinks this Answer which you give may be made by Papists to us Protestants, and by the Episcopal Party to you Presbyteries, when we tell the Papists, that we dare not take Orders from them, or the Presbyterian tells the Episcopacy that they dare not take Orders from them: How easily may the Papists say to us, it is our Error? how seriously may the Episcopal say to the Presbyterian, it is your Error? You create Impossibilities and Necessities upon your selves by your erroneous Consciences? But if we Protestants cannot reject that Necessity which lies upon us of refusing Orders from the Papists: or if the Presbyterian cannot reject the Impossibility that lies before them of taking Orders from the Prelates whilst their Consciences tells them they may not. Why may not the Sectary upon as good Ground, and as justifiable Principles refuse Orders from the Presbyterian, and plead as strongly a moral Impossibility and a nailing up the Vineyards Door by Providence, whilst their Consciences tells them they may not; and so baulking those that we call Church-Officers enter as regularly into the Ministry, or at least as inconfutably as any other Men, if the Succession be interrupted? And therefore I cannot think that you have answered this Argument, except the two first Lines contains it; where you say, That the best things may be made use of as Occasions to encourage Men in Sin, &c. because I think that there is much Truth in that, and that the Inconvenience which this Argument hath hanged upon that Assertion, is but *incommodum per accidens*, which may be fastened upon most of the Truths of God; I supersede likewise in that Answer to my third Argument. As

for my Fourth Argument, I confess it was frivolously urged to the present Question, and I have wondered at my self how I came to hook it in under the present Debate; and therefore I will return you nothing to what you have said against it: But giving you many Thanks for that Help which you have held out to my Understanding towards that weighty Question of justifying the Calling of the Ministry; I beseech the Almighty long continue your Life to the Advantage of his Church. And this done, without further Ceremony, I bid you farewell, and rest

Wamborne, Nov. 9.
1653.

Your Fellow Labourer

in the Gospel of Christ,

M. Johnson.

For my Reverend, &c. very worthy Friend, Mr. Baxter, Minister of the Word at Kidderminster, These.

Mr. Baxter's Second Letter to Mr. Johnson.

Reverend Brother,

I Know not whether I am more glad of your Satisfaction, or sorrowful that you will needs supercede the Task which you undertook. I confess it is a Labour which I apprehend would be useful to me many ways; but a strong Conceit of the Impossibility of performing it, did slack my Desires: But now you tantalize me, expressing here a higher Confidence of the Feasibleness of your Work than before, (in your defying all the World on the contrary): So that I must again renew my suit to you, that you would perform that Work, and prove *de facto* an uninterrupted Succession. I profess, it is for my own Edification that I desire it; and if you suspect whether it be to cavil, or enter a Quarell with, you mistake me. Such a Discovery would dispatch several Difficulties with me in several Controversies.

As for your Animadversions last sent, I shall reply to the substance of them in brief. 1. The First I conceive little worth the insisting on, because first you confess it is but a Motive to induce you to think there is weight in the Point. 2. Because if there were any thing in it, the contrary Judgments of all the Learned Divines of France, Belgia, upper Germany, Helvetia, Denmark, Sweden, Scotland, Transylvania, Hungary, with a great part of the English, who are against the necessity of an uninterrupted Succession, is as strong a motive to an unprejudiced Man, as is the Judgment of the Bishops of England alone. But 2. It is a known Case past all doubt, that the English Bishops opposed the Papists in this Point, till of later Years; and to name you more, what need I, when you know I named you so many in my Book? To all which add, That even the late exasperated Episcopal Divines, whereof some have been suspected of halting, do yet confess the Truth of the Reformed Churches and Ministry that have no Bishops; as doth Dr. Fern, Dr. Stewart's, Answer to Fountain's Letter, Bishop Bromhall against Militerius, who yet would have the Pope to be *principium Unitatis* to all the Church. I do not think you can find one of twenty that wrote against the Papists before the late King's Reign, or the Treaty of the Spanish Match, but were all against the Papists in this Point of the necessity of uninterrupted Succession (if they medled with the Point).

Ad 2^{um}. The Reason why you saw not a Formal Answer in my Words, I conceive was your Oversight, you took no notice of the Force of my Answer. You required this Proposition to be proved from Scripture [They that are thus and thus qualified may preach the Word] I told you it is contained in this which is in Scripture [Men thus and thus qualified shall be appointed to preach the Word.] Here you overlook the Strength of my Answer, which is in the Word [shall,] and you not only obscure the Emphasis, but change the Word, and put [may] for [shall.] Here is contained a Precept comprehensive both of the Preacher's Work, and the Ordainers conjunctly. Now all my Business was to shew you, that as in this there are more Precepts than one, so that *secundum materiam subjectam* they have not the same Degree of Obligation; and that though God do

‘ lay down together his Law, both *de re & de modo*, of the Work, and the Order of entering on it, yet that the later is but for the former and subservient to it, and a more dispensable thing, and that when the Ordainers fail of their Duty (which is his own Precept included herein) the Person to be ordained remaineth nevertheless obliged by the other part : So that while Ordination may be had, this ties such to submit to it, and makes it necessary as God’s Order ; and then the whole Precept comprehensive obligeth : But when it cannot be had, or the Ordainer will not obey his part of the Precept, the other stands in force nevertheless to the other Party.

‘ The Words [Men thus qualified *shall* be ordained] hath these two Precepts in it. The First in Order and Weight is [Men thus qualified *shall* preach the Word.] The Second subservient is, [They shall (*ordinis gratia*) be ordained hereto] Hethat is wilfully the first Divider of these Conjunct Precepts sinneth. Either the Man that will Preach without submitting to Ordination, when it may be had ; or the Ordainers that will not Ordain the Orthodox, or otherwise well qualified. But seeing the Word [*shall*] in the foresaid Precept, doth create a double Necessity, but far unequal, [there *shall* be Preaching] and [*Ergo*, there *shall* be Ordaining] it followeth from the inequality, that when one cealeth, the other doth not *ergo* cease ; and so when Ordination cannot be had, the Proposition which you expected, remaineth alone, which before was conjunct with another. [Men thus qualified *shall* Preach :] This was the Summ of my Answer, which I do repeat *verbosè nimium* because you overlooked it the last time.

‘ But you add, [I cannot yield that which you conceive we are both agreed in ; *viz.* That when the Word hath described the Qualifications of the Minister, that there is no more to do, but to discern and judge who is the Man that hath these Qualifications : For though the Bishop should judge such a Man fit for the Ministry, as discerning the Qualifications which the Word requires in him, yet till he hath by Imposition of Hands, Fasting and Prayer, set him apart for that Work, he is yet no Minister to my Understanding, whatever he may be to yours.] To this I reply ; 1. I take the Form of Ordination to lye in the Authoritative Appointment ; and, God having described the Person by his Qualifications, I take the formal nature of this Appointment to lye only in [the determining Judgment] who shall be the Man : For [whether there shall be a Man appointed or not] God hath not left to Man’s Judgment ; nor yet [what manner of Man, for Qualifications, he shall be] : If, *Ergo*, the lawful Ordainers say, [We do by the Authority given us of God judge, *i. e.* sentence or determine, that *consideratus, considerandus*, this is the Man that is qualified, and so called of God to be the Pastor of this Church ; and *Ergo*, require you in the Name of Christ, to accept him, and submit to him ;] this Man is ordained my Judgment, yea, though this Determination be but in Writing. So if it be directed to the Minister himself : (which goes first) [we do by the Authority given us of God, Judge thee called to the Office of the Ministry ; and *Ergo*, require thee to undertake it.] By *called* I mean *ex parte Dei*, by Qualification, Consent, Opportunity, &c. which go before Ordaining.

‘ Now what do you yet want *ad esse Ministri* ? You mention but two things, 1. Imposition of Hands. 2. Fasting and Prayer : (For setting a part is done by the former Authoritative Determination) But 1. Imposition you anon deny to be so necessary, in disclaiming your last Argument ; which you seem here to forget. 2. Fasting and Prayer is, no doubt a mean Accident, or Duty fitly conjoined, but not of the Essence of Ordination. I think few Men living will say, that if the Lawful Ordainer do all the rest of the Work besides Prayer, that it is no Ordination ; Prayer is one thing (requisite *ad bene esse*) and Ordination another. And for Fasting, I could not learn that those Bishops that I knew did always observe it ; but when the Ordination was before dinner time (as it usually was) and the Bishop went presently from Ordination to his Feast ; that was not the Fasting, I think, which you mean. But how are you satisfied that we may derive our Authority immediately from the Law, if there were no Succession ? and yet think him no Minister that hath the determining Sentence of the Ordainer’s Appointing him to the Work, for want of Imposition of Hands, Prayer and Fasting.

‘ *Ad 3^{um}*. I marvel, that on so very slight Grounds, you think that [nothing is more evident, than that the case of extream Necessity is their case] who invade the Ministry among us now ! I told you that *Nemini debetur Commodum ex propria culpa* (as the Civil Law saith) I distinguished between moral Impossibility vicious and culpable, and inculpable ; and between necessitating to Sin, and necessitating
‘ to,

to, or constituting of Duty; and I told you, that the impossibility that lay on them of right entering was vicious, or through their own Sin; and God doth not cause Men to Sin. I told you also, that this erring Conscience might necessitate them to sin, that is, ensnare them, that they shall sin whether they do or not do; but it can never warrant them in obeying it. This was the Sense of my Speech, though not the Words. To explain which, I desire you to observe, that *bonum est ex causis integris*, at least *quoad Species*, if not *quoad Gradus*. So that God requireth to a virtuous Action which shall be properly and plenarily Moral, i. e. voluntary, 1. That it be made due by his own Precept or Law. 2. That it be apprehended such by the Intellect, and so by the Will elected, and elicit as such: So that where Conscience takes that to be Duty which is none, it hath but *Officium apparensum, & non verum*; it catcheth a Shadow, apprehending a Duty which is no Duty; so there may be interpretative a kind of formal Reason of Obedience in the Will (the Guided Faculty) in that it did will that which was presented to it as due, but there wants the Matter and the Form of Obedience *quoad hominem*, who is intelligent also: yea, here you must distinguish between Ignorance culpable, (and superable) and inculpable: For when the Ignorance is culpable, it cannot be said that the guilty Will doth properly *obedire*, because it was a cause of its own mis-leading by the intellect: And in our Case, that Ignorance is always culpable I do wonder, *Ergo*, that you should say, (and lay all on that Mistake) that [an erroneous Conscience binds as strongly as a sound] for the Obligation of Conscience is subordinate to God's Preceptive Obligation. God makes Duty, and Conscience doth but apprehend Duty: So that an erring Conscience cannot make Duty entirely and materially: We must not make a God of an erring Conscience, much less can it make that no Sin, which God hath made Sin; yea, make that Duty, which God made Sin. God's Precepts lye thus: [1. Thou shalt not run before thou art sent] This is to the whole Man; and no Error of Mans can repeal it. Then [2. The Will must follow the right guiding Intellect.] This is natural, and excuseth not the following of an erring Judgment. Then [3. That the Will follow the practical Intellect whether right or wrong] that is no Precept, but the Nature of the Soul in its acting, because that Will is *potentia ceca, non nata, ad intelligendum, sed ad volendum vel nolendum intellectum*: So that it is a most intollerable thing to grant that Man's Error can make Duty no Duty, or Sin no Sin. If Man must will *bonum apprehensum*, he may necessitate himself to sin in his choice, by misapprehending; because then, though *Bonum* be still *Bonum*, yet it is *apprehensum sub Ratione mali, & è contra*, and so one of the two Necessaries to right *Willing* is wanting; but apprehending *malum* to be *bonum* doth not make it so; and *Ergo*, then the greater Necessary is wanting to the erring Conscience, viz. God's Constitution: So that whether you say as *Durandus*, that *Conscientia errans Ligat at non obligat*, or whether you say, as others, that *ligare* and *obligare* are all one; yet still the case is plain, that [an erring Conscience may entangle us in Sin, whether we obey or not obey it; but it cannot free us from Sin or from Duty, except where the case is such that God's Law hath made one and the same thing to be sin or no sin, according to Mens Knowledge or Ignorance; which never falls out but when the Ignorance is inculpable, which is never in our Case.] Even while the Person erreth, he lyeth under a double Obligation: 1. To do the Duty, or avoid the Sin. 2. To judge rightly of Sin and Duty, and apprehend them as they are; and so to lay down his Error: So that all your Words import but this; [An erring Man cannot choose but err; or, cannot overcome it:] But not [he is, *ergo*, innocent:] For it is his own Fault that brought him to it, and continueth him in it. He that is accustomed to do evil, is not innocent, because he can no more learn to do well, than a Blackamore can change his Skin, &c.

2. This Answer of yours seems again to me, to be inconsistent with your professed Conviction. For if you do indeed think 1. That in case of necessity the Succession is not necessary. 2. And that nothing is more evident than that these Men have such Necessity:] then you must think that these Men are lawful Ministers; which I know you do not. Where the Flaw is, and what Link of this Chain you will break, I cannot tell.

3. And when you say, that (the Papists may say as easily to us, as we to the Sectaries, that it is our Error, &c. (and so the Episcopal Party) that we will not take Orders from them.) I reply, They may say it *as easily*, but if *as truly*, they conclude us under Guilt, and carry the Cause. Twenty Parties may say they are all in the right, doth it follow that they are all so, because they make the same Pretence;

tence to it? Many Parties may Plead one Medium; one Scripture, for contrary Opinions: Are they, *Ergo*, alike sound and justifiable? Thus the Scepticks and Libertines use to say, [You say, you are in the right, and Papists and Anabaptists say, they are in the right: *Ergo*, (What then? Why) they may be in the right, or at least, should have Liberty as well as you.] But it is not he that saith he is in the right, but he that is so indeed, that should be countenanced by the Magistrate: So it is not he that hath the same Pretence, but the justifiable Cause that must carry it: Else what are Judges for, if each Man have right that pretends to it? If our erroneous Conciences make us grope in the Dark, and suppose the Papists have nailed up the Door, when they have not, then the Sin lyeth on us. But if indeed the Papists, do by wicked Oaths, and Engagements to Papal Tyranny, and to false Doctrines, supernumerary Articles of Faith, and wicked Practices, shut up the Door of Ordination, that no Man can lawfully enter at it, among them, then is the Sin theirs, and God will judge them for the Divisions, Distractions, Confusions, Corruptions, and Desolations, which they have brought upon the Churches of Christ.

Ad. 4th. I need say nothing.

Sir, let me conclude as I begun, with a request that you would prove the interrupted Succession, for the Information of

Nov. 18. 1653.

Your Brother,

Rich. Baxter.

To my Reverend Brother, Mr. Johnson, Preacher of the Gospel at Womborne, This.

Mr. Johnson's Fourth Letter to Mr. Baxter.

S I R,

Although I had purposed wholly to have superceded from my former Undertakings, as conceiving them a fruitless Speculation in regard the Ministry may be justified without them; yet, forasmuch as I did desire all Men alive to make full Proof that the Succession ever hath, or ever shall be interrupted; and upon the Occasion of this Defiance, you do rather invite me, than challenge me to renew my Purpose: I cannot tell how I can avoid so much as my own Defiance hath engaged me to. And therefore, though very unwillingly, I shall endeavour, so far as my Defiance hath engaged me, to satisfy your Desire. And because I herein stand upon the Defensive, and by consequence must find some Man that pretends to make full Proof of the Question, before I can discharge that which now I undertake; I cannot tell, where to meet with such an one, unless it be your self in your late Book: And therefore I shall apply my self to examine your Argument, whereby you endeavour to prove that the Succession hath been already interrupted: But before I come to that I shall return you something to what you say in the last Papers. And *First*, whereas you tell me to my Demand, that you have instanced in many English Writers, who do all plead against the Papists the No-necessity of an uninterrupted Succession, I answer, that amongst those Authors which you quote, I have none by me but Bishop Jewel, and so far as I can discern from the *locis allegatis aut alibi*, he speaks nothing at all to the Question; what the other do, I shall examine hereafter as I meet with them.

Ad 2nd. Whereas you tell me that my not seeing a formal Answer to my Second Argument proceeded from an oversight of the Word [*shall*] and a Not-observation of the Emphasis in it. To this I answer, that it is indeed true, that I did not take heed enough to the Word, for if I had, I should not so indifferently have sometimes used it, and sometimes put an other Word in its room (which may make it plain that the Word was changed through inanimadvertency rather than by design); But it was not the Not-observation of the Word, but the Not-understand-
ing

ing of the what the Word contained in it that made the Error: For if I had understood that it contained two Propositions: 1. That Men thus and thus qualified shall preach the Word, or it is the Duty of Men thus and thus qualified to preach the Word. And then 2. That [Men thus and thus qualified, *ordinis gratia*, shall be set apart to it, or shall be appointed to Preach] I never had made this Animadversion, but should have acknowledged a formal Answer: But I understood it only thus, that Men thus and thus qualified shall be appointed, that is, it is their Duty, being so and so qualified to seek for Ordination, or it is their Duty being so and so qualified to be appointed to the Work: which I thought might be true, and yet they no Ministers till they were *de facto* set apart. But now very well understanding, that it may well bear both Propositions, and the first coming up close to the Question in hand, I shall willingly retract all that I said upon that Point, and acknowledge a formal Answer, which I think may satisfy.

But whereas you say, that by disclaiming my last Argument I denied Imposition of Hands to be so necessary, and by urging something hereabouts did seem to forget what I said anon. I answer, I did never intend to deny Imposition of Hands to be of necessity to legitimate Ordination. I said indeed, an Argument drawn from thence against the Question in Hand was frivolous. But I did not intend to disparage the thing it self any farther than Relatively to the Question then in debate. And whereas you say, that Fasting was not used; I answer, that there never was any Ordination but Fasting was previous to it by the Appointment of the Church in *Ember-Weeks*, which were constantly kept by the Sons of the Church, though neglected by others, and this I think might serve, though it was not the same Day, and I believe you will say so too. But in these things neither will I be boisterous till I am better informed what may be the substantial or essential Parts of Christ's Ordinances, and what not; which I confess I have not yet such an Idea of; So as to say in every Ordinance what is essential, and what not.

Ad. 3^m. Whereas you wonder that upon such slight Grounds I should so tenaciously stand to part of my third Argument. I answer, that I did not intend to inforce that the Case of extream inculpable necessity was the Sectaries Case: But such a Necessity as did inevitably intangle them in their Invasion of the Ministry, which though it doth no ways make them lawful Ministers, yet it makes them inconfutably lawful Ministers, till the Opinions which first made them separate be proved to them to be erroneous; my meaning is this: I think if this Hypothesis be true [that in case of extream Necessity Men may, and some must enter irregularly into the Ministry] it is not possible to convince an Anabaptist that his Invasion of the Ministerial Work is unlawful, till we can first convince him that Anabptism is erroneous. Now hereupon I thought their Hands was much strengthened over what it would have been had that Hypothesis been false. For then we could incontrollably have cleared their Invasion of the Work, though they had in the mean time remained unconvinced of their erroneous Opinion.

But now if we cannot convince them of their Error, but their way still appear Truth to them, then they need do no more to justify their Practice to themselves, but borrow our Principle; and that sets them right, and so their Invasion is inconfutable from what they borrow from our selves. And so though they do not justify themselves to us, because we think their Necessity culpable, and through their own default, yet they so far justify by this very Principle their Practice to themselves, that it renders them unconfutably lawful, till we can prove and make it out plain to them, that their very Opinions are erroneous: So that you mistook while you thought that I intended to prove their Practice lawful, whereas all that I intended was to shew that upon such a Principle their Invasion became less confutable; and their Hands something strengthened over they could have been upon the contrary Hypothesis; by which you may perhaps see what Link of your Chain I intended to break. But enough of this, I shall now come to the Business I first spake of.

First therefore you lay down the Episcopal Principles, *pag. 65. viz.* That no Church is a true Church without Ministers; and no Man a Minister that is not Ordained by a Bishop, and no Man a Bishop that is not ordained by a Bishop lawfully called, and not deprived again of his Power: And this Bishop must be Ordained by a former Bishop, and he by a former, and so the Succession must be followed up to the Apostles.

Having

‘ Having done thus, you catechize these Seekers, as you call these Doctors : And then proceed to prove that these Reverend, Learned, Pious Bishops, which you acknowledge to be now in this Nation, are no lawful Bishops upon the Principles laid down ; because they were ordained by such as had no Authority to ordain. This you prove because they were Ordained at length by the Popish Bishops in Hen. VIII. Time, who had no Authority to Ordain ; this you prove, because they derived their Authority from the Pope, who had no Authority to give them any. That the Pope had no Authority you prove by an Interruption of Succession of lawful Bishops in that Chair. That there hath been an Interruption in that Chair you prove by the Instances of *Liberius*, *Honorius*, *Dame Jone*, and many others, as you say, out of Bishop *Jewel*. The Strength of these Instances depend upon that Hypothesis, that Heresy or notorious Impiety doth evacuate holy Orders.

‘ Now if it can be infallably proved that Heresy or Impiety doth not evacuate Holy Orders ; or rather, if you cannot infallably prove as it is my part at this time to deny (I being upon the defensive) that Impiety or Heresy doth evacuate Holy Orders, then it will not follow that there was an Interruption, though *Liberius* was an Heretick. And if no Interruption, then Pope *Clement* the Incumbent at *Rome* in *Henry VIII.* Days, was, notwithstanding what is urged, in full Power to Ordain : And then if he had Authority, then the Popish Bishops which derived from him had full Authority ; and if they had, then our Bishops who at length derive from them have also full Authority : and so the whole Structure will fall at once if that Hypothesis, which is the Foundation of all, shall chance to shake. And therefore, Sir, in the first place, I pray you take notice, that I deny that Heresy or Impiety doth evacuate Holy Orders ; and expect the Proof of it.

‘ But then suppose I should grant this (which I never intend) I may, I conceive, fairly debate, that though there should be an Interruption in the Succession of the Chair at *Rome*, yet the Pope that now is, or the Pope that sat at *Rome* in *Hen. VIII.* Days were fully authorized to ordain, if they were but ordained by such, who neither were Heretical or Impious : For the Authority or Power of Ordination, I conceive, doth not come to any Bishop by Vertue drawn from his Predecessor *in sede*, but by Vertue derived from him who laid Hands upon him at his Consecration. For Example, that you may understand my meaning ; suppose Dr. *Winneffe*, the late Bishop of *Lincoln*, was consecrated by the Imposition of the Bishop of *Worcester*’s Hand : I conceive it is unreasonable to affirm, that this Doctor received his Episcopal Orders rather from Dr. *Williams*, his Predecessor in the Chair at *Lincoln*, than from the Bishop of *Worcester*, who is supposed to lay Hands upon him at his Consecration. Or if the Question be whether he was a lawful Bishop that gave him Orders ; I conceive that it is equally unreasonable that we should go and inquire rather after Dr. *Williams*’s Authority who was his Predecessor *in sede*, than after the Bishop of *Worcester*, who was, or is supposed in the Case to be his Consecrator. Or if *John Williams*, who was his Predecessor, should have *de facto*, proved an *Arrian* or a Conjuror while he sat in the Diocesan Chair at *Lincoln*, I think it is every whit as unreasonable to affirm, that therefore Dr. *Winneffe*, who succeeded him in that Seat, should lose his Episcopal Authority, when as his Consecrator can have no such thing fastened upon him. In like manner, though *Liberius* was an *Arrian* while he sat in the Pontifical Chair at *Rome* ; yet if that Bishop, whoever he was, (and look you to that) who consecrated Pope *Clement* were Orthodox, and so forward till we come to the Apostles, his Authority was good enough, though one, or more of his Predecessors *in sede* were Heretical. If you shall say that the Case is not alike betwixt the Succession of Popes and other Bishops : I ask, where’s the difference ? If you say that the difference is in this, that the Pope claims not his Authority from his Consecrator, but from his Predecessor. I answer, That it is very probable that he doth do so : But let him and the Popish Doctors therefore see how they can quit their Hands of this Interruption : For our parts we conceive we need not be engaged in this Controversy : It is enough for us to reply to this asserted Difference. That the Question is not what they lay claim to, but what they ought *de jure*, to lay claim to. If you say, That *de jure*, they do challenge their Authority from their Predecessors, I expect that you must prove it, before I will promise you that I will believe it. But if you say, that the Difference is only this, That they do *de facto* claim their Authority after another manner than other Bishops ; then I rejoyn, that it doth not follow, that they have their Authority after another manner than other Bishops ; because they say they have. If therefore the *facultas Ordinandi* doth not come from the Bishop’s Predecessor *in sede*, but from the Bishop who is the Consecrator. Then, Sir, you

‘you must prove that some of those Bishops who Consecrated Pope *Clement* e’re the
 ‘Succession reach the Apostles were Hereticks : It little avails to prove that some of
 ‘his Predecessors *in Cathedra* was such, at least to me; who are unwilling to be
 ‘thought a Protestant.

‘But then *Thirdly*, Suppose we should grant this (which we likewise never intend)
 ‘how will you make it appear that our Bishops in *Hen. VIII.* Time had their Au-
 ‘thority from the then incumbent Pope. If you say, they went over to him for
 ‘Imposition of Hands, that’s improbable ; if you say he came over to them, that’s
 ‘intollerable ; if you say, that he did delegate his Authority to some of our Eng-
 ‘lish Bishops, or sent a Deputy, or Nuncio authorized to those Ends : I answer,
 ‘that it may be true that he did so. But then the Question will again be, whether
 ‘our English Bishops had not full Authority to have done all this without his Know-
 ‘ledge ; or whether rather an Expectation of a Commission from him were not
 ‘a Fruit of the Error of those times holding him to be the universal Bishop : If it
 ‘was, though it be *Argumentum ad hominem*, and will again, I think, press fore
 ‘upon the Papists who assert the same) yet it doth nothing trouble us who assert no
 ‘such Universality. I ask therefore, must we acknowledge the Pope to be univer-
 ‘sal Bishop ; or must we not ? if we must, why do we not ? If we must not, why
 ‘should any Man urge that Practice in his own Defence, which he himself judgeth
 ‘to be erroneous : I speak plainlier, if the Bishops in *Hen. VIII.* Time had their
 ‘Authority from the Pope, then this must be pretended, I think, upon others
 ‘Grounds ; either because the Bishops had indeed no Power to Ordain without his
 ‘Commission, or because they thought they had none, or because they could not
 ‘exercise that Power which they both had, and knew they had, without his leave.
 ‘If you say they had indeed no Power to Ordain without his Commission : I say,
 ‘that you are more than a *Cassandrian* Papist. If you say they had no Power be-
 ‘cause they judged they had none. I deny the Consequence, and expect you
 ‘should prove it. Or 3. If you say they had their Authority from him because they
 ‘could not exercise it without his leave. I shall only propound this Case in answer
 ‘to you : Suppose General *Cromwell* should put in so between you and the Exer-
 ‘cise of your Ministry that without his leave you should not preach or administer
 ‘the Sacraments, would you say, if you had leave from him, that you derived
 ‘your Authority from him, because the external Exercise of your Authority depends
 ‘upon his Leave ? I think you would not.

‘Well, Sir, I shall now only rehearse what I expect you should prove. And the
 ‘first thing that is expected is this : That Heresy or Impiety doth evacuate Holy
 ‘Orders. 2. That the Power of Ordination is derived from the Predecessor *in se-*
 ‘*de*. 3. That some of Pope *Clement*’s Consecrators e’re his Line reach the Apostles
 ‘were heretical or impious. 4. You must prove that the Bishops in *Hen. VIII.*
 ‘Time did not only judge that they had dependance upon the Pope for Autho-
 ‘rity, but that indeed they had no Authority but what they derived from him. If
 ‘you can indeed make good all this, then I shall confess that the Interruption of Suc-
 ‘cession is made good also. But till then, I shall *amplius*. Yet in the mean time
 ‘I shall be a very great Admirer of your Worth, and Lover of your Industry,

M. Johnson.

Wamborn, Dec. 8. 1653.

For my Reverend and very Worthy Friend, Mr. Baxter,
 Minister of the Word at Kidderminster, These.

G

Mr.

Mr. Johnson's Fifth Letter to Mr. Baxter.

S I R,

THE Question, as I remember, was stated between us thus: Whether an infallible Knowledge that our Ordainers have full Authority to ordain, be necessary to make us have true Peace of Conscience in the Exercise of our Ministry. To which Question, before I give any Answer, I shall first willingly yield these two Propositions. 1. That an infallibly lawful Ordination is necessary to make us infallibly lawful Ministers. 2. That an infallible Proof that we have been lawfully ordained is necessary to make us infallibly know that we have been lawfully Ordained. But I deny that an infallible Knowledge that we have been lawfully Ordained is necessary to make us lawful Ministers. Or that an infallible Knowledge that we have been lawfully ordained, is necessary to give us true Peace in the exercise of our Ministry. The former Negative is so clear from the extrinsic Nature of Knowledge to the Essences of the things known, and the Posteriority of the Nature of Scientiæ a re Scibilibus, that it is altogether superfluous to say any thing in order to the Proof of it. But the other being indeed the thing you doubt of. I shall offer you what is upon my own Understanding, and what it is that persuades me to take the negative part. And my Reason is this: I do therefore think that an infallible Knowledge that his Ordainers had full Authority is not necessary to give a Man true Peace in the Exercise of his Ministry: Because true Peace, according to Gospel Equity is not founded upon exactness, but upon utmost diligence and sincere Endeavours. And particularly in point of Knowledge or in the Question [What is our Duty to know] True Peace is not founded upon exact or infallible Knowledge, but upon an utmost Diligence, or sincere Endeavour to know. And therefore if we can but truly say, that we do use our utmost Diligence to know, we have the Foundation of true Peace, though we be in the mean time in much Ignorance about the thing we enquire after. And to the Question in hand, if we can truly say, that we have used our utmost Endeavours to know whether our Ordainers had full Power to Ordain; we may have true Peace in the Exercise of our Ministry though in the mean time we cannot infallibly prove, and by consequence cannot infallibly know that they had any such Authority. True Peace, according to Gospel measure, very well agreeing with inculpable Ignorance.

And the Truth is, if it were not thus in other things, I do not see how any Man could with Peace of Conscience enjoy those things which we call their Inheritances. For it can never be infallibly proved, nor they by consequence infallibly know, that they have just Right and Title to them. If they be not lawfully begotten, they have no just claim to their Inheritances. Now if they do not, or indeed cannot infallibly know that they have been lawfully begotten, they cannot know infallibly that they have a just claim to their Inheritances. But they can never come to an infallible Knowledge that they have been lawfully begotten, and by consequence upon such Principles as these, can never, with Peace of Conscience, enjoy that which all Men usually call their due Inheritances.

And I conceive upon the same Grounds, The Levites and Jewish Priesthood could never, with any Peace of Conscience, have exercised their Sacred Offices, in regard they could never come to an infallible certainty that they did descend from Aaron, upon which account only they had their just claim to those holy Employments. Yea, and all the Princes in the World, who derive by dissent their Titles to their Crowns, would upon such a Principle as this, sit either very loose, or with little ease in their imperial Chairs, being never able upon infallible Proof to make good that they were the true legitimate Heirs to their Predecessors. Which Considerations a posterioris, (as the Argument alledged doth a priori) over-rule my Judgment to determine that an infallible Knowledge that our Ordainers had full Authority to Ordain, is not necessary to give us true Peace in the Exercise of our Ministry; which was the only thing intended at the present

Wamborn, Decemb. 26.

1653.

By Your Fellow-labourer,

and Enquirer after Truth,

M. Johnson.

Numb.

Numb. III. Letters between Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Lambe.

Mr. Lambe's Letter to Mr. Baxter.

S I R,

PER HAPS my Boldness may seem much in this Address to one unknown by Face; but want of that is no sufficient Plea to restrain me, knowing it's no Impediment to the Communion of Saints. These Lines are writ out of much Affliction of Heart, and in many Tears which have run over at the Throne of Grace many a time about the Case presented. The Reason of my Address to you, rather than any other, is because of some Conversation I have had with your Writings, whereby I judge you to have the Tongue of the Learned, to speak a Word in Season, being experienc'd your self in Spiritual Affairs and Temptations, the immediate Cause of this Address was my reading your last Direction in the Book of Getting and keeping Peace and Comfort.

The Case is mine only, as it is the Case of one who is my self in the dear Relation of a Husband; it is an unusual one, and therefore will require, I doubt, you more Pains to reach it, and so is the more boldness in me, but from you will be the more Service to Christ Jesus; if you engage in it I would be brief, but must of necessity declare Circumstances. This dear Husband of mine, Mr. Lambe, is one that hath been devoted to God's Fear from his Youth up, and hath desired exceedingly, and delighted greatly to serve Christ Jesus our Lord; the Ministry he was nourished and bred up in was, Mr. John Goodwin's, for Twelve or Thirteen Years, where he joined a Member, and afterward by common Consent, and Prayer, and Fasting was ordained an Elder over that Flock, and did labour in the Word and Doctrine then with great delight, striving to adorn the Gospel in all Acts of Love, Righteousness and Mercy. Going on thus with Joy, about Five Years ago the great Controversion of Baptism had some access into his Judgment through the means of another Member of that Body, Mr. Allen, a very Holy and good Man, who having had long doubts about Infant Baptism, was carried to the other, by means of Mr. Fisher, since Quaker; by these Arguments presented, Mr. Lambe was taken in his Judgment, and in Conscience of his Duty did practice accordingly, not thinking then, but still to hold communion with the Church notwithstanding; but then suddenly was led farther, namely, to leave the Communion of that Church, and finding not where to find any Society in that Engagement where they could have such means of Edification as they had left, they were induced to join in a Body with some others, about Twenty that came off by their means from the same Fellowship, and so for Five Years have gone on till there is an Addition of about an Hundred. Pray, Sir, pardon my troubling of you with this Story; but that which follows cannot so well be understood without it.

Which is, That now about Nine Months last past, by some Experiences and Sightings of the Faults of some, particularly that of Fishers, and disrelishing the Practices, and Assertions of some, in unchurching all besides themselves, he began to be provoked and pressed much in Spirit to consider the Grounds of separating upon the account of Baptism, and in that Survey still their Weakness, which appeared the more by reading yours, Mr. Jo. Goodwin, and Homes Books of Baptism, begot in him not only a Sight of Weakness in his Grounds about Separating, but weakened his Confidence as to the opposing of Infant Baptism: In this time, as things appeared to him (he being free and open Hearted) was ready to express his Thoughts to those he conversed with; who being rigid about Separation, still persuaded him these new Thoughts were Satan's Temptations, to hinder him in the Lord's Work: Which occasioned much Prayer, and Fasting and Prayer; that if these Thoughts were not of God's Holy Spirit, they might dye from his Soul. But still they increased and came with such Light and Power, argumentative from Scripture, detecting his former Principles as to Separation. In this interim he conversed with divers Ministers in Town, as Mr. Goodwin's Book, Mr. Manton, Dr. Reynolds about the meaning of 1 Cor. 12. 13, &c. his thoughts still carrying him on, till he had formed them into three Sheets of Paper; but all the

way it was a Fight with Temptations, as often is declared; yet his Light plainly evincing the evil of Saints dividing upon the account of Baptism, although it should stand good, Baptism should belong only to Believers: And as I conceive those Temptations partly occasioned by Friends, who out of their Love would charge him to take heed, for some Root of Bitterness or other was the Ground of these Thoughts, and some Carnal end he had, and was weary of Christ's Yoke, and the Woes to Backsliders would be his Portion, &c. and that never any owned these Principles that forsook them, but they became sad Objects of God's Displeasure; Satan sitting in when these did occasion great Distress, and Searchings of Heart, many Fears, Prayers, and Tears, fore Temptations that he was not sincere, which was heightened by one Thought that he had espied in his Heart when he was amidst these thoughts; namely, that to break the Neck of those strait Principles which would not permit any to Marry but to those in their own way, would be a Freedom in respect of his Daughters in their Marriages (who are but now Ten and Eleven Years of Age) the Fears lest the having of this in his Thoughts should in answer to this, argue the Predominancy of the interest of the Flesh, hath filled his Soul with great distress, which I declare to you as a spiritual Physician, that you may know the whole Case. After seeking God, a little help was attained in this: and he received some Testimony of Conscience that this Thought was not the moving Cause of his change of Mind, or any predominant end, only an after Thought which had some encouragement in it. When this Temptation was over, then as bitter Fears about apostacy, all those Texts seeming to apply themselves to him as speaks of an evil Heart of unbelief in departing from God, of being cast out as a withered Branch; and these, attended with Tears, and woundings of Spirit: If he did cease from drawing up his Arguments, then he should have ease; but the Light of them was so pressing upon his Mind, that he could not forbear: This hath been his Life for these Eight or Nine Months, having declared his Arguments, the People to whom he is Elder, they grow offended and disturbed; if he have any thought of returning to Mr. Goodwin's Church again, then nothing but Horror and as it were a flaming Sword in his Spirit: is not that a Ground that he ought not return thither? He finds most ease in his tender and fair Intreaties of the People he is now with, to keep them from Separating to the further prejudice of their Souls: Having a little ease about the Fear of Apostacy, by finding by Experience that his Soul never went out in such strong Desires and high Praisings of Jesus Christ, and earnest Desires to serve him in his Gospel, and having in this time more abundantly than ever found his Soul emptied of self-esteem, and sense of his need of Christ's Nourishing and Cherishing. After this, the next Temptation which now he wrestles with is, *hard Thoughts of God*, as if he were hard, not easy to be intreated, &c. These sore Temptations hath made him ready to faint, saying sometimes, O that he were settled in his former Thoughts against Infant Baptism, and could practice with a good Conscience as he had done the other, to this it's suggested, no now it shall be hid from him, he received not the Truth in the Love of it, &c. and Heb. 12. 17. made use of to wound him that he obtained not the Blessing though he sought it carefully with Tears: These Thoughts occasioned strong Cryes, and Tears, and great Distress of Soul. Yet Sir, take notice that all this while his now Arguments to one Communion with all Saints, as Saints, are never questioned in his Judgment, but all admitted to him; nay, all that have seen them, who are divers of the Re-baptism, have not any of them as yet offered any thing to detect them, but contrarywise, they have had their force in the Minds of some.

Now, dear Sir, I hope you understand my Scriblings, the end of all is to intreat your help as one that Christ hath set in his Church for the edifying and establishing of his Members; judging you faithful, and one of a Thousand in experience, I have taken the boldness to intreat your Answer to the following Particulars.

1. Whether God doth use to leave any of his Servants to such bitter Temptations when they are about a Service acceptable to him? If so, what his Ends may be in it?

2. Whether these Distresses of Spirit can be any Demonstration that his former Practices and Principles about restraining Communion to after Baptism, nor more pleasing to God's Spirit, which hath seemed to be proved, and so Dependant: These latter Arguments about largeness in that kind.

3. Whether considering his former Relation to Mr. Goodwin's Congregation, from whom he withdrew upon the Thought he had of unlawfulness to communicate with unbaptised Persons, which now he sees the Vanity of, it be not now his Duty to return thither, and if so, then 1. What should be the Reason that his Conscience,

Conscience, though very tender in other things, should have little or no sense of that as his Duty. And 2. What should then be the Reason, that when he hath had any Thoughts tending that way, such Terrors, like a flaming Sword should pierce his Soul?

4. Whether, having been an Instrument to draw so many together into this way, it be not rather his Duty to continue with them, applying himself in all ways of Love and Forbearance to enlarge their Spirits, which he judges his Duty, because he finds a sensible ease in his Soul, upon such Resolutions and Applications?

5. Inasmuch as he stands an Elder over them, and is weakened in his Confidence against Infant Baptism (which they are so confident against) and also cannot baptize Believers otherwise than to satisfy their Scruple of Conscience that shall desire it out of doubt of the Defect is in their Infant Baptism, and with Cautioning of such to take heed of their taking it up so as to denominate their Christianity, Saint-ship, or Church-ship thereby; if any Party of the Congregation can not bare him thus, but should separate, and so want means of Edification, or, as some say, rather be Quakers than so indifferent, or as one of them says, he would join with the Church of Rome, if he thought that true which Mr. Lambe says, namely; That he may have Communion with Persons not so baptized; whether considering their Danger he ought not hide, or cease to desist on his Sense, or what he ought to do?

6. Considering his present Temptations and Assaults to his Faith and Sense of God's Love, it be his present Work to study to be settled in a full Persuasion one way or other about Baptism: But to mind his spiritual Defence against these Violent Assaults, which makes him say, *O that he were in his late confidence again*, and so is resolved to study the Arguments that are against Infant Baptism: And he is directed to your *Twenty Arguments in the Book about right to Sacraments, about the necessity of Faith to interest in Baptism*.

Now, sweet Mr. Baxter, shall I have so much Grace in your Sight, as to have your distinct Answer to these Particulars; truly, it will be Service to Jesus Christ, whom we have desired to serve in all singleness of Heart from our Youth up, and have no desire in this World liketo this, to know his Will and do it, whose Love and the Light of whose Countenance, is better than Life to our Souls, having no Design but to serve our Lord upon the best Terms, who hath dealt bountifully with us, whose Mercy and Faithfulness we have often experienced.

I trust it is of God that put it into my Heart to write to you, and I will wait that the Son of Righteousness may shine through you, a Star in his Right Hand, to our Guidance in this Night of our Temptation. I acquaint none that I do it, were it known, it might occasion me some farther Tryals: Therefore I intreat your Secrecy in it. My Husband hath indeed sometimes said, he would write to you: but hath said again, Mr. Baxter will not regard me; and indeed he hath scarce freedom of Mind to any Business, he should take a Journey to Worcester, which if he do, he says he will come to you: I do not acquaint him with this, but your Advice I know I shall be able to help him by. Now our Lord Jesus Christ, who still giveth Gifts to Men, and doth continue Means in his Church, sufficient to the help of all his poor Servants, be your Helper to us ward, with craving Pardon for my great Boldness, I take leave, and remain

London, in Great St. Bartholomews,
this 12th of August, 1658.

YOURS

in our Lord Jesus,

Barbara Lambe.

I have inclosed sent a Copy of the mentioned Arguments, which pray peruse, and keep private.

And I desire what you write in answer to me may be inclosed in a Cover, to Mr. James Marshall in Friday-Street at the Half Moon, who is my Son in Law, and so I shall have it with privacy. I shall long to know that these come safe to your Hands.

For Mr. Rich. Baxter, Minister of the Gospel in Kidderminster.
These present.

Dear

Dear Mrs. Lambe,

HOW true did I feel it in the reading of your Husband's Lines and yours which you say in the beginning, that unacquaintedness with the Face is no hindrance to the Communion of the Saints : So much of Christ and his Spirit appeared to me in both your Writings, that my Soul in the reading of them was drawn out into as strong a Stream of Love, and closing Unity of Spirit, as almost ever I felt it in my Life. There is a Connaturality of Spirit in the Saints that will work by Sympathy, and by closing uniting Inclinations, through greater Differences and Impediments than the external Act of Baptism : As a Load-stone will exercise its attractive Force through a Stone Wall. I have an inward Sense in my Soul, that told me so feelingly in the reading of your Lines, that your Husband, and you, and I are one in our dear Lord, that if all the self-conceited Dividers in the World should contradict it on the account of Baptism, I could not believe them.

About a Year ago Sir Henry Herbert gave me one of your Husband's Books about Baptism, which when I had read, I told him that the Author and I were one in Love, though not of one Opinion, and that he wrote in the most savory, honest, moderate Style of any of that Mind that ever I read. But truly the perusal of these Arguments persuade me yet to higher Thoughts of him, much more may be said than he hath said in that great and weighty Case ; but yet I have met with none that hath said so much in so small a room. It delighteth me to feel the workings of a Catholick Spirit in his Lines. Nothing hath more undone us (except flat Ungodlyness) than the loss of Catholick Principles and Affections among Christians ; (few are more void of them than the Papists that boast of them :) It must be this loving a Christian as a Christian that must hold when all is done : He that loveth Christ in Christians, will love all Christians where Christ appears. Should not Dividers fear least Christ say to them that cast off most of his Holy Members for this Opinion sake, *Ye did it unto me ?* Is Christ in these Saints, or his he not ? What ! a Saint, and Christ not in him ! that cannot be : And is he in them, and shall he be used so unkindly, so uncharitably, as to be cast by ? Oh dear Mrs. Lambe, the Lamb of God hath reconciled greater Differences, and closed greater Differences than these : and his tender Bowels yearn over those that we suddenly reject. He that said to his sluggish Followers [*The Spirit is willing, but the Flesh is weak ;*] and that sent so kind a Message to Peter (that lately denied him) as soon as he was risen, and that still shewed such matchless Compassions to the weak, will give little Thanks to dividing Spirits that cast out his poor Servants whom he himself doth not cast out. I know not Mr. Lambe by Face, but Mr. Allen I know ; could he find in his Heart to deny me Brotherly Communion if I desired it of him, and protested that I would be of his Opinion and Practice if I durst, and my contradicting Judgment did not hinder me : I have told the Pastors of the Re-baptized Churches here, that if any of their Judgment and Practice will satisfy themselves with being again Baptized, and will live in peaceable Communion with us, they shall be as dear to us as any other ; and that if I were a Member of Mr. Tombes's Church, if he would permit me, I would live obediently under his Ministry (allowing me the Liberty of my Conscience) : I hope God is working for our Unity and Peace. I have been long preaching of the Unity of the Catholick Church, containing all true Christians as Members ; and the last Week save one, Mr. Tombes came to the Re-baptized Church at Bewdley, and preacht on the same Subject, and so excellently well (as I hear) for Unity among all true Christians, to the same purpose with your Husband's Arguments, that I much rejoiced to hear of it (though I hear some of his People were offended). And now that this should be seconded with your Husband's peaceable Arguments, puts me in some Hopes of a little more healing. I have strong Hopes that if I were in London I should persuade such as your Husband, and Mr. John Goodwin, and many an honest Presbyterian Minister (as great a distance as seems to be between them all) to come yet together, and live in Holy Communion. But before God will drive us together before he hath done with us : Living Members will smart by distance, and be impatient till the Wound be closed ; what a Damp is upon the Spirits of those Christians that can separate (interpretatively) from a thousand parts (to one) of the Church of Christ. The Papists would desire no better sport (nor the Infidels neither) than to reduce the Church of Christ to the Antipade Baptists, or the baptized at Age, and so to deny him to have had any

any visible Church in the World (that we can prove) for so many Years: Would they have held Communion with the Catholick Church for a thousand Years together, or would they not (if they had lived in those times)? If they would, then why not with us also that are of the same Judgment? Was it a Duty then, and is it unlawful now? or are they Respecters of Persons? If they would not in all those Ages have held Communion with the visible Church, what would they have done but separated from the Body, and so from the Head, and cast off Christ in all his Members, and taken him to be a Head without a Body, which is no head, and so no Christ, what would they have done but denied his Power, and Love, and Truth, and consequently his Redemption, and his Office? Hath he come at the end of Four Thousand Years (since the Creation) to redeem the World that lay so long in Darkness, and hath he made such wonderful Preparations for his Church by his Life and Miracles, and Blood and Spirit, &c. and promised that *the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, and that his Kingdom shall be an Everlasting Kingdom, and his Dominion endureth from Generation to Generation:* and yet after all this shall he have a Church (even as the Seekers say) but for an Age or two: For doubtless (tho' where Heathens were the Neighbours of the Church, many were baptized at Age, yet) no Man can name or prove a Society (or I think a Person) against infant Baptism for One Thousand Two Hundred Years at least, if not One Thousand Four Hundred: And for many Ages no other ordinarily baptized but Infants. If Christ had no Church, then where was his Wisdom, his Love, and his Power? What was become of the Glory of his Redemption, and his Catholick Church, that was to continue to the End? That Man that can believe that Christ had no Church for so long time, or any one Age since his Ascension, must turn an Infidel and deny him to be Christ, if he be a rational Man. Did all the Gospel Precepts of Love and Holy Communion cease, as soon as Infant Baptism prevailed? doubtless (though it be his Ordinance) Christ never laid so great a stress on the outward Washing as Dividers do. Whenever Baptism is mentioned in Scripture, it means [The Engagement of the Person to Jesus Christ by solemn Covenant, which Washing is appointed to Solemnize] and 1 Cor. 12. 13. doth plainly mean [That one Holy Spirit, which is usually given to the Baptized, either in or near their outward Baptism, doth inwardly animate all the Body, and unite them and assimilate them and prove them Members]. Constantine the Great was the Glory of the Church in his Generation, maintaining Holiness and Peace, when the Pastors were some Corrupters, and some Dividers, and would have broken all in Pieces but for him: He ordinarily Preached, (or made Holy Prayers and Speeches in Meetings) and yet was never baptized all this while till near Death, and none ever scrupled his Communion. I would know of the Dividers why they should think Baptism more necessary to be believed than the other Sacrament, the Supper of the Lord: Yet it is certain that all the ancient Church did purposely conceal the Lord's Supper from the Knowledge of the Catechumens; by which it appears they judged not the Belief of it essential to a Church Member: Yet I know the great thing meant by the Word Baptism in Scripture is essential to the Church-Membership of the Adult; that is, the giving up our selves to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in Covenant; but the Sign is only necessary as a Duty, but not as a means without which the thing cannot be had. This is voluminously proved against the Papists, with whom the contrary minded do comply. Circumcision in the Wilderness was separated from Church-Membership and Communion. And is the outward part of Baptism more necessary under the Gospel, which setteth less by Externals, and where God that is a Spirit will be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth; and where neither Circumcision nor Uncircumcision availeth any thing, but a new Creature, and Faith that worketh by Love.

But our main Argument against them is, That no true Definition can be given of Baptism that will not agree with Infant-Baptism, if it were granted to be unlawful, were it proved an unmeet Age, it will never prove the Baptism null. But I do but go besides your Expectation, I suppose in all this; which is occasioned by your Husbands Paper and the main Cause. I shall therefore come at last to your Case.

But will Mr. Lambe regard the Judgment of one that differeth from him as I do? You know according to my Judgment what I must advise him to: but though still it is my Judgment that Infants of Believers should be solemnly given up to Christ by Baptism; yet I shall deal as impartially as I can, and put my self in Mr. L.'s Case, and supposing I were of his Opinion against Infant-Baptism, I shall

answer

answer your particular Questions. To the two first I answer : 1. We have a sure Word to fly to for Direction, and many great and evident Principles (as here the Nature of the Catholick Church, &c.) to give us Light in the darker Points that depend upon them : and in such a Case it is dangerous gathering our Informations about Truth or Duty, or Sin from dark and doubtful Providences, which are not our Rule, but only some Effects of the Will of God, that as to Events are clear, but as to Truth and Duty can tell us nothing or very little, but in full Subordination to our Rule, from which they must receive their Light. And of all Providences few are darker than Motions and Troubles from our own Thoughts, so many, and secret, and powerful Causes are there within us, and about us of Misapprehensions and misd Passions, that its very dangerous boldly to Judge of the Mind of God by our own disturbed Minds ; when it is our Duty to judge our own Minds by God's, and God's Mind by his Word ; his particular Providences being mostly but to help the Word in working in a Subordination to it. 2. I cannot be sure that know him not, but I suspect by the Narrative, that this is Mr. L.'s Case ; 1. His Heart being upright in what he had before done, God in Mercy gave into his Mind, that Light concerning Catholicism and Brotherly Love, and other Truths contained in his Papers, which tended to his Satisfaction and Recovery. 2. Upon the sight of this much Truth, it must needs raise some Trouble in his Mind, that he had acted contrarily before, and yet the Words of the contrary Minded holding him in suspense, and unresolved about his future Practice, at least, increased his Trouble (an unresolved Mind in great Matters being a Burden to it self). 3. And the terrible Threats and hard Prognosticks of these Dissenters and their Censures of him, might yet sink deeper. For it is the way of some to fall upon our Passions instead of our Judgments, and stir up Fears in us, instead of convincing us. As the Papists win abundance by telling them, that no others can be saved (as if we should be frightened to the Party that will be most uncharitable, when Charity is the Christians Badge). So I doubt too many do, that we have now to speak of. 4. The Apprehension of his Peoples Discontent, and some bad Consequents to them and himself, that he Apprehended would follow his Return, did yet make the disturbance more. 5. The long and serious Study of the Matter with much Intention, might yet go farther. 6. And by all these means, I conjecture he is somewhat surprized with Melancholy. 7. And then (if that prove so) its very hard to gather the Mind of God from his Disturbances ; for they will follow the Impresses on his own disturbed Mind. But all these are but my distant Conjectures from what you write. But to come nearer.

3. Whether he have contracted any Melancholy or no, this is my Judgment of the Causes of his Changes. 1. God caused his Light and Convictions in much Mercy, that's evident by the Conformity of his Assertions here to the Word of God, and the Principles of Christianity. 2. Satan envied him and others the Mercy that was given in : and therefore I verily think he is the cause of his Horrors and Troubles, when he thinks of returning to Unity with others, and wholly withdrawing himself from the Schism : My Reasons are, 1. Because I know that the Work is of God, and *Ergo*, who but Satan should be against it. 2. Because that Troubling, and Terrifying, and Disturbing the Passions is usually his Work ; especially when it is against God's Light. God worketh by Light, and drawing the Heart to Truth and Goodness : But Satan usually worketh by stirring in the Passions to muddy the Judgment. 3. Common Experience tells us, That it is his ordinary way, where once he hath got Power, to give quiet in Sin, and to trouble and terrify upon Thoughts of Recovery. *Quest.* But how should he have such Power with a Servant of God ? This leadeth me more particularly to answer your first Question. God frequently giveth him such Power over his own Servants, 1. When the Service we are upon is a recovering Work, which implyeth our former Guilt. It was no small Sin (though ignorantly committed by an honest Heart) for Mr. L. to separate and draw so many with him, and put so much Credit and Countenance upon a Cause, that hath made such sad and miserable work among the Saints : O ! What Churches might we have had by this time in *England*, if the Enemy had not made use of our dividing Friends to his Advantage, and to do his Work.

Now you must not marvel if the Accuser and Executioner have some Power given him to be a Vexation to a Godly Man after such Guilt. And indeed so few look back that fall into Divisions, that Mr. L. should not grudge at a little Perplexity that meets him in the way of so great a Mercy. An ingenuous Mind would not

'not come out of so great a Sin without some moderate Trouble for it (and for it, it is meritoriously, and should be intentionally). 2. Especially if Melancholy give him advantage, Satan (that commonly worketh by that means and Instrument) may do Wonders. 3. And I shall tell you of some other ends in the conclusion, that I conjecture at.

'To your Second Question I say, it seems to me, as is said, a hard thing; yea, impossible to judge of his Cause by these his Passions: But it's most probable by far, that this Distress of Spirit is for his former Sin in separating (to say nothing of Re-baptizing) and that it is also a gracious Providence for some further Good, that yet he knows not of.

'To the Third Question I answer, I know not the State of Mr. Goodwin's Church, and Ergo, can say nothing to it, whether he should return thither: But my Judgment is 1. That he should in Prudence a little forbear deserting his separated Church for the ends in the Conclusion mentioned. 2. That when he removeth he should preach the Gospel on the Terms in the end. 3. That if he must be a private Member, he should rather go to Mr. Goodwin's Church than another, if it be rightly constituted, (because he thence removed): But if it be disorderly gathered out of many Parishes without Necessity, were I in his case I would rather join with another Church, and that in the Parish where he lives, if there be a Church that is fit to be joined with; if not, I would remove my Dwelling to the Parish that I would join with: Cohabitation is the Aptitude requisite to Church-Membership. To Your Question, Why his Conscience feels not this Duty: I know not, unless providence mean, as I shall speak anon. But I marvel if he feels not the Sin of his Separation.

'To your Fourth, I answer: Having drawn so many into a Schism, it is his great unquestionable Duty to do all that he can to get them out of it: and if he cannot, to leave them, and partake no longer in their Sins; yea, and do more than this for his Recovery and theirs.

'To your Fifth Question: It is answered in the former; he ought openly to disown the Sin of Separation.

'To the Sixth: If he be Melancholy, let him forbear Studies; if not, he should impartially search after the Truth by Study, but with Patience, not setting God a time for his Resolution. As for my Twenty Arguments, which you say he is referred to, I partly considered what they made for, before I set them down. They prove a Necessity of Profession of Consent in all adult Covenanters: But yet Parents may profess their Consent to their Childrens Covenanting or Engagement: The Parents are the Believers and the Consenters, and Ergo, must be the Professors. They have Power of devoting, and giving up, and engaging their Children to God. I would Mr. L. could tell me [*When the Priviledge and Duty of Parents entering their Children into the Holy Covenant with God, and solemnizing this did cease?*] Let him answer me but that one Question well, and prove it, and I will be of his mind (but this is besides my Intent): It will not prove that Infants are not saved, because it is said so oft, That he that believeth shall not perish: and he that believeth not, is condemned already, and shall be damned, &c. No more will it prove that Infants that profess not, and believe not, may not be entered by professing Parents into Covenant with God, (as undoubtedly till Christ's Time they were) because Profession is necessary to the adult. As the Parents Will disposeth of them (for their good) so the Parents Profession is enough. But I come to my Conclusion.

'I am no Prophet; but I hope God hath given Mr. L. his Light and his Tryals, yet for higher ends; and suffered him to delay his Relinquishment of the Schism, that he may be more serviceable to the Church, in helping to heal the common Breach. To which End I make this Motion to him, and tell him from me, I think it is of God, and will produce his Comfort.

'1. If he desire it, I will presently send him a Model of Agreement between the Churches of the Pædobaptists and Anabaptists (as commonly called) in order to their charitable brotherly Communion, and the preservation of the common Truth, that it suffer not by our Divisions: This he and I will subscribe to, and then I doubt not to get Mr. Tombes to subscribe it; and next I will get all our Association to subscribe it; and next let Mr. T. and he get what other of the Re-baptised to subscribe it that will. If none but he and I do it, we will publish it, and shame the World into a Peace, or do our Parts. And methinks I foresee great Benefits that will ensue (more than this Paper will hold to enumerate). 2. When this Agreement is Published, Mr. L. shall also Publish his Arguments, and I my Reasons for our Agreement. 3. When this is done, let Mr. L. become the Pastor of a Church that's

‘ mixt of the Baptized and Re-baptized, if it may be; if not, at least a Publick
 ‘ Preacher in a convenient Station: For I see that Light in his Argumentation, that
 ‘ he may not hide, and that God will never Suffer him to cast off and go against
 ‘ but at his Peril (which I cannot fear). Dear Mrs. L. receiving your Letter near
 ‘ Bed-time on *Saturday Night*, I thought it no Sin to make it part of this Lord’s
 ‘ Day’s Work to return you this Answer, which I desire you to accept from (and
 ‘ pray for)

Aug. 22. 1658.

Your Brother,

in the Covenant

and Spirit of Christ,

Rich. Baxter.

*If Mr. L. look into my Book for Infant Baptism, let him know that I much repent of the
 harsh Language in it, but not of the main matter.*

London, the 16th of Sept. 1658.

Honoured Sir,

‘ I Perceive my Wife hath, unknown to me, sent you my Papers touching Free
 ‘ Communion with all Saints, which God knoweth my Heart and Soul is in;
 ‘ and since the Matter is so well received by you, as appeareth by your kind an-
 ‘ swer, and my own particular Case so affectionately tendred by you, I am encou-
 ‘ raged to further Converse, and indeed do welcome your Overtures of a loving
 ‘ Correspondency with many Thanks both to God and your self: ’Tis a rare thing
 ‘ to find Men of Parts, Learning, and great Abilities, cloathed with Bowels of
 ‘ Mercies, or Humbleness of Mind, *Psal. 113. 5, 6.* The Prophet speaketh in the
 ‘ Praise of the Almighty; That *though he was high, yet humbled himself to consider the*
 ‘ *things on Earth*; yea, even the poor on the Dunghil sitting in Dust; God’s
 ‘ Height hindereth not him, but Mens doth them ordinarily, though not in it
 ‘ self: Not as a Cause, but as an Occasion through the Corruption that is in the
 ‘ Heart of the best. It may be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ whom
 ‘ I have sought with Fasting, Prayers and Tears; hath appointed you to interpret
 ‘ his wonderful dealing with me, and to shew me my Uprightness. I mean what
 ‘ he will account so. He that could do so, would be an Interpreter one of a Thou-
 ‘ sand to me that walk in Darknes, and see little Light: O, that I knew the Mind
 ‘ and Will of God in my difficult Case! happy should I be: I have this Comfort
 ‘ in my Affliction, that my Will is perfectly subdued to God’s: I would go his way
 ‘ if I could tell where it lay: But alas! I cannot find it: I make my moan to the
 ‘ Almighty, but he seemeth to carry it severely towards me, instead of making
 ‘ streight Paths for my Feet: Upon my earnest Solicitations, he leaveth me in the
 ‘ Hand of Tormenting Fears. That you may the better know what to say to me,
 ‘ I shall as briefly as I can, tell you my case.

‘ My Understanding being enlightened that all Saints, as Saints, ought to hold
 ‘ Church Communion against what I have foolishly printed (for which I loath my
 ‘ self, and abhor the Sight of it): I set my self to consider other Events that lead
 ‘ me to that narrowness of Spirit, at last come to doubt whether God be pleased
 ‘ with Re-baptizing, to the Rejection of Infants out of the Visible Church: But
 ‘ am out of doubt in this, that to rebaptize any now, do denominate their visible
 ‘ Saintship, or give right to Church Fellowship, and so to part them from all the
 ‘ Believers in Christ not so Baptized as the World, as not of the visible Church of
 ‘ God, is a most pernicious Error, and a great Evil; further, I found fault with
 ‘ Popular Government in the Church, as it confounds the Definition of Governour
 ‘ and Governed. Also that in the settled State of the Church, no Man ought to
 ‘ take a Personal Charge but Persons both able, and wholly devoted to the Work.
 ‘ That to be a Merchant and a Minister doth not agree, except in Cases of invin-
 ‘ cible

cible Necessity : That in the *Levitical* Order appointed by God, there is a moral equity respecting the Ministers of the Gospel, both Separation to the Work, and and Maintenance in it ; and however People may Imagine, the contrary Principles and Practices prove dishonourable to God, and destructive to Religion.

In the multitude of these Thoughts I began to conclude, that it was not possible for me to hold my Relation to the People I now serve, and that God enlightened me in these things on purpose to appear against them, and lead others out of them ; in this Confidence I grew bold, and began to preach something publicly that I knew would turn the Congregation against me, and so prepare me for my Return to Mr. *John Goodwin's* from whom I separated about Five Years ago : But the Truth is, as I began to widen from the Church I relate to, my Soul sank into deep Mire, where there was no standing, into a horrible Pit, the Arrows of the Lord stuck fast in me, and his Hand pressed me sore, the Poyson of them drunk up my Spirit, and the Terrors of the Lord set themselves in array against me, instead of the Smiles of Christ, and the comfortable Testimony of Conscience, as to a service pleasing to God and the Lord Jesus Christ, I met with hellish Horrors, Temptations to despair of God's Love to me, and much ado to keep my Head above Water.

Whereupon I humbled my self under the mighty Hand of God, and stopt my present Prosecutions of my Purposes, which was to have burnt my Books ; to have returned to Mr. *Goodwin's* again ; to have provided my Papers with some Additions, and a solemn Address to all the Churches under that Form : But meeting with this wonderful Opposition from God, my Hand hangeth down, and my Knee feeble, I am in an amaze, not knowing what to say, think, or do : But this I have found, That as widening from the People I am with brought us great distress, so joining with them again assuageth the Waters of my Affliction, upon these Terms I stand not daring to stir from them, nor do any thing to prejudice my esteem with them : But yet not satisfied neither through Fear, least by going on the way I am engaged in, I should countenance a By-way not pleasing to God. And thus by degrees, I have opened to you the perfect State of my Case, but it was because you would ask me what matter the Enemy (if it were the Enemy) wrought on to make me so great Affliction upon it, one thing was some Thoughts of Heart that I had had concerning my Children : That made it indeed a matter desirable to me to be out of this way ; but my Conscience telleth me the Thoughts was lawful and good, and that they had not the least influence in the change of my Judgment. Another thing is, the way we are in is a very narrow way, and we have some Christians, my dear and intimate Friends, that walk in it, that excell in holiness, and are gone somewhat farther out of the World with their Hearts, through their Faith and Sense of future things than ordinarily Christians go ; these all frown'd on me. And then 3. The way I should return to was more open, and the Persons less sensible (Oh, Sir, there is abundance have Knowledge, but there is but a few have a rich Sense) 4. I should leave the Poor, and go among the Rich, that minded more the adorning of the outward Man than the glorious Gospel of Christ ordinarily : whereas my Spirit is much set against gay Apparel and following of Fashions ; not but that Mr. *Goodwin's* Church is as sober as most, I think as any, But the Truth is, it is a Sin in my Apprehension (at least) that few are sufficiently sensible of. 5. My Conscience telleth me, that as for Parishes, there is no proceedings in Parishes that are worthy the Name of Church-Proceedings ordinarily. There is indeed in some few an able Man to Preach, and the People go to hear, but as for watching, visiting, and nourishing, and such like faithful Proceedings for the Health of Souls, there are but few lay any such things to Heart ; so that the Parishes, for the most part, are but like a dead Corps without Life. The living Stones are gone into one gathered Church or other, but I confess, I do not find them blessed after. 6. Another thing was the Danger that the Souls of our Friends would be in upon my leaving them. 7. The making of thousands of Hearts sad, who have their Eyes upon me.

I perceive your Propositions at the end of your Letter, Alas for me, I shall be fit for nothing, except God be pleased to heal my wounded Spirit ; that is my great Care for the present, how to behave my self to obtain the Light of his Countenance. If God would go before me, and lead me, I would do any thing, the Joy of the Lord is our Strength ; but however I thank God that enableth me to hold out waiting ; I am sure my Soul hungereth and thirsteth after Righteousness more than all Riches, and therefore I am under the Promise of being fill'd at last : I have indeed cover'd to serve God, and secretly plotted how to cast my Af-

'fairs, so that I might be free for it, I have in order to the Devotion of my Soul
'to the Word and Prayer, wholly taken my self off all Converse with the World,
'and supposing I should not long stay where I am, I was considering where I might
'be useful: At last I thought of going into some Country, with the leave of Mr.
'Goodwin's Church, where there was much People, and no means, and there to seat
'my self, having a good Estate of my own, by which I could not only serve freely,
'but do much good. This I thought would have been pleasing to God, I resolved
'not to meddle with the Point of Baptism one way or other, but have striven the
'Conversion of Souls to Jesus Christ: But his late Frowns on me maked me fear
'he will take no delight in me: But however, since I call him Father, it is fit I
'should say *Thy will be done*; even so Father let it be. *Amen, Amen.*

'If you would draw up such a Model of Agreement as you write of, I know
'not how much it may conduce to the Glory of God: I believe some here would
'subscribe it, I hope many: I propounded it to Mr. *Manton*; he said, he should
'like such a thing very well.

'The Lord preserve your Life, Health, and Strength, that you may live to do
'God more Service; your Zeal provoketh many: I am fully persuaded, and, I
'think, upon good Grounds, that had the Ministers taken the Course, that I hear
'you take at *Kidderminster*, it had prevented Separation. The good Lord fill you
'with his Holy Spirit, and enable you to do yet more abundantly. Dear Sir, I in-
'treat you to use your Interest in Heaven for me, that my Faith may be strength-
'ned, which the Enemy layeth at daily; to enlighten my Understanding; to give
'me good knowledge and good Judgment; to deliver my Conscience from unnè-
'cessary Scruples; to manifest his Love to me, and increase my Love to him; and,
'if it be his Will, to use and comfort me in his Service, which he knoweth is Meat
'and Drink to me, who am

Your affectionate Friend

I hope shortly to hear from you.

and Brother in Christ Jesus,

Tho. Lambe.

Dear Mr. *Baxter*,

I Do return my many Thanks for your excellent Letter which I have received with the en-
closed; wishing I knew how to requite your Love, and answer that Favour I found
with you in your large Letter, which is not in vain to us-ward, but of much use; the
Lord requite your Labour of Love. I only redouble my Request for an Interest in your Pray-
ers, that God would deliver my dear Husband from all his Fears, and guide him by his Light;
our God will hear, who keepeth Covenant and Mercy for ever with those that fear
him. I rest,

S I R,

Your Sister

Sept. 20. 1658.

and Lover in our Lord Jesus,

B. L.

For Mr. *Rich. Baxter*, Minister at *Kidderminster*.

Dear

Dear Brother,

AS sure as Love is a Fruit of the Spirit, the Character of a Saint; yea, the more excellent way, and as terminated on him whom we love in the Saints, is the most high and noble Grace, as being the Beginning and End, the Spring of all other Holy Affections and Actions, and the enjoying Act that's next our End, so far is that State to you a growing State, in which you increase in Holy Love, and so sure was that a declining State in which your Charity was streightened and diminished: and as sure is that Doctrine of Christ that leadeth to an universal Love of Saints; and that against Christ, which is against it. It is not the least Grief of my own Soul, that in the eager Defence of that which still I judge to be the Truth, I have done any thing prejudicial to my own or Brethrens Charity. Upon perusal I now find that many of my Speeches in my Book of Infant Baptism have been too provoking, of which I heartily repent, though I dare not of the Doctrine. The Frame of our Affections doth much advantage disadvantage our Judgments, and Experience is a help to both. This I perceive you have found as well as I: All Holy Truths must be entertained with mixt Affections; with Sorrow for any thing that we have done against them; and with Love, and Joy, and Gratitude to the bountiful Revealer of them. These that you here enumerate, as revealed to you, are very weighty, because of such a practical Nature, and publick use; and *Ergo*, you must be true to them, and use them accordingly: they are such as leave no room for Doubting, as bearing their Testimony so legible in their Forehead: This being concluded that they are certain Truths, it may much help you to judge of your following Troubles. I shall reduce all that I have to say for Resolution to these Propositions. 1. The Word of God, and not the Troubles of your own Spirit, is the standing Rule by which you must judge of Duty and Sin: You cannot know either by your Troubles immediately, but as they awaken or help you to understand that Word. 2. It is *Ergo*, most certain that none of your Troubles should in the least measure, move you from the certain Truths, which by the Light of this Word hath been made known to you. All the Troubles in the World will not alter Scripture, and make Truth to be no Truth: You must not once offer to try Scripture Truths by your Feelings, but your Feelings by these Truths. 3. You must therefore first see whether you obey the Truth revealed to you; which plainly requireth you first to manifest Repentance for so much breach of Truth or Unity, or Charity as you have seen your self Guilty of. 2. And to be Guilty of the same no more. Now whether you live in that Sin, or out of it, I leave to you to judge. And no doubt but it is your Duty to do your utmost, to draw all those out of it, whom you have encouraged in it, and as many more as you can. There are but these two Questions then before you; What is the Cause of your Trouble? and how you should dispose of your self for the future. And to the first I answer in this fourth Proposition: Though we know in general that Sin is the deserving Cause, and God's Wisdom and Love the disposing Cause; yet it is not easy to find out the particular Sins, nor the particular Design of Love: but the former is the more easy by the help of Scripture, which sheweth us our Sin more fully than God's future intended Works. 5. But, as it is certain that no Providence is to be interpreted against a Precept; so, as far as I can conjecture at this distance, your Trouble is most likely to arise from these connexed Causes: 1. From some Melancholy that hath got Advantage of your Head, by the Thoughtfulness, Perplexity, and the first actual Disquietments. 2. From Satans Temptations working on this Advantage; but of the first I am no competent Judge, because distant: But I strongly suspect it (by long Experience in Multitudes of that Distemper, who few of them will believe that they have it themselves). But of the second I am more confident: Satan cannot trouble us when he will, but 1. When Sin hath procured him a Permission: and 2. When some Melancholy or Disquietments have given him an Advantage. I have met with few Persons that ever fell into any Calamity by Sin, but Satan did very much trouble them when they attempted the means of their Recovery. The Disquietments and Horrors that seize upon most ungodly Persons, when they are about coming home by Christ, may be from God principally, but from Satan as the Instrument of his Wrath, and as permitted to try them. Whenever any escape any notable Snare of Satan (in State or Fact) usually Satan roareth and rageth to hinder them, if possible, till the escape is made, and then God meeteth them with further Light and Love: *Pharaoh* follows them into the Red Sea, and

‘God receives them, and puts a Song of Praise into their Mouths on the dry
‘Land.

‘But this first Question is not such as you need much to stick at: You may easily
‘see for what Sin its like you should have this Affliction; or if you could not (after
‘a faithful Search) get rid of all and sweep as clean as possibly you can, and then
‘you will remove that Sin with the rest. The resolving of the next Question is
‘your principal Business, which is, to know now where your Duty lyeth for the
‘time to come: For when once you are settled in the way of Duty, Peace will re-
‘turn, and the dark Face of your now disconsolate Soul be cleared up (unless any
‘deep Melancholy, or unusual Providence should continue your Trouble) and in-
‘deed it is not very easy to see the way of your Duty to the end; but part of it is
‘very easy: 1. That you should obey the Light that God hath manifested to you,
‘and help to communicate Catholick Principles and Affections to all your People,
‘to the utmost of your Power, this is certain; and do all that you are able to cure
‘uncharitable dividing Principles or Dispositions. 2. That you may not live in a
‘Practice contrary to your Doctrine is as plain; and *Ergo*, may not be guilty of
‘continuing a divided Church; though you may prudently observe the fittest man-
‘ner and Season of your coming off: Therefore it seems to me your Duty, freely,
‘lovingly, compassionately to communicate your Reasons to your Auditors: if they
‘can prove them unsound, (which I am sure they cannot in the main) then yield
‘to them; if they cannot, then beg their Pardon for misguiding them, and beseech
‘them to return, not to any Sin against God, but to the Love of the Saints, and
‘the Unity of the universal Body of Christ, and the Communion of Brethren. 3.
‘To return to Mr. *J. Goodwin*’s Church again, I dare not dissuade you or advise
‘you; but I would not do it if I liv’d in another Parish, where I could have Law-
‘ful Communion; yea, or if I could live in such a Parish, I would not be a Mem-
‘ber of a Church gathered out of many Parishes, in such a Place as *London*: Co-ha-
‘bitation is in Nature and Scripture Example, made the necessary Disposition of
‘the Materials of a Church. 4. My Thoughts still are, that you should Preach the
‘Gospel in some Congregation most suitable to you.

‘But I am very glad that you give me the Reasons of your Trouble; for it is a
‘sad kind of Work for you or another to plead against Troubles in the dark, which
‘a Man can give no Reason for. 1. Your First I need say nothing to: If you had
‘ever had a Temptation to thrust in a wrong Motive into a good Cause, it neither
‘proves the Cause bad, (else all our Preaching were too bad) or your Heart bad;
‘as you see your Sin, I hope you see your sufficient Remedy. 2. The Second is
‘carnal, to resist so great a Truth and Duty, lest good People be displeased; what!
‘are they your God? God must be enough for you, if ever you will have enough;
‘and it must satisfy you that he is pleased, if ever you will be satisfied. Tell those
‘Christians, you will not cease to Love them, by Loving more; nor cease any
‘due Communion with them, by having Communion with more: Keep in with
‘them by Love and Correspondency, even whether they will or no, even when
‘you have left their Separation. Do not reproach them when you leave them, but
‘enjoy the Good of their Communion still, as you have Opportunity. God’s
‘House hath many Mansions; if your Friends think that their Closet is all the
‘House, convince them of their Mistake, and confine your self to that Closet no lon-
‘ger but yet renounce it not; it may be a part (though sinfully divided) though it
‘be not the whole. 3. The way that you are called to is God’s High way: and
‘though the Churches have many in them that are dead, yet have they with them
‘as many living Members as yours, and many more, if these parts may be Witnes-
‘ses: I would not be a Member of that Church willingly that is composed of none
‘but not able Christians; though I most Love the best, and delight most in their
‘Fellowship, and wish that all were such, yet when I see a Church so gathered, I
‘easily find it is a wrong Constitution, and not according to the Mind of Christ.
‘I will never join with them that will have but one Form in Christ’s School. I
‘would have the *A B C* there taught as well as the profoundest Mysteries. ’Tis no
‘Sign of the Family of God to have no Children (what if I said Infants) in it, but
‘strong Men only: Nor of the Hospital of Christ to have none Sick; nor of his
‘Net to have no Fish, but Good; nor of his Field to have no Tares: Flesh and
‘Blood hath ticed me off to Separation, for Ease; but its too easy a way to be of
‘God: I undergo another kind of Life; you are extremely mistaken if you think
‘that you are put on so much Duty and Self-denial, by many Degrees, among your
‘Hundred Professors, as we must undergo: Your Work is Idleness to ours; how
‘then is yours the straighter way? 4. For Riches and gay Apparel, you may help

to cure Excess where you find it: What! a Physician fly because his Patients are Sick! O that we had no forer Diseases to encounter, than fine Cloaths: If you were with me, I could tell you quickly where to find Forty Families of humble, godly Christians, that are as bare, and Poor as you would Wish, and need as much as you can give them or procure them; that scarce lose a Day's Work by Sicknes, but the Church must maintain them. And I could send you to Sixty Families that are as poor, and yet so Ignorant as more to need your spiritual Help. When they have sat by me to be instructed in my Chamber, they sometimes leave the Lice so plentiful that we are stored with them for a competent space of time. Never keep in a Separated Church to avoid Riches and fine Cloaths, and for fear lest you cannot meet with the Poor. I warrant you a Cure of that Melancholy Fear in most places in *England*. 5. The next is the great Block. 1. If you gather out the choicest Members that should help the rest, and then complain of Parishes, when you have marr'd them, you do not justly. 2. If you will not do your Duty in a Parish, because some Ministers do not theirs, your excuse is frivolous. 3. If I durst have gathered a separated Church here, I could have had one large and numerous enough, or such as would allow me ease; but I think Parish Work the best. We here agree on these Four Heads, 1. To teach all: In which Work in my Parish, I could find Work for Ten Ministers, if I could maintain them. 2. To admit none as adult Members, without a personal credible Profession of Faith and Holiness (of which I refer you to my Treatise of Confirmation). 3. To exercise Discipline with these. 4. To hold Communion of Churches by Associations and Assemblies of the Officers: And I bless God, I find not my Parish such a dead Body as you speak of. Among Eight Hundred Families, Six Hundred Persons are Church-Members: I hope there is not very many of these without such a Profession as giveth us good Hopes of their Sincerity; and none whose Profession I am able any way to disprove, and this satisfieth me as God's Way; and many (I hope Scores) there be of those that join not with us (on divers Accounts) that I hope fear God: If you have Charity to judge that our Parishes have Christians, you may have Charity to judge that they have Life, and some fit for Communion. How tender is Christ of his weakest Members? and shall not I imitate him? yea, shall I judge them that am so bad my self, and pluck them from his Arms; that designeth it as his highest Honour, to be admired and glorified in the freeness and fulness of his Grace and Love to the Unworthy. 6. Your Followers Souls are by you endangered, while you leave them in their Sin; will it endanger them to tell them of that Danger, and help them out? What! to lead Men to Holy Love and Unity with the Catholick Church of Christ? such danger will be but by Accident; as every necessary Duty hath its Danger: A loving, melting Lamentation for that Violation of Charity, which your own, and their Division hath been guilty of, is like to profit humble Souls that love the Truth: and if they are such as will not indure the Doctrine of Love and Unity, what are they better than our Parishes? 7. None will be sad for the Return of a Brother to Unity or Love, but those that grieve for your Felicity, not knowing what they do. You would not forbear a Return to God from any gross Sin, for fear of grieving Men: Is not Schism a gross Sin? Are they not great that are directly against Love and Unity, the Soul and Life of the Church of Christ? and were you no whit partial, you would think that Twenty Hearts made glad at your Recovery, for one that's made sad, should at least here leave the Ballance even. A Publish'd Exhortation from you (such as it seems you intended) to draw your Party to Unity and Communion with all true Christians, and dissuade them hereafter from Censoriousness, opposition to the Ministry, and Separation upon the Account of so difficult a Point, and so far from the Heart of the new Man, might do more good than your overseeing that Church an Hundred Years, it is not a Trifle to hold an Opinion that would warrant a Man to have denied, or separated from the universal visible Church, for so many Hundred Years; even for almost all the time of its Existence since Christ. I forbear sending you the Form of Concord mentioned till you are readier for it, and shall desire it, as judging it useful, and then, God willing, I shall send it. The Lord I hope will clear up to you his Mind concerning the way in which he would have you walk, and in the way of Duty give you the Peace, which you desire and expect. I rest

Sept. 29. 1658.

Your unworthy Brother,

Rich. Baxter.

To Mr. Lambe.

Dear

London, the 15th of January, 1658.

Dear Sir,

THESE are to return you many Thanks for your two Letters, which have been a very great Comfort to me in my Affliction and Warfare that I am now engaged in. Sir, I thought good to be silent a while, and not to trouble you with any more Letters till I had some new thing to say to you : Now what I have to say is reducible to Three Heads ; 1. I would inform you what God hath done for me since my last. 2. What I have done, I hope, in his Strength ; and that I may not doubt to say 'tis for him in the Point of Union. And 3. The present Frame of my Spirit and State.

1. For God's dealing with me. Sir, after waiting on the Lord in his way, sighing for Light, and panting after him for refreshing ; *as the Heart panteth after the Water Brook : My Light hath broke forth as the Morning : It hath rose in obscurity : and my Darknes became as the Noon Day.* I see by Experience, that though I am dark, God is Light ; and though I am poor, he is Rich ; and I believe there is nothing I want, but Heaven is full of it. The right Notion of God's Universal Church, and the Unity he would have amongst the Members ; and indeed, the necessity thereof upon the Penalty of infinite Damage to the most excellent Body of Christ is, that God hath blest me with the Sight of, and shewn me as in a Glass, the Condition of all our Congregations that refuse Communion with other Churches of Christ, standing off from the main body of the Church militant, as Christ's Part of that Body, as Antichristian ; and so refusing to give or take Influences for their Comfort and Succour : It healeth the whole, but dreadfully endangereth those small Parts so divided : Just as it would endanger a Troop or Company that should stand off from the main Body of a great Army that hath a potent Enemy engaged in the Field against them. By this Light I perceive our Case, namely, that we are, as you say, guilty of Schism. The Light in this Matter being clear to me, I now begin to be satisfied that the Lord hath visited me from an high in Mercy, and that all my inward Oppositions, and outward too, from my Friends, are of Satan to stop me in a blessed Work. I praise God I am now help'd to bear the Reproaches of my dear Friends that pour Contempt upon me daily, as a most dreadful Apostate, a *Judas*, one that it had been good for never to have been born ; one, that though I were as the Signet on God's Right Hand, I should be pluck'd from thence ; others wishing they had followed me to my Grave when they went with me to Baptism. But it stirreth me not much ; for though their Zeal for God and his Truth, and their Love to Christ and Holiness, and Ability to suffer for Christ be more than mine, yet my Conscience telleth me they are in an Error, and that I am sincere in all I do, not swayed by carnal Considerations, in which I am so manifest to their Consciences, that they are more troubled with me for that things sake. Oh, Sir, I admire how a Man without the Breast-plate of Righteousness holdeth up his Head in such a Day : But withal, I experience the Worth and Excellency thereof. By the Grace of God, *my Righteousness I will hold fast, and my Heart shall not reprove me all my Days :* My conscience telleth me (which is my great Comfort) that I have not wickedly departed from my God, that I would not break the least of his Laws willingly, to gain a Thousand Worlds : That the Love I bear to my Saviour, and his most excellent Body, the Church, is the chief thing that inspireth me in all I do.

Now 2. Touching what I have done towards Union since I wrote last, it is as followeth : 1. I have been at Mr. G.'s Congregation, from whom I departed, to acknowledge my Sin in separating from them upon such silly Grounds, and have offered my self to break bread with them if they pleased : But withal, told the whole Church, that for two Reasons I could not come so close to them as heretofore, 1. because of my Relation to the poor People I now serve, being not yet well lodged in some safe Place. And 2. because of some Scruples in my Mind, whether Independency did not infer Schism in the Church Universal : As that Independency upon the narrow foot ; I mean, that which divideth Communion with Saints, as Saints doth, so my refusing Communion with them, made me guilty of Schism, in respect of that particular, I do not doubt it, and our Anabaptists are their natural Offspring. But how to determine my Duty, in respect of Mr. Goodwin's Church, from whom I separated, and with whom I was for many Years joined, I know not, considering their Principles are larger for Communion than others.

2. Amongst

‘2. Amongst our selves I have privately urged, to my Friends enlarging considerably.

‘3. I have my self with my Family frequented the publick Lectures.

‘4. In the Strength of God taken Courage to preach to the Congregation the Doctrine of the Church Universal, and its Unity, from 1 Cor. 12. 26. and from thence to shew them the Schismatical state wherein we are; which Sermons hath brought the Anabaptists about my Ears from other Parts. Four or five of them opposed me the last first day after my Sermon, and because of what I had preached the Day before, half my own Congregation never came to hear me: Their Hearts are quite gone from me: Not any of the Church cometh to see me, or ask me any Question.

‘Now 3. and Lastly, As to the present frame of my Spirit and State it is thus. As to the uniting Work I have in Hand, I thank God I am bold, and am waiting on God, (upon whose Influences I live) to guide me in Thought, Word, and Deed about it, but I have lately been sorely troubled with one Temptation: What should I preach, or write any thing for, concerning Religion? I cannot endure Torments for Christ if I should be tried; ’tis not for such faint-hearted Creatures as I to meddle in such Work: Now the Conscience of this, that indeed I am a poor Creature, weak both in Faith and Spirit, hath made way for this Temptation to seize upon me, to the saddening of my Soul, and to the enfeebling of me to so great a Degree, that for this two or three Days I have not been able to do any thing. As for my present State in respect of the Church, I am still with them, and purpose, God willing, to Morrow to apply what I have preached about Schism. The next *Wednesday* is appointed to debate things; our Friends call in the Heads of other Churches to their Assistance, and I hear those from abroad intend to stir up our Friends to cast me out of the Church, what the Issue will be God knoweth, and what to do with my self afterwards I know not, I know I shall be sorely beset by the Enemy; but my hope is in God, that he will not suffer me to be tempted above that I am able, and that my merciful Redemer and High Priest will be touched with the Feeling of my Infirmities, himself being tempted, he knoweth how to succour those that are tempted. *Heb. 4. 16.* faith, *Grace hath a Throne:* and *5. 20, 21.* faith, *Grace reigneth:* Oh blessed be God! *1 Ephes.* faith, *he hath given him to be Head over all things to the Church;* not to govern it only, but to influence it with all necessary Supplies, to *fill all in all.* He supposed while we are here, we shall be in an indigent Condition divers ways: but at that Throne where Grace Reigneth, there is Grace enough to supply all our Wants. Therefore *1 Joh.* Of his fulness we have all received Grace for Grace. and because such poor Creatures as I, sensible of much Unworthiness, are very apt to doubt our Entertainment, and fear where no fear is, blessed Jesus calleth us to come boldly.

‘Sir, when I shall have done my Work where I am, which I believe will be shortly, I could be content to return to Mr. Goodwin’s, if God would like it, and that my Re-union with that Church would not hinder my main Work. They have of their own accord made a Vote to receive me when my Spirit should be free to return, and indeed always have manifested much Love to me; but the Truth is, I am so clog’d with Scruples about popular Government, and such like things, that though to Will be present with me, to perform I find not. Mr. Goodwin never renounced his Ordination to take it from the People, and is for Free Communion, and faith, will join in such a Uniting Draught as I hope you will now draw up and prosecute presently, and which I will labour in, God willing, to promote when it cometh here: That which mainly sticketh with me in respect of returning to Mr. Goodwin’s is, that when I shall publish what is in my Heart about the Causes of the Churches Malady in England, I shall reflect upon the Independent Principles exceedingly. Now my fear is, that my Relation to them, will be a Curb to me. I know not what to do, but my Eye is up towards God. I am sure I have reaped Benefit by your Counsel, and hope I have had an Interest in your Prayers, which I still beg, being confident God will hear you. Sir, the Lord preserve your Life and bless your Labours. I hope it will not be long ere I shall hear from you, who am

Your affectionate Friend
and Brother in Christ Jesus

From my House in
Great St. Bartholomews.

My Wife presents her Love, with many Thanks to you. Tho. Lambe.
To his very worthy Friend, Mr. R. Baxter, Preacher of God’s Word at Kidderminster
in Worcestershire. Dear

Dear Brother,

IF I understand any thing of the Ways of the Love of God, and can perceive by the Effects below, what Souls the Light of his Countenance doth shine upon, you owe much to his Love, and are used by him as he useth the dearest of his own; what a Mercy is his Illumination? and how much greater his quickening Life, that possesseth you with Love to God and Man? O did we but know when we feel one Spark of Love to God and his Servants in our Souls, from what an infinite Love it comes, and to what it tends, and what it signifieth, surely there would be more studying comparatively, for Charity that edifieth, than for the Knowledge that puffeth up. If your Work for God did cost you nothing, it would not be so comfortable to you symptomatically or effectively.

Though I confess it is harder to bear the Censures of Godly Men than of the World, yet the bigger the Tryal, the fuller will be the Evidence of Sincerity in Submission, and the greater that Grace and Peace that is used to be given in for Encouragement or Reward. And yet I must tell you, that your Tryal here is not of the greatest, when your Recovery is like to procure you the Esteem of Ten, if not an Hundred of God's Servants, for one that you are like to lose; and I am glad that you give your Censurers so good a Description: for if they are such as you describe them, I am persuaded many of them will come after you in time. And is it not a great Encouragement to you, that your Brother and Fellow-labourer comes over with you, and so your Hands are strengthened, and half your Opposition taken off and turned into Comfort. For though I never told him of your Letters to me, nor you of his, yet I take it for granted that you know each others Minds and ways; and yet you know that he is satisfied and resolved for Catholick Communion. I pray you go together, and do what you do as one Man, while you have one Mind and Heart. I perceive the Signs of Judgment and Charity also in him. I beseech you also both to hold on your Charity, even to them that are offended with you; so far as Christ appeareth in them, let them have your special Love. The Despondencies you mention are unreasonable: Will you conclude you cannot suffer, before you are called to Suffering? Deny the Baits of fleshly Pleasure, vain Glory and worldly Gain, and live sincerely to God in your Prosperity, and I dare say, you may boldly expect his confirming sustaining Grace if he call you to Adversity. I had almost said, that (with most Men) it requireth greater Grace to overcome the Temptations of Prosperity, and to contemn a flattering World for Christ, than to die for him. At least the one will prove you possessed with his Spirit, and an Heir of Promise, as well as the other: And therefore the Spirit and Promise that enable you now to live to God, would enable you to die for him if he required it. Look you to your present Work, and trust God for Strength for what he calls you to. If my Advice be worth your regard, it's this; 1. That you do as you have done; offer Communion to other Churches, but forbear yet a while to join your self as a Member to any. 2. That if you like the Proposals I shall send, and Mr. Goodwin like them, you both, with him, do signifie so much, and I will take some course that they may be the Introduction to a more general Agreement. 3. And that at the time when we publish such Agreement, you and your Fellow-labourer join in publishing your Reasons for Catholick Communion: For, I thank him, he hath communicated his and yours set together, will give much Evidence in the Cause. But I must a little while crave your Patience, before I send my Papers, by reason of a Crowd of pressing Businesses: But the Sweetness of the work will draw me from all wilful Delays (Your Brother also I perceive is not yet ready for my Proposals). I rest

Jan. 22. 1658.

Your unworthy Fellow Servant,

Rich. Baxter.

To Mr. Lambe.

Numb.

Numb. IV. Letters and Papers between
Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Allen.

Dear Brother,

I Bless the Lord for the great Consolation I had in the perusal of your Papers: All the Motions and Operations of Holy Love are lovely. That is the way of God that is the way of Love, and that to be much suspected that quencheth it. What is so much preached through all the Gospel? Above all other ways, what a mellow sweetness doth the way of Love communicate to all the Duties and Conversings of those that are abounding in this Grace? And it is the Manhood and Maturity of Christianity. The Infancy of the Law had less of it than the full Age of the Gospel: And young Christians usually are like young Fruit, austere and unpleasant, whom Age and Holy Experience must mellow by the growth of Love, produced by the Sun-shine of Heavenly Love. I had thought to have presently returned you my Answer to your Reasons about Infant Baptism: but when I had read your other Papers, I could not find in my Heart, least Disputing should in any Measure abate in the Love that God was kindling: Yet shortly, (if I can find the least leisure) I shall give you a few Words to them (if God will) when that which hath a shew of contending will be more seasonable. Your Arguments for Communion are very weighty. My next Work to these Ends shall be to persuade some godly Ministers that differ from you, to a more charitable Judgment, and walking towards them of your Opinion; and (if I live so long) to persuade our Parliament Men against excessive Rigour and Bitterness against them. Do you do the like with those of your way. If Love reign in us, it must command our Tongues to plead its Cause, and to endeavour the promoting of it in the World. And when Love shall Reign among the Nations, the Lord shall Reign in a way of Love: And this is the way to those glorious Times that some expect by other Ways. And as the abounding of Iniquity and the cooling of Love are coupled by Christ as Cause and Effect, so will the abounding of Love, and the decay of Iniquity be conjoined. The God of Love carry on this blessed Work in our frozen Souls, and in all the Churches, by keeping us under the Light of his Countenance, and the the Sunshine of his most glorious Love. I remain

Jan. 7. 1658.

Your Brother,

Rich. Baxter.

To Mr. William Allen.

The Case of Separation.

Quest. 1. **W**Hether Particular Churches be of Divine Institution?

Ans. Yea; that is Christians associated for Personal Communion in Doctrine, Worship and Discipline, under the same Pastors (one or more) are a Church of Divine Institution. Proved *Act. 14. 23. Titus 1. 5. 1 Tim. --- Phil. 1. 1, 2. 1 Thes. 5. 16, 17. Heb. 15. 17. 24.* and many other Texts.

Quest. 2. *Whether the Parish Assemblies are such?*

Ans. Parish-Assemblies are not of one sort; some are not such, that is, Parish Assemblies which deny the Essentials of Christianity, and are Hereticks, or deny Church Essentials, or that have no Pastors, or such as want some Essentials of the Office, as visible to Man's Judgment.

But Parish Assemblies are true particular Churches, who profess the Essentials of Christianity, and of Churches, and have Pastors who visibly want not any thing essential to their Office (though otherwise faulty). 2. Churches are called true, 1. In point of Essence (as aforesaid). 2. In point of Soundness and Integrity (as a sick Man, or a maimed Man, or a Thief, is a true Man in Essence; but not in Soundness, in Integrity and Honesty).

The Parish Churches, as constituted by our Laws, Articles, Ordination and Canons, are true Churches as to Essence; but not without some Wants and Diseases that need a cure.

3. Churches may be called *True*, 1. In their Constitutions: Or, 2. In their Administration. Ours in *England*, as afore described, are true in their Constitution: But in the Administration some are excellent, some are laudable, some are tolerable, and perhaps some have Ministers intolerable; as the Parsons differ.

4. The Society called the Church of *England* hath Pastors of several Minds; most I hope, hold all that is Essential to Christianity, Ministry and Communion: But some late Innovators and Corruptors, seem to deny somewhat Essential to particular Churches and Ministry; but these impeach no Mens Ministry but their own; against these I wrote in my Treaties of Episcopacy.

5. Distinguish between the Office as instituted by Christ, and owned by the Church of *England*, and the Exercise of the Office, as restrained and hindered by Canons and by Laws, the Parish Ministers and Churches are true Ministers and Churches as described by Ordination, and the Church Doctrine, but many Canons and some Laws dolefully fetter them, and hinder the Exercise of their Office on pretence of governing them; but neither do nor can destroy the Essence of the Office it self: The Ministers have all essential Qualifications and the Consent of the People (though not the first Choice) and the People are professed Christians.

6. A Parish and a Parish-Church are not the same, all are not of the Church that are in the Parish; there are three sorts of the Parish, 1. Communicants, and those are the Church. 2. Meer Hearers and Catechical Persons, and these are Candidates. 3. Aliens, Atheists, Infidels and Papists, Hereticks, Men of no Church or other Churches; Parish-Churches as combined parts of a Christian Kingdom, or National Church thus distinguished from Aliens, Auditors, and not only tolerated, but orderly combined, maintained, encouraged, are the most regular Churches agreeable to Scripture, Reason, and Antiquity.

Quest. 3. Suppose the Parish-Churches should be no true Churches, is it destructive to particular Churches to join with the Parish-Assemblies?

Ans. No; who can dream that Families, and Neighbours, and occasional Meetings may not Worship God; or, that such Worship destroys Churches. Did *Cornelius's* Meeting, *Acts* 18. or those *Acts* 12. 12. or these that *Acts* 20. prayed at an Oratory, nor the Water destroy the Church? 2. Occasion Communicants are not bound to try the Call of the Ministers where they come, and have no Vote but to take them according to visible Profession and Possession, and if the Ministers should prove uncalled, the Loss would be to themselves, and not to the Faithful that are blameless and have right to the Childrens Bread, though a *Judas* or a Pharisee distribute it.

But the Separatists Object, that pretended Churches which are not true, are worse than occasional Assemblies that pretend it not. Ans. 1. whether they are worse or better, is nothing to this Question of destroying Churches. 2. The liker they are to true Churches, the liker they are to be better than those that are unlike them. 3. The Officiating of a true Minister may make that a true temporary Church, which is not a constant settled Church. 4. It is far liker that many separating Congregations will prove no true lawful Churches, for want of true Ministers, and other Causes; and yet it will not follow that all that join with them destroy true Churches; for some under Government may do it blamelessly; and they that do it sinfully may yet own true Churches, every Sin destroys not other Churches. 5. It is a Duty for Members of a Church to get what good they can by all Christians, whether they be regular Churches or not.

Quest. 4. Suppose the Parish-Assemblies to be particular Churches, are the Corruptions in them so great as that we must separate from them, or would it not be Schism so to do?

Ans. There are many sorts of Separation: It is Schism to call them (no true Churches of Christ) or (such as it is not lawful to hold Communion with) and to separate on that account, and this I have oft proved in Print so fully, that I must not now repeat it.

But there are many Occasions which may warrant and necessitate a meer local Separation, as I have fully proved in many Treatises; as if any Sin be imposed and Communion denied to those that will not Sin, those Men do not separate, but are driven out by Separatists or Tyrants, and must not give over all Church Worship of God because Tyrants forbid it them. Many other Instances of lawful local Separation, I have published, which I cannot find any have confuted, no, nor denied.

Quest. 5. Whether there are not in congregational Churches such things which are not plainly instituted in Scripture?

Ans. Congregational is a sorry Word as here used in distinction from Parish-Churches, Parish-Churches are Congregational, they consist of Pastors and Christian

thian Communicants joined for Personal Communion, and *Independants* and *Separatists* much differ, many *Independants* are against Separation, the old Nonconformists, both Presbyterians and *Independants* were judged the Parish Churches that had tolerable Ministers to be true Churches; and *Independents* greatly differ among themselves; some are sound in the Faith, and some are unsound; some are for Infant Church-Membership and Covenant Grace, and some against it; some are for self-made Covenants and Terms of Church-entrance and Communion; and for the Peoples Power of the Keys, and against Ordination and many other Errors; which others do renounce. And remember it is one thing to be *Independants* by Agreement, as Neighbour Churches, and another thing to be dependant as Subjects on governing Churches: And it is one thing to be *Independant* on equal Neighbour Churches; and another thing to be *independant* on a superior Ministry: The Churches of *Rome*, *Corinth*, *Galatia*, *Ephesus*, and the rest, were *independant* on each other, as to Government; but they were dependant on the Apostles and Evangelists (*Paul*, *Barnabas*, *Luke*, *Mark*, *Silas*, *Timothy*, *Titus*, and *Apollos*, &c.) as to Oversight and dependant on other Churches as Fellow-members of the same Universal Body, as the Members of our Bodies are. 3. I know no Churches so happy as to have nothing that is not particularly (yea, or generally) instituted in Scripture; yea, and that obtruded on the People. O! when will God make them wiser? some *Independant* Ministers and Churches have Catholick, Charitable, Uniting Principles. But the separating part who are they that have so many and great Defects and Faults as I have in my former Writing enumerated, and need not here again recite, but advise you impartially to review them.

Quest. 6. *Whether every Person who doth join with such a Church doth not become as guilty of the Sin of such a Church, as those do that join with the Church of England?*

Ans. This Question intimateth that you know not what the Church of *England* is: It is nothing but a Christian Kingdom, consisting of a Christian supreme Power, and combined Christians and Churches governed by that Power; it is not Liturgies nor Ceremonies that essentiate the Church of *England*: Orthodox, Godly Presbyterians, and *Independants* who deny not a Christian Kingdom of Christian Churches (though differing in many things) are all parts of the true Church of *England*: But I suppose you mean the Conformists (which are but a part).

2. One is guilty of the Faults of the Conformists by their bare Presence and Communion, who do not consent to those Faults, and if bare Presence signified Consent, we must avoid Communion with all Churches on Earth, for who are Sinless? And all must avoid us; and how shall we avoid our selves, who sin in all we do?

3. But when People causelessly separate and unchurch other Churches far sounder than their own, and falsely accuse them; yea, and almost all Christ's Churches these Fifteen Hundred Years, as those now called Separatists usually do, I think your ordinary joining with such, when you may have sounder Communion is a sinful Encouragement of them in their Schism, justly leaveth you under the Imputation of Schism, and requireth great Humiliation and Reformation, being greater than some great private Sins, as publick Cases are more important than private; but I am loath to say all that I judge true against the present separating Way, lest I be mistaken, as if I would render them odious, or be against the necessary Toleration of the Week.

I have truly told the World near Forty Years ago, that I am past doubt that neither the Episcopal Presbyterian nor *Independant* way alone, will well settle the Church: But that each of the three Parties (and those called *Erastians*) have somewhat of the Truth in peculiar, and somewhat of Faultiness, and if ever the Church be well settled, it must be by taking the best, and leaving out the worst of every party, and till that can be done, we must bear with what we cannot amend.

Octobo. 9. 1688.

Mr. J—,

Because your Friend refuseth Conference, though I promised secrecie, and a losing Debate, I will for your sake answer your Questions my self, which I take to be these Two: I. Whether you ought not presently to fix your self in a particular Church, and not continue any longer occasional Communion with many.

II. What

II. What Church you should be a fixed Communicant in.

I. As to the First, I know not well what is meant by *fixed Membership* by the Author of the Writing which you shewed me; you must be a fixed Member of Christ, and the Church Universal, or else you are no fixed Christian: But as to particular Pastors and Congregations, *Order*, and *Concord*, and *Edification* are the general Rules which tell you where to fix and how far.

1. You ought not to commit any real Sin for Communion with any Church.
2. Though you may and must join with faulty Assemblies and Worship; yet you must not justify their Faults, nor profess your Consent to them, nor promise that you will never endeavour any Amendment of them.
3. There must be no Self-obliging unnecessarily: Liberty is not so contemptible a thing that we should cast it away for nought; much less must you bind your self contrary to God's Providence, or without excepting Alterations by it.
4. Your Church-Membership, as to particular Congregations must have no greater fixedness than your Habitation and other Obligations: You may remove your Congregational Relation when you remove your Dwelling; and none can hinder you from removing both, when your Interest requireth it. Suspect them that would make you their Propriety.

II. As to the Second (where you should fix):

1. You are in your Father's House, under his Government, and must obey him in all lawful things; and must not go against his Consent.
2. You are a Member of a Christian Family; and no Scripture tells us of the Members of one Christian Family being of divers Churches, nor alloweth it.
3. Scripture knoweth no particular Churches, but what were bounded by Neighbourhood and Cohabitation; except Hereticks: There were never Churches gathered out of Churches then; nor two approved Churches of the same Language in the same Bounds.

1. I do hereby undertake to prove against any Disputer, that there is no Form so agreeable to God's Word, as this following: 1. A Christian Kingdom consisting of a Christian King (or supreme Power) and particular confederate Churches being the Burgeses, and peaceable Unbelievers that tolerated Aliens or Catechumens. 2. A reformed Episcopacy Successors to the Evangelists, that (without the Sword or Force) had the Care of many Churches. 3. Reformed Parish-Churches, consisting of Godly Pastors, and professed Christian Cohabitants, the incapable being Catechumens; which made the old Nonconformists declare that they were so far from being against Parish-Churches, that *their Lives would be a burden to them if they were not restored to them.*

The first Church State that Christ himself made, was the *Platform of a Christian Kingdom Church*, offering to make *Judæa* such, setting Twelve Apostles over the Twelve Tribes, and Seventy two Disciples, the Number of their great Council, and so would have gathered all *Jerusalem's* Children to himself, *as a Hen gathereth her Chickens*, Mat. 23. which they refusing he declared that the Kingdom of God should be taken from them, and given to a Nation that would bring forth the fruit thereof; and so they were cut off for their Unbelief, and we grafted in (to the same Olive or political State, the Mosaical Law only changed for Christ's Law): And as all the Prophets foretold this, that Christ's Church should be a Davidical Kingdom; so after Two Hundred Ninety Four Years Tryal it was set up, and the Pagan Empire, *Babylon*, did fall, and Christ reigned by Christian Emperors, and his enemies were made his Footstool, and the Kingdoms of the World became the Kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ, consisting of Churches confederate for Unity; and the Nations brought in their Glory to it; and the Fulness of the Gentiles came in, and all the *Israel* of God were saved, *Judæa* becoming the most Christian Nation in the World: And Heaven and Earth rejoiced at the Fall of *Babylon*, and this new *Jerusalem's* initial State: And sure it is such a Kingdom-Church which those expect that talk of the future Thousand Years Reign of Christ. As Teachers are under him as Prophet, and Priests as he is Priest; so are Christian Kings as he is King; and bad Kings are no more Reason against his Institution than bad Teachers and Priests.

2. There are Three Sorts of Pastors or Bishops in Christ's Church:

I. Such as were to gather many Churches (out of Infidels) and to set Elders or fixed Bishops over them, and then oversee both the Elders and People: Such Christ made the Apostles, whose Office was partly extraordinary and temporary, and is so far

far only ceased, and partly ordinary and continued, and so Christ promised to be with them to the end of the World: And such were Evangelists sent forth with and by the Apostles to gather and oversee many Churches and Pastors: Such were *Titus, Timothy, Luke, Mark, Barnabas, Silas*, and many more. God never recalled this Order of Ministers, if any say he did, it lyeth in them to prove it. This was the first sort of Pastors.

II. The Second Sort were the fixed Elders which these ordained in every Church; who were all Bishops over the Flocks, and so called: but under the general Ministers (who yet had none of them any forcing Power by the Sword) these two God instituted.

III. The Third Sort (between these Two) was a President Pastor in every particular Church, like the President of a Colledge, who had some moderating guiding Power among the rest of the Elders: This was set up to avoid Division among the Elders (every Church having usually many) and received even in some of the Apostles Days, and never rejected for a Thousand Years

3. Particular Churches in Scripture Times were distinguished by the places of their Neighbourhood, as I said before; and there were never two Churches in the same Bounds, except Hereticks, and Men of divers Languages.

From this it is plain, that the most Divine Form of Government is 1. A Christian Kingdom. 2. With (Reformed) General Ministers. 3. And (Reformed) Parish-Churches, having fixed Pastors (and where it may be our Chief) &c. Moreover (as to your fixing) the Churches in Question with you, I suppose, are not the Papists, the Quakers, the Familists, &c. But the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, the Independent and the Separatist (if not the Anabaptists also).

I. The Episcopal are of Two Sorts, Conformists and Nonconformists. The Episcopal Conformists are of Two Sorts; some lately sprung up, that follow Archbishop *Laud* and Dr. *Hammond*, hold that there are no Political Churches lower than Diocesan, because there are no Bishops under them; and so that the Parish-Churches are no Churches, properly, but part of Churches; nor the Incumbants true Bishops, but Curates under Bishops; nor the Foreigners true Ministers or Churches that have no Diocesan Bishops. This Party called themselves the Church of *England*, 1658, 1659. When we knew but of Four or Five Bishops left alive (who Dr. *Hammond* said (with that Party of the Clergy) were of his Mind): And these seemed uppermost in 1660, and 1661. and were the men whom I disputed with in my Treatise of Episcopacy.

The other Episcopal Conformists are they that follow the Reformers, and hold the Doctrine of the Scripture as only sufficient to Salvation, and as explicatory of it, the Thirty Nine Articles, the Homilies, Liturgy, Book of Ordination, Apology, &c. These take the Parish-Pastors for true Rectors, and the Parish-Churches for true Churches, but subordinate to the Diocesans, and to be ruled by them. But the Laws have imposed on them some Declarations and Subscriptions, which they think they may put a good Sense on, though by stretching the Words from their usual Signification. The Bishops and Deans are chosen by the King indeed, and by the *Prebends in shew*. The Incumbant are chosen by Patrons ordained by Diocesans with Presbyters, and accepted by Consent of the Communicants of the Parish. The Episcopal Government is managed partly by the Bishops, and partly by Lay-Civilians and Surrogates.

The Episcopal Nonconformists are for true Parish-Churches and Ministers, reformed, without swearing, promising, declaring, or subscribing to any but sure, clear, necessary things; desiring that the Scripture may be their Canons, disowning all persecuting Canons, taking the capable in each Parish for the Communicant and Church, and the rest for Hearers and Catechized Persons: desiring that the Magistrate be Judge, whom he will maintain, approve, and tolerate, and the Ordainers Judges whom they will ordain, and the People be free Consenters to whose Pastoral Care they will trust their Souls; desiring that every Presbyter be an Overseer of the Flock, and every Church that hath many Elders have one Incumbent President for Unity and Order; and that Godly Diocesans may (without the Sword or Force) have the Oversight of many Ministers and Churches; and all these be confederate and under the Government of a Christian King, but under no Foreign Jurisdiction; though in as much Concord as is possible with all the Christian World: And they would have the Keys of Excommunication and Absolution taken

ken out of the Hands of Lay-Men (Chancellors or Lay Brethren) ; and the Dioce-
sians to judge in the Synods of the Presbyters, in Cases above Parochial Power.

That this was the Judgment of the Nonconformists that treated for Peace in
1660. and 1661. is to be seen in their printed Proposals, in which they desired
Archbishop *Usher's* Model of the Primitive Episcopacy joined with the Synods of
Presbyters.

II. The Presbyterians are for Parish-Churches as aforesaid, guided by Elders, some
teaching, and some only ruling, and these under Synods of the like Class, without
Diocesan or Parochial Superiors ; and all under a National Assembly of the same,
as the Supreme Church Power.

III. The Independants are for every Congregation to have all Church Power in
it self, without any superior Church-Government over them, whether Bishops or
Synods, yet owning Synods for voluntary Concord.

Of these some are against local Communion with the aforesaid Churches, and for
avoiding them by Separation ; some as if they were no Churches, and had no true
Ministers ; some for Forms of Prayer, some for faulty Communicants, some for
Episcopal Ordination, and some for subscribing, and some for all these, and many
other pretended Reasons.

But some Independants are for occasional Communion with the other Churches,
and some also for stated Communion in the Parish-Churches, for which you may
read Mr. *Tomes's* the chief of the Anabaptists in a full Treatise, and Dr. *Thomas*
Goodwin on the first of the *Ephesians*, earnest against Separation (as the old Noncon-
formists were).

Now which of all these should you join with ? I affirm, that all these except the
Separatists are parts of the Church of *England*, as it is truly essentiated by a Chri-
stian Magistracy, and confederate Christian particular Churches. All are not
equally sound and pure, but all are parts of the Church of *England* : Liturgies, and
Ceremonies, and Canons and Chancellors are not essential to it, as a Church, or
Christian Kingdom : But it is now a Medly, less concordant than is desirable : but
you are not put upon any such Disputes ; whether you will call the present
Church of *England* *Roman*, as denominated from the King that is the Head ; or
whether you will say that King and Parliament conjunct are that Head, and so it is
yet Protestant, because the Laws are so ; or whether you will denominate it materi-
ally Protestant, because the Clergy and Flocks are so ; your Doubt is only, *what Con-
gregation to join with.*

I answer, That which all your Circumstances set together, make it most conve-
nient to the publick good and your own.

Though I hold not Ministerial Conformity lawful, I take Lay-Communion in any
of these except the Separatists, to be lawful to some Persons, whose case maketh it
fittest : But I judge it unlawful for you to confine your Communion to any one of
them ; so as to refuse occasional Communion with all save them.

1. The Parish-Churches have the Advantage of Authority, Order and Confede-
racy, and the Protestant Interest is chiefly cast upon them, therefore I will not se-
parate from Lay-Communion with them, though they need much Reformation.

2. You must not go against your Father's Will, no, nor divide the Family,
without necessity : The same I say of your Husband when you are married.

3. The Nonconforming Episcopal and Presbyterians have not such Churches as
they desire, but only temporarily keep Meetings like to Chappels, as Assistants to
others, till Parishes are reformed.

4. I think it a stated sinful Schism to fix as a Member of such a Church and Pa-
stor as is of the Principles of the Writing which you shewed me.

I. Because they grievously slander the Parish-Churches and Ministers as none,
and their Worship and Government as far worse than it is.

II. Because they Renounce local Communion with almost all the Body or Church
of Christ on Earth, by renouncing it on a Reason common to almost all.

III. Because they separate from such Churches as Christ and his Apostles joined
with, and so seem to condemn Christ and his Apostles as Sinners. Christ ordina-
rily joined with the *Jews* Church in Synagogues and Temple-Offices ; when the
High-Priest bought the Place of Heathens, and the Priests, Pharisees and Rulers
were

were wicked Persecutors, and the Sadduces Hereticks or worse, he sent *Judas* as an Apostle, when he knew him to be a Theif or a Devil.

The Apostles neither separated nor allowed Separation from such Churches as *Corinth*, *Gallatia*, *Ephesus*, *Smyrna*, *Sardis*, *Laodicea*, &c. defiled with odious Crimes and Errors; though God command them to reform.

IV. Because hereby they tempt Men to infidelity, when they hear that Christ hath no greater a Body and Church than they with which Men may lawfully communicate; and rob him of almost his Kingdom.

V. By false accusing the Prayers of almost all Christ's Church, and renouncing Communion with them, they forfeit their Interest in the Benefit of their Prayers, and of the Communion of Saints.

VI. Who but Satan would have all the People of *England* and all Nations to live without any publick Church-worship, till they can have better than such as is in our Parish-Churches; as if none were better.

VII. With whom would these Men have held Communion if they had lived in any Age till two hundred Years ago? when as far as ever I could find, there was not one Congregation of Christians or Hereticks in all the World that was against Forms of Worship, or Bishops, or all Ceremonies; let them name one if they can, what then will they say to the Question, Where was your (new) Church before the two last Ages? Had Christ no Church for One Thousand Two Hundred Years in all the World, that a Christian ought to join with in local Communion? Did Christ disown them all, and yet was he their Head, and they his Body? Or are these Men as much stricter than Christ, as the Pharisees were about his Converse and the Sabbath?

VIII. They condemn themselves by their own Practice, while some of them cry down Communion with imposed Forms of Liturgy; they sing Psalms imposed by the Pastor or Clerk, which are the chief part of imposed Liturgies: They sing them in new Versions, Metre, and Tunes, different from the Apostles Churches (and yet better for us): They use imposed Translations of the Scripture: The Pastor imposeth his Words of Prayer, as a Forme which the People must all join with: This is but a different Mode of Liturgies.

IX. Charity (or Christian Love) and Unity are the great vital Graces of the Christian Church: And oh, how wofully do these Men violate and destroy it? when, as is said, they renounce Communion for a Thousand or Twelve Hundred Years at least, with all known Churches on Earth, as unlawful in point of local Presence. 2. They bind all Christians that will hear them, to do the like to this Day, to almost all the Churches on Earth. 3. Their Principles and Reasons make it sinful to have Communicated with the Reformers, the *Waldenses*, *Wickliffe*, *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Zwinglius*, *Calvin*, *Bucer*, and the rest. 4. And they condemn Communion with the Martyrs, both under Heathens, and of later Times, who made or valued and used Liturgies. 5. They condemn local Communion with all the late and former holy excellent Bishops and Conformists; such as Archbishops *Parker*, *Grindall*, *Abbot*, *Usher*, &c. Bishops, *Hall*, *Morton*, *Pilkinton*, *Downname*, *Davenant*, and many such: All that glorious Tribe of Conformists; *Preson*, *Sibbs*, *Bolton*, *Whately*, *Crook*, *Jo. Downname*, *Stoughton*, &c. Oh, how great a Number and how excellent, almost matchless Men? Almost all the late *Westminster Assembly*. 6. And all the excellent old Nonconformists that were against Separation; *Dearing*, *Greenham*, *Perkins*, *Bayn*, *Reignolds*, *Dod*, *Hieldersham*, *Bradshaw*, *Ball*, and Multitudes of such of greatest Piety and Parts. 7. All, or near all the Reformed Churches. 8. All the meer Independants that were against their Separation; such as *Dr. Tho. Goodwin* aforesaid, and many of his Mind. 9. Yea, they condemn the Old *Brownists*, who Printed their Profession of Communion with many Parish-Churches, and with Liturgies. 10. And they utterly condemn all local Communion with the meer Nonconformists of this Age, who offered Terms of Concord in Liturgy and Episcopacy, 1661. None of all these are good enough for these Men (especially their Women and Lads) to have any present Communion with.

Do they know how little radical Difference there is between saying, as Persecutors, *All these are Hereticks*; and as Separatists, *All these are unworthy of Christian Communion*: Yea, the Pope rejecteth Communion but with two or three parts of the Christian World, and these Men renounce local Communion with almost all: Is this the way of Love and Unity in the Body of Christ?

X. Is Provoking, Excommunicating them the way to reconcile the Publick Ministers and Churches? Or is this a time to join with the Enemies of the Protestant Religion, to draw all the People to forsake them? That so the Reformation here may have only private Toleration as we have, till some Disorder is said to forfeit it? the King promiseth to defend them, and shall separating Protestants pull them down?

XI. The Weakness of these Mens Judgments and Dealings, bring all the Nonconformists into Contempt and Scorn with Multitudes of undistinguishing Men, as if we were all of the same Temper, and hardeneth Thousands in hatred to them all, and maketh them long to be persecuting us again, and keepeth them from repenting of the Evil they have done: Offence must come, but woe to them by whom it cometh.

XII. God hath most expressly decided this Controversy in Scripture, and these Men seeming Adherents to Scripture cannot see it, *Rom. 14. and 15. and 16. 17. Job. 17. 22, 24. Phil. 2. Eph. 4.* In a Word, in all those Texts that plead for, Church Unity and Love; and all those that speak of the sinfulness of Schism, and that *a kingdom divided cannot stand*; and all those that condemn Dividers, and all that command mutual forbearance, &c. Do you think that [*receive one another as Christ received us*] even *them that are weak in Faith it self*] doth mean no more than [*do not silence them, or imprison, or murder them:*] No doubt but it meaneth, *receive them to Church-Communion.*

XIII. What a great Sin is unjust silencing worthy Preachers. And do not these Men endeavour to silence more thousands than the Act of Uniformity, or Bishops did, when they tell all that it's a Sin to hear them.

XIV. If it be unlawful to join with *others that are no worse than they*, it must be *unlawful to join with them*: If I be guilty of all that is said or done amiss in the Parish-Churches, I shall be more guilty if I join with the Separatists.

I am not desirous to accuse any, but to cover their Faults as far as I can. But I cannot resolve your Question without telling you that I take their Church-State to be so far different from the Rule, and in many Respects worse than the Parish-Churches, as that to join with them as fixed covenanted Members, will be a state of Sin.

1. *Scripture-fixed Ministers, or Elders* were all *ordained by superior general Pastors, either alone, or with Presbyteries*: So are not theirs (if by any at all).

2. *Scripture-flocks* were ruled by their Pastors, *Heb. 13. 7, 17, 24. 1 Thes. 5. 13, 14. 1 Pet. 5. 1 Tim. 3, &c.* But many of their Flocks are the Rulers of themselves and Pastors.

3. *Scripture particular Churches* were all distinguished by the *Limits of their Habitation or Proximity*; so that there was never two Churches in the same City or Bounds, save Hereticks, and Men of divers Tongues (at least where one could hold them all) But it's otherwise with the Separatists.

4. No lawful Church in Scripture, was gathered out of a true Gospel-Church: But theirs are.

5. *Scripture Churches* had fixed known Tests to know qualified Members by; which was consent to the Baptismal Covenant, explained in the *Creed, Lord's-Prayer* and *Commandments*: So that all Churches had the same Test and Terms of Qualification, and so had one Profession. But these Men leave this Arbitrary to the Pastor (or People) to try whether Men are converted by uncertain Terms and Words devised by every Minister; so that the Terms are unknown and not agreed on among their Churches, and may be as various as Ministers.

6. *Scripture-Churches* never divided the Christians of the same Family, some to one Church, and some to another: But these Men do so, to great Confusion.

7. They

7. They are not agreed on any Form of Doctrine to be a Test of their Agreement with other Churches with whom they will have Communion: If they say that the *Scripture is that Test*; I answer, a *General Belief that Scripture is the Word of God*, is neither sufficient to Salvation, nor to Communion: Many have this, who deny the Essentials of Christianity: And an explicate Understanding and Belief of every Text, no Man hath. Thousands of Texts are not understood by most Christians or Teachers; therefore there must be some Collection of the Essentials in a Creed, or else there can be no certain Notice whether so much of Scripture Truth be explicitly believed as is necessary to Salvation. And if single Pastors require more, it must be only in order to Growth and Edification, and not as a necessary Qualification for Membership, or Communion of Churches.

I have great Cause to know what I say of them. A Parliament once chose Fourteen Ministers to draw up the Fundamentals of Religion; as a Test of such as were to be tolerated in Union: There were Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Sydrak Symphon, Dr. Cheynel, and others: Bishop Usher was chosen, and refused; and I was chosen in his stead: Before I came they had drawn up Fourteen or Fifteen Articles all in new Terms of their own, and some neither Essential, nor true: I told them that we were not to make a new Christianity or Creed, but must own that which the Christian Church was known by in all Ages: But I could not be heard, though Mr. Vines and Mr. Manton joined with me. At last they wrote this for a Fundamental; [*That they that allowed themselves or others in any known Sin, cannot be saved.*] I told them that though I could not be heard by them, I durst say, that I would make them presently blot it out. They bid me, do it if I could. I said, [*The Parliament taketh Independency, Separation, Anabaptistry, and Antinomianism for Sin: And they will say, These Divines pronounce us all Damned if we allow them.*]

They said not a Word, but threw away their Fundamental. The rest of them they printed: But the Parliament were glad with silence to pass by all their Works, and take no notice of it, lest it should be a publick Reproach that we could not agree on the Fundamentals. And I am glad that I hindered such an Agreement as they would have made, instead of the old Creeds which they would not rest in. And can such Churches be of any known Consistency or Concord? If you join with them, how know you what Religion they are of? Or how know they what other particular Churches are in their Communion? (for I hope they hold a Communion of Churches.) Arrians and Socinians say they believe the Scripture: No Man understandeth all the Scripture: The necessary selected Articles they have no known Agreement in: If they say that they own the same Creed that we do, why then do they not use it as the Test of Christian Profession, but instead of it leave every Pastor to make one in Terms that is only his, and no two Churches have the same: To agree in Independency or Separation, is not to agree in Christianity: There are abundance of Books written for very false Doctrines by men called Independents (it's odious to name them.) Are all the Author of their Communion or not? The Assembly could never get them to tell whom they would take to be of their Communion, and whom not.

8. Therefore their Churches are not compaginate nor confederate so as the Members of our Body should be, and as Scripture-Churches were, and as Christ would have had the Jewish National Church to be.

9. They have no Certainty and Concord in their Church-Worship, which they have little more than such Preaching and Praying, which cannot be known for true or false, sound or unsound till the Words are past: And it may justly be expected that Separatists, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Socinians, and all erroneous Men should put their Errors into their Sermons and Prayers, and sinfully father them all on God: And so all God's Worship must be continually uncertain to the Flocks; and of as many different Strains as the Preachers differ in Parts and Wisdom: And it must be low, and poor, and confused, wherever the Ministers are young, raw, erroneous or ignorant.

They once met at the Savoy, and drew up an Agreement of many Pastors: But in that they differ from many other Churches called Independants, and from the Anabaptists. And they expressly contradict the Scripture, 1. In saying that [*we have no Righteousness but Christ's which is imputed to us*] when as Scripture many Hundred times mentioneth also another personal, inherent, or acted Righteousness.

2. They say that [*Faith is not imputed for Righteousness*]. I think they mean well: But they should rather expound Scripture than flatly deny or contradict what it saith; and after, defame those falsely that would help them more distinctly to understand it. Their People are taught to speak evil of what they understand not, and to represent Men as dangerous or odious, who think not of many wordy Controversies as confusedly and ignorantly as they. Their Churches are too usually constituted of such Novices in Knowledge of both Sexes, as are like a School where the Boys call their Teacher a Deceiver for every word by which he would deliver them from their Errours, and teach them more than they knew before.

10. They lazily gather a few that seem so much better than the rest, as will put them to no great labour in Teaching and Discipline. But if all the rest of the Parishes lye in Ignorance, how little are we beholden to these Separatists for the Cure. When I came to *Kidderminster*, some, inclined that way, importuned to me to take a few Professors of Zeal for my Flock, and let the rest follow their ignorant Readers. But when I renounced their Counsel, and after my own and my Assistants long Catechizing them, and perswading all the Families, House by House, they saw the Body of Town and Parish in love with serious Religion, they told me they had been undone if I had followed their Counsel: *William Allen*, who, with *Mr. Lamb*, were Pastors of an Anabaptist Arminian Church, first separated from the Parish-Churches, and next from the Independents, was turned from Independency much, by seeing (being our *Kidderminster* Factor) that Parish-Churches may be made as holy as separated ones, and the People not left by lazy Separatists to the Devil: So that this Experience made him and his Companion more against Independency than I am.

11. They abuse the People in indulging them in works that they were never called to, nor are capable of, nor can give any comfortable account of to God; that is, To be the Judges of Persons admitted to Communion, and of Mens Repentance and Fitness for the Sacrament, &c. whenas God hath put this Power, called *The Church Keys*, into the Pastors and Rulers hands, (the not over-forced Men, but Voluntiers). Baptism is the true Churches Entrance, and the Baptizer is the Judge of the Capacity of the Baptized: no more but Consent to particular Church Relation and Duty, is necessary to Membership of Neighbour Christians in particular Churches. And nothing but proved nullifying the Baptismal Covenant by Heresie, or Sin impenitently maintained or contained in, doth forfeit their visible right to Communion. And if the People must judge of all these, they must have their Callings to examine every Person, and they must grow wiser and abler, then many of their Leaders are.

12. Their Churches have among them no probable way of Concord; but they are as a heap of Sand, that upon every Commotion fall in pieces. The Experience of it in *Holland* broke them to nothing: And it so affected the Sober in *New-England*, that in 1660. or 1661. *Mr. Ash* and I were fain to dissuade *Mr. Norton* and *Mr. Broadstreet*, whom they sent hither as Commissioners, from inclining to our *English* Episcopacy (foretelling them what was doing and we have seen) so deeply were they afraid of being received by that Peoples incurable Separation from their ablest Pastors, whenever any earnest erroneous Teachers would seduce them. Their Building wanteth Cement.

13. God hath so wonderfully by his Providences disowned the way of Schism and Separation (on how good pretences soever) that I should be too like *Pharaoh* in hardness, if I should despise his warnings. For Instance,

1. In the Apostles days all are condemned that separated from the settled Churches, even when those Churches had many heinous Scandals, and *St. Paul* saith, That all they in *Asia* were turned from him. The Authority and Miracles of the Apostles did not serve to keep Men from Separation and raising Schisms.

2. Even when the Church lay under Heathen Persecutors for 294 years, yet Swarms of Condemned Sects arose, to so great a number, as that the naming and confuting them filleth great Volumes, to the great Reproach of the Christian Churches, and Scandal of the Heathens.

3. As soon as *Constantine* delivered the Churches from the Flames of cruel Persecution, and set up Christians in Power and Wealth, separating Sects grew greater than before, each Party crying up their several Bishops and Teachers, and grew worse by Divisions, till thereby they tempted the Papal Clergy to unite Men carnally by force.

4. At *Luther's* Reformation Swarms of Separatists arose in *Germany, Holland, Poland, &c.* to the great dishonour of the Protestant Cause.

5. Here in *England* it hath been ill in *Queen Elizabeth's* time, by the Familists and Separatists; and far worse since: It was such as *Quarterman* and *Lilburn*, and other Separatists that drew Tumults and Crowds down to *Westminster*, to draw the Parliament to go beyond their own Judgment, and thereby divided the Parliament-men, and drove away the King, which was the beginning of our odious War. It was the Separating Party that all over the Land set up Anti-Churches in the Towns that had able godly Ministers, when they had nothing imposed on them to excuse it, neither Bishops, Liturgies, nor Ceremonies. So that Churches became like Cockpits, or Fencing-Schools, to draw asunder the Body of Christ. It was the Separating Party that got under *Cromwell* into the Army, and became the common Scorners of a godly able Ministry, by the Names of the *Priest-byters*, the *Driviners*, the *Westminster-sinners*, the *Dissembly-men*, as Malignant Drunkards did, and worse. It was these that thought Success had made them Rulers of the Land, that caused the disbanding of all the Soldiers that disliked their Spirit and Way, and then pull'd down, first eleven, and then the major part of the Parliament, imprisoning and turning out Men of eminent Piety and Worth, and making a Parliament of the minor part, and their killing the King, and afterward with scorn turning out that minor part that had done their work, and to whom they had oft profest themselves Servants: It was these Men that set up a Usurper; that made a thing called a Parliament, all of his and his Armies nomination. If this should ever be imitated, whom may we thank. It was these Men that set up the Military Government of Major-Generals: It was they that set up and pull'd down so many feigned Supream Powers in a few years, as made themselves the Scorn of the World, and by a dreadful warning of Divine Justice, all their victorious Army and Power dropt in pieces like Sand, as they would have used the Church, and was dissolved without one Battle or drop of Blood, save the after-Blood of their Leaders that were hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd by Parliament Sentence. It is these Men and these doings that have hardened thousands against Reformation, and turned all that was done for it (O what did it cost, and what raised hopes had many of the Success) into Reproach, quieted the Consciences of those that have thought they served God by silencing, hating and persecuting those that they thought had been of this guilty Sect. In a word, the spirit and way of causeless Separation, whether by violent Prelatists Pursuits and Excommunications, or by self-conceited Sectaries, was never owned or blest by God.

If any say (truly or falsely) *You have had a hand in some such thing your self.*

I answer, If I had I will hate it, and write against it so much the more.

To thrust ones self into a way so disowned by God, by such a course of fearful warnings, is to run with *Pharaoh* into the *Red-Sea*; especially when Impenitence so fixeth the guilt on them that cannot endure to hear of it, as may make us fear that the worst is behind, and Sin and Judgments yet continue.

The Sum of what is said to you on the other side, is that the Church of *England* and the Parish Churches have no true Ministry, and therefore are no true Churches: That they confess there is no Church without a Bishop, and no Bishop below the Diocesan, and so no Church below the Diocesan Church: That those are no Scripture Bishops and Churches; and Men cannot be Pastors against their wills, and the will of their Diocesans. That I contradict my Treatise of Episcopacy in denying this: With more like this.

To which I say, I. If the Parish Congregation were but part of a Church, you might joyn with it as a part, as well as with part of an Independent Church. And they that can hear a Lay-man with the Separatists, might hear the Ministers there.

II. Whether I contradict my self, or not, is nothing to your Cause and Consciences: I undertook not, when I wrote, that none should wilfully or ignorantly misunderstand me: The formal Notion of a National Church is nothing but a Christian Kingdom: The Matter is Christian Rulers and Subjects, and as ordered Confederate particular Churches: *England* hath been such for many Ages. Here from the Reformation they owned the Sovereign Power as the Head of the Political National Church, as Christ is of the Universal, (under him). They owned Parish-Churches under Diocesans, and true Ministers therein: Their Books shew their Judgment, their Articles, Apology, Homelies, Liturgy, Ordination, Canons, &c. These Books are still owned by the Church: But at last a new sort of Bishops rose up that would have made the Parish Churches to be no proper Churches, but
like

like Chappels under the Diocesan : These called themselves the *Church of England*, when there were but about four or five Bishops left alive, who Dr. *Hammond* said were of his mind. Some such domineered afterward, and would have set up that way, but never prevailed either to retract the Churches Books and Laws, nor to get the major part of the Clergy to own them. Now all the vain question here is, Which of these two Parties shall be called *The Church of England*? Neither of them alone : They are two disagreeing parts of it : I argued against the last, professing not to do it against the first ; which your Counsellor would take no notice of. And what's all this to you? If you will not be of the National or Diocesan Church, you may be of a Parish Church.

III. I proved that if all the Bishops and Parliament had said, The Parish Ministers are no true Pastors, this would not have made them none, (though they might be guilty of deposing them as far as they could :) no more than it would make the Nonconforming Ministers and Churches to be none : Because we all take the Office as instituted by Christ, and Men to be but investing Servants to him, having no power to alter it : And as in the Marriage the Husband shall have power over the Wife though he that marry them say Nay ; so shall an ordained Elder be a true Pastor though the Ordainer say Nay.

IV. I proved that the old Church Books and Doctrine are in force still by Law, and the Kingdom and Church are sworn or bound, *not* to endeavour any alteration in the Government of the Church : Therefore not to put down the Parish Ministry and Churches. Therefore this is the Sence of the Church of *England*, though not of the new Faction that usurped that Name.

V. Though a Man cannot be a Pastor against his will, yet he may be one without his knowledge, if by Error he think he is none. For he may consent to all the Office, while he thinks it is not all, and denieth the Name. If a Man think that a Deacon may do all essential to a Pastor, and so that he is but a Deacon, he is nevertheless a Pastor if he consented to the Work. Many thousands are Christians that think they are not, and do truly consent to Christianity, while they think they do not. And why may it not be so also to the Ministry ?

VI. But our Case needeth none of these Reasons. For where there is all that is essential to true Pastors and Churches, there are true Pastors and Churches : But by God's great mercy, in many thousand Parishes in *England*, there is all that is essential to true Pastors and Churches : Therefore they are such. When you will call me to dispute it with any Denier, I will fully prove to you, (That there is great need of Reformation).

1. That the Church of *England*, as it is a Christian Kingdom, containing Confederate Churches under a Christian King and Laws, is that very Form that Christ offered to settle in *Judea*, and did settle by *Constantine*.

2. That if the Diocesans be good Men, and lawfully chosen, as they are meer Successors of *Timothy* and *Titus*, and others that had the oversight of many Churches and Pastors (by the Word) they are righter than the Opposers.

3. That the Incumbents of the Parish-Churches have a valid Ordination by such Bishops and Presbyters, righter than the Dividers.

4. That many thousands of such Pastors are Men of competent Abilities : and many of greater Ministerial Abilities than most of us Nonconformists : yea, that no known Nation under Heaven hath, in so small a compass, so many able Ministers as *England*. And that to deny it and separate, is great ingratitude towards God.

5. That Parish Bounds are a laudable Distribution of Churches ; the capable Members being Communicants, and the rest Catechumens.

6. That the ordinary Communicants in multitudes of Parishes, are Membrs that have all that is essential to Church-Membership.

7. That the Pastors have power from God for all their Work, and Mens denial (even the Ordainers) nullifieth not that Power, when they are in general ordained Presbyters.

8. That by the Law of the Land they have all Power essential to Pastors : They may keep from Communion all that are not Confirmed, and there have owned their Baptismal Covenant, or are ready and desirous so to do, and therefore may try their readiness : This is required by the Liturgy : And they may deny the Sacrament to all

all that live in scandalous Sin : And they must prosecute such to the Bishops Courts. The Law calleth them *Rectors* (Rulers), and they own themselves for such : And even the Canons (that are their worst restraints) do own the same ; and so do the rest of the Church-Books and Laws, that they all subscribe to, and promise not to alter : Ask them whether they take not themselves for true Pastors, if you would know whether they consent to be such.

9. Though some late Innovators, that called themselves *The Church of England*, would, as far as they could, have nullified in some part the Parish Ministry and Churches, and the Canons themselves do sinfully limit the Exercise of their Power, (the Cause of our Calamities), yet this nullifieth not the Office and Churches ; the Essential Power being settled both by God's Laws and the Churches ; and the restraint of Exercise nulleth not the Power.

10. That to Exclude any from Communion that are Baptized and at Age, have owned their Christianity, and are not proved by sufficient witnesses to have nullified that Profession by Apostasie, Heresie, or a wicked or scandalous Life, is Church Tyranny and Injustice ; of which all are guilty that do it or desire it.

11. That if this Discipline be neglected by the Ministers sinful Sloth, or by the sinful Omission of the People, that will not (first privately, and then before witness, and then to the Church or Pastor) admonish the Offenders, this is the Sin of Pastors and People, but nullifieth not the Church or Office.

12. Through God's great Mercy the Doctrine professed by the Church of *England*, and usually preached in many thousand Parish Churches, is sound, and as well preached as in any other known Kingdom on Earth (though Ministers have had their Sins which we still smart for and by).

13. There is nothing in the Liturgy-worship which the Laity in the Congregation are ordinarily to perform or joyn in, which they may not lawfully do or joyn in, or be present at : (most that needeth Reformation being in Rubricks and By-Offices, Baptizing, Confirmation, Excommunications, Absolutions, Burials, and in the Ministers part).

14. The Ministers have all the three parts that can be accounted by any party necessary to an outward Call. 1. They have the Magistrates Consent (by his Law) who is Judge whom he will maintain and tolerate. 2. They have the Ordainers Consent and Mission (Bishops and Presbyters) who are Judges whom to Ordain. 3. They have the Communicants Consent expressed in their constant Attendance and Communicating ; who are the discerning Judges to whom to commit the Pastoral Care and Conduct of their own Souls : And though more be desirable, no more is of necessity.

15. The Confederate Parish-Churches of *England* that have able godly Pastors, want nothing, which CHRIST or his APOSTLES, or the UNIVERSAL CHURCH of Christ for Six hundred years (yea or to this day) did ever make or judge necessary to the being of Ministers or Church. Nor have the said Churches any Errour or Sin in Doctrine, Worship or Government, which either Christ or his Apostles, or the Universal Church, for Six hundred years after Christ, did judge inconsistent with the being of a valid Minister, and true visible Churches.

The large proof of these Fifteen Propositions I offer, though too long now to perform ; which though they will not justifie such Ministerial Conformity as I have been urged to, yet you may easily see by them, 1. What Church-Frame is most agreeable to Scripture. 2. And what to judge of the false Accusers of the Church. 3. How far Separation is sinful Division, and contrary to Christian Love and Union.

I know the Dividers say, 1. *That I am turned Conformist.* 2. *And why do I not Conform, if I think so well of the Parish Churches and Liturgy.* And 3. *Why have I lost above Twenty thousand pounds in Five and twenty years, by refusing a Bishoprick and other Preferments.*

To whom I answer ; If our printed Proposals, Disputes, and Petitions for Peace in 1661. and my first, second, and third Plea for Peace, and many more such Writings, and my Cure of Church Divisions, and my Book for the true and only way of Church Concord, and my Confutation of many that made me a Separatist while I Communicated in my Parish Church, and never gathered a Church merely because I forsook not my Ministry, but *gratis* preached a Lecture, and my Book against Sacrilegious Desertion of the Ministry ; I say, if all these Books will not silence these ignorant Objectors, nor restrain them from speaking evil of that which they understand not, I owe them no more, nor can hope to cure their quarrellsome Ignorance,

Ignorance, should I say or write never so much more. They have contemned so many excellent *Rulers*, and *Pastors*, *single* and *Assemblies*, far wiser than I, and so censoriously condemn almost all the Body or Church of Christ on Earth, that I am not so vain as to expect to escape their Censure. Even in *New-England*, not only Mr. *Wilson*, Mr. *Norton*, and such other single Independent Ministers, lived and died in lamented Separation, and warning the Land against it as their danger, but their Synods have been at much trouble thereby, and left their Healing Determinations and Testimony against that Dividing Spirit and Way.

They that would see more, may read a small Book of Mr. *Philip Nye* for Hearing the Parish Preachers; and a bigger Book of Mr. *John Tombes* (the greatest and most learned Writer against Infant-Baptism) vindicating the Lawfulness and Duty of joyning in ordinary Communion in Word, Prayer, and Sacrament with the Parish-Churches.

Dr. Thomas Goodwin on Ephes. 1. Sermon 36. pag. 488. explaining some Words in the foregoing Sermon.

IT was understood as if I said, *That all Parish Churches and Ministers generally were Churches and Ministers of Christ, such as with whom Communion might be held.* I said not so: I was wary in my Expressions. I will only say this to you about it. There is no Man that desireth Reformation in this Kingdom (as the generality of all godly People do) but will acknowledge and say, That multitudes of Parishes, where Ignorance and Prophaneness overwhelmeth the Generality, Scandalousness and Simony the Ministers themselves, that these are not Churches and Ministers fit to be held Communion with. Only this; The Ordinances that have been administered by them (so far we must acknowledge them, that they) are not to be recalled or repeated again.

But here lyeth the Question, my Brethren, and my meaning: Whereas now in some Parishes in this Kingdom, there are many godly Men that do constantly give themselves up to the Worship of God in publick, and meet together in one place to that end, in a constant way, under a godly Minister, whom they themselves have chosen to cleave to, (though they did not choose him at first) These, notwithstanding their mixture and want of Discipline, I never thought for my part, but that they were true Churches of Christ, and Sister-Churches, and so ought to be acknowledged: And the contrary was the Errour that I spake against.

Secondly, For holding Communion with them, I say, as Sister-Churches, occasionally as Strangers, Men might hold Communion with them: And it is acknowledged by all Divines, that there is not that Obligation lying upon a Stranger, that is not a Member of a Sister-Church, to find fault in that Church, or in a Member of it, as doth on the Church it self, to which one belongeth.

I will give you my Reasons that moved me to speak so much. It was not simply to vent my own Judgment, or simply to clear my self from that Errour: but the Reasons, or rather the Motives and Considerations that stirred me in it, were these.

First, If we should not acknowledge these Churches, thus stated, to be true Churches of Christ, and their Ministers true Ministers, and their Order such; and hold Communion with them too, in the Sence spoken of, we must acknowledge No Church in all the Reformed Churches; None of all the Churches in Scotland, nor in Holland, nor in Germany; for they are All as full of mixture as ours: And to deny that to our own Churches, which we do not to the Churches abroad, nothing can be more absurd: And it will be very hard to think that there hath been no Church since the Reformation.

Secondly, I know nothing tendeth more to the peaceable Reformation among us, than to break down This Partition-Wall: for there is nothing provokes more than this doth, to deny such Churches to be true Churches of Christ. For do but think with your selves, and I will give you a familiar Example: You come to a Man whom you think to be a godly Man; you tell him, He hath these and these Sins in him, and they are great ones: It is as much as he can bear, though you tell him

him he is a Saint, and acknowledge him so : but if you come to him, and say, besides this, You are a Limb of the Devil, and you have no Grace in you, this provoketh all in a Man, when there is any Ground in himself to think so, or in another to judge him so ; so it is here : Come to Church and say, You have these Defects among you, and these things to be reformed : But if you will come and say, *Your Churches and your Ministers are Antichristian and come from Babylon*, there is nothing provoketh more. Therefore if there be a Truth in it (as I believe there is) Men should be Zealous to express it : For *this is the great Partition Wall that bindeth of twain making one.*

Then again, This is that which I consider, and it is a great Consideration also. I know that Jesus Christ hath given his People Light in Matters of this Nature by degrees. Thoulands of good Souls that have been bred up and born in our Assemblies, and enjoy the Ordinances of God, and have done it comfortably, cannot suddenly take in other Principles : You must wait on Christ to do it.

In this Case Men are not to be wrought off by *Falshoods*, God hath no need of them ; no, rather till Men do take in Light, you should give them all that is comfortable, in the Condition they are in ; we should acknowledge every good thing in every Man, in every Church, in every thing ; and that is a way to work upon Men and to prevail with them, as it is *Philem. v. 6. That the Communication of thy Faith may become effectual acknowledgment of every good thing which is in you in Christ Jesus.* It is that which buildeth Men up, by acknowledgment of every good thing that is in them.

Lastly, The last Inconvenience is this, It doth deprive Men of all those Gifts that are found amongst our Ministers, and in this Kingdom, that they cannot hold any Communion or fellowship with them.

So that I profess my self as *zealous in this Point, as in any other I know.* And for my part, this I say, and I say it with much Integrity : I never yet took up Religion by Parties in the Lump. I have found by tryal of things that there is some truth on all Sides : I have found Holiness where you would little think it, and so likewise Truth. And I have learned this Principle, which I hope I shall never lay down till I am swallowed up of Imortality, and that is, that which I said before, *To acknowledge every good thing, and hold Communion with it, in Men, in Churches, or whatsoever else.* I learn this from *Paul*, I learn this from Jesus Christ himself : He filleth All in All : He is in the Hearts of his People, and filleth them in his Ordinances to this Day : And where Jesus Christ filleth, why should we deny an Acknowledgment, and a right Hand of Fellowship and Communion ?

My Brethren, this Rule that I have now mentioned (which I profess I have lived by, and shall do while I live) I know I shall never please Men in it : Why ? It is plain ; for this is the Nature and Condition of all Mankind, if a Man dissents from others in *one thing*, he loseth himself in all the rest : And therefore if a Man do take what is good of all sides ; he is apt to lose them all : But he pleaseth Christ by it, and so I will for this particular.

Thus far Dr. *T. Goodwin* prefaced and commended by *Thankful Owen*, and *James Barron*, worthy and peaceable Men, deceased.

The Transcriber craveth judicious Resolutions of these two Questions :

I. Whether it be lawful to be a fixed Member of a grossly Schismatical Church, that is guilty of such separating from slandering almost all others, as is here reprov'd, when Communion with better may be had ?

Quest. 2. How far others are bound to reprove and Testify against such dividing Principles, Ministers and Churches, especially after and under doleful Experience of their sinful calamitous Effects ?

Dear Brother,

I Have felt that in my own Soul, and seen that upon my Brethren for these two or three Years last past, which persuadeth me that God is about the healing of our Wounds, having communicated more healing Principles and Affections, and poured out more of the Spirit of Catholick Love and Peace than I have perceived heretofore. Love is arisen and shineth upon the Children of the Day, and your congealed Stiffness begins to vanish, and a Christian Tenderness to succeed. The

' Prince of Peace erects his Banner, and the Sons of Peace flock in apace. It is a
 ' shame to be the last, but a misery to be none. God will bring his divided, distracted
 ' Servants nearer together ; and it is Pity he should be put to bear down any resisting
 ' Saints among the Instruments of Satan, and that any of their Carcasses should be
 ' found on the Ground when he conquereth the Enemies of Peace. The Lord is
 ' about revealing to his Servants the Error of their Censoriousness, Harshness, Un-
 ' charitableness, and Divisions, and how grievously they have wronged him and
 ' themselves by departing so far from Christian Love and Unity. He will let them see
 ' how much of the Cause was secret and undiscerned ; Pride and Self-conceitedness
 ' and want of Holy Christian Love, while little was pretended or discerned but
 ' Strictness and Obedience. He will shew them more fully wherein the true Na-
 ' ture of Grace and Holy Obedience doth consist, and teach them by the Impress
 ' of his Spirit, what he so emphatically commanded them by his Word, to go
 ' learn what that meaneth, *I will have Mercy, and not Sacrifice* : It's pity we should
 ' not understand the meaning of Words so plain ; but it's Sin and Shame as well as
 ' Pity that we have studied them no better, after such a *Memorandum* and Com-
 ' mand as this. But many of God's Servants have in the Points of Unity and Peace
 ' been like those miserable Souls, that are described to *have Eyes and see not, Ears and*
 ' *bear not, Hearts and understand not*, (these blessed Precepts of Love and Unity,
 ' though none more plain, and frequent, and urgent) for the time was
 ' not come that they should be recovered and healed ; though this Defection be
 ' not in the Essence of Christianity, but the Degrees ; nor for Perpetuity, but a Time ;
 ' yet it's sad that such a Spirit of deadness should so far prevail, that Men inquisi-
 ' tive after Truth, and zealous of Holiness, should least understand the plainest,
 ' nearest, frequent Precepts, and so little feel their Obligations to such weighty Du-
 ' ties, that the Lord is pleased to stir upon their Spirit among others, is a great re-
 ' joicing to me. And I hope I may tell you, that it is in vain, as I am sure I may
 ' tell you it is no small Sin any more to resist and strive against him. If the Hand
 ' of our dear and tender Lord be setting you in joint again, shrink not on account
 ' of present pain, (much less should you fear the Reproach of being in Communion
 ' with the Body) but impartially hearken unto him and yield ; but lay by all Tumults
 ' of Spirits and Passions, and get out of the Noise of vulgar Clamours ; for the
 ' Voice of Peace is a still Voice, and in Calmness must be attended unto : And
 ' when you are restored, if you find not the Sweetness and Advantages of Peace
 ' (if you are indeed restored in Mind as well as Practice) the Lord hath not spoken
 ' in this by me. I can hardly think that he that hath raised these Thoughts with-
 ' in you, and begun these Convictions, will let them die. In order to the Ends de-
 ' sired and hoped for, I shall offer you so much of my present Thoughts, as your
 ' described Case requires. And 1. though I desire not to dispute the Case of In-
 ' fant Baptism with you now, yet I may say, we believe you live in a constant
 ' Sin against the Lord, in neglecting, denying and opposing it, and that if you
 ' will by one erroneous Supposition draw on a Chain of hurtful Consequences, you
 ' are the Cause of your own Disorders. At a fitter Season I should desire you but
 ' to answer me this one Argument : All that should be sacramentally or solemnly
 ' inticed into the Holy Covenant with God, as his People, should be Baptized (or
 ' at least be taken as true Members of the Church, and their Entrance just) but the
 ' Infants of believing Parents should be sacramentally and solemnly entred into Cove-
 ' nant with God or his People ; *Ergo, &c.* The *Minor* we give you the abundant
 ' Proof of Law and Promise for, before Christ. It was *Abraham's* Duty and Pri-
 ' viledge according to the Tenour of the Promise which was made with him be-
 ' fore the Law, to enter his Children sacramentally and solemnly into the holy
 ' Covenant. It was all the Churches Duty after both Jews and Profelytes ; both
 ' the uncircumcised Females, and the circumcised Males, and all the uncircumcised
 ' Church in the Wilderness, *Deut. 29, &c.* Tell me now how I should answer it be-
 ' fore the Lord, if I tell Parents that they are absolved from this Duty of solemn
 ' entring their Children into the Covenant, and are divested of the blessed Privi-
 ' ledge ; especially when you here tell me well, that you know of none but his Bo-
 ' dy that Christ is the Saviour of, and that the Church is this Body ; *Ergo*, you
 ' know of no Salvation for Infants if they be not of the Church ; *Ergo*, Exclusion
 ' would be a heavy Case, shall I say that Christ hath recalled this Law and Grant ?
 ' but how should I prove it ? I shew you the Law and Grant ; do you shew me the
 ' Repeal, and we have done. Christ never speaks a word to repeal it, nor any of
 ' his Apostles. Entering our Children into the holy Covenant, is not a Ceremony.
 ' If God say to a Father, why didst thou not dedicate this Child to me, and
 ' solemnly

solemnly enter him into Covenant with me? what can he say? The Precept, Promise and long Practice were plain; was the Repeal also plain? Yes; if it be a Repeal for Christ to take such Children into his Arms, and bless them, and tell us of such is his Kingdom, and to be offended with those that would have kept them from him; and to command that all Disciples be Baptized. He knew well enough when he instituted Baptism, and exercised it first upon the adult, that the Jews did so too with their Profelites: And *Ergo*, when he did in that no more than they did that yet admitted the Infants of Church-Members, his baptizing the Adult could no more signify his Denial of Infants to be baptized, than the Jews baptizing the Adult could signify it, who at that time baptized Infants also: nor could the Disciples interpret Christ's Doctrine and Will to be contrary to the Jews, when his Practice was no more than theirs: And when he never uttered a Syllable to intimate a Repeal of that great Mercy and Duty of entring Infants solemnly into the Covenant which by God's Appointment had continued so long. And the Covenant was, *I will be thy God, and thou shalt be my People*. But all this falls in besides my first intent, and therefore I rather expect your Pardon than your regard of it at the present; though time may shew you Light in that which now seems Darknes.

2. But if our Infant Baptism were irregular, how will you prove it a Nullity? never by any sound Argument; every Irregularity is not a Nullity. Whether you take the Word as signifying *Fædus Sacramentale*, a Sacramental Covenant (as Scripture commonly doth, more notably intending the Covenant than the outward Act) or *Sacramentum Fæderale* a Federal Sacrament or Action, (most notably signifying the Sign or Act) it's all one to our purpose, for Infants are capable of both the Covenant, and the outward Sign, and of all that is essential to Baptism. That they are capable of being entred into Covenant, 1. Nature tells us, we commonly enter them under Princes as their Subjects, and into private Contracts with Landlords for Possessions. 2. The ancient Law, Promise and Practice of the Church before Christ tells us, for then it was actually done by God's Command. And that they are capable of the outward Sign is undeniable. Prove it a Nullity if you can, though it were a Sin.

3. But if both were granted, the Sin and Nullity, I come now to give you my Reasons why it warrants you not to deny Communion with the Churches that were thus Baptized in Infancy. And 1. I beseech you note that Baptism is as necessary, if not much more, to the Admission of Men into the universal visible Church as such, or into a particular Church: *Ergo*, If Men may be admitted into the universal visible Church without adult Baptism, then he may be admitted into a particular Church without it: But yet here grant that he may be a Member of the universal Church without it: *Ergo*, Baptism is indeed appointed to be our regular entrance by way of Sacramental Covenant and Investiture into the Church Universal, and not into a particular Church necessarily, though it may be into both, yet it is but indirectly into the particular Church. The Eunuch, and all that were baptized first in any place by the Apostles, were baptized only into the Church universal, and afterward settled in Order under Pastors in particular Churches. Baptism, as such, as it was called our Christening, doth only list Men under Christ as Christians, and if it do any more as to the thing in Question, it is accidentally, and not always, nor necessarily: We are not (directly sure) baptized to our Pastors, and so not to that Particular Church, nothing then is more plain in Scripture than that Baptism was appointed for our Entrance upon our State of Disciples in general: And *Ergo*, if a Man may be a visible Disciple without it, where it seemeth most necessary, then much more may he be admitted into a particular Church afterward without it, when at least it is no more necessary, and indeed much less, and not at all, save only as universal Church-Member, this is pre-requisite to particular. The Ministers of Christ Baptized 2000 without asking the Consent of any particular Church. 2. They that are under both a Precept making the use of instituted Ordinances their Duty, and a Promise of Acceptance in the Performance, must perform these Duties with belief of their Acceptance: But such are these that you account unbaptized: *Ergo*, That they are under a Command is plain. All the Precepts for Christian Communion, and not forsaking the assembling of our selves and obeying those that rule over us, &c. are made to the whole visible Church, that hath Opportunity for such Communion, you will not think that our Sin (as you take it) can except us from an Obligation to Duty. But all the Question is, whether such Duty will be accepted if performed by the unbaptized (as you now suppose them) and this you grant, professing

‘sing your self that you are out of doubt that we are very well accepted of God, and you think that it is accounted for Baptism to us. And if you yield both that we are bound to the Duty, and shall have Acceptance in particular Church Communion, what is it then besides the regularity that you deny? Do you not grant the Cause in Hand? And we have many Promises of Acceptance of Believers in their sincere Endeavours, and all things are pure to the Pure. And if involuntary unavoidable Mistakes shall hinder our Acceptance when we are sincere, then we can never be sure that we are accepted. 3. It is but visibility that is requisite in a Church or Member to make them capable of our Communion. If it be a Communion of Christians as Christians, or Saints as Saints that particular Churches are to hold withal, that consent and are Members of their Churches, then Christianity or visible Sanctity in such Consenters is all that is of Necessity to such Communion: But the Antecedent is plain: As it is as Christians that we must inwardly love one another, so it is as Christians, that we must manifest that Love in holy Communion. Communion is the Demonstration of Love; and all Men must know us to be Christ’s Disciples by our loving one another; and therefore if any Man be but a visible Christian, it’s plain that he’s capable of your Communion (if he cohabits and consent) else it were not *formaliter* a Communion of Saints or Christians, but of something else: Now you confess that Men are visible Christians that are (to you) unbaptized.

‘4. There is no such thing as a universal visible Church that is not to use Eucharistical Communion, nor any parts of it that have opportunity. Your similitude of Corporations in a Republick holds in some things, but hath this dissimilitude, that all Christ’s Republick should consist of such Corporations, except a Person that is a Merchant Traveller, Embassador, or by some extraordinary Necessity is denied Opportunity: which Rarities are not here of Consideration. And whereas in Republicks, it may be as commodious for rural Villages to be not incorporate, as for Cities to be incorporate, and their Priviledges in their Nation may be as great, and they are not obliged to incorporate, none of this is so in our Case: But every visible Christian (not hindered by Necessity) is bound to incorporate, and charged not to forsake the Assemblies; but all to join and speak the same things and Glorify God with one Mouth, &c. And he that is not a visible Christian, hath no visible Right to our Christian Communion: And he that is a visible Christian and depriveth himself of this Communion sinneth, and wrongeth his own Soul, and as it were, out-laws himself, and is not as you suppose in your Comparison of the not-incorporate: But though in some Cases such may be saved, as deny instituted Communion and Worship, or neglect it, yet they do so far put themselves into the State of those without.

‘5. Your Opinion sets up a new kind of Church, or Christian Assemblies and Communion of such as may only hear and Pray, and not have Eucharistical Communion and be under Church-Guidance: Shew us any such in Scripture if you can.

‘6. Heathens or Infidels are called to a natural Worship of God: *Ergo*, visible Christians are called to more.

‘7. Faith it self hath its Office formally by Institution, though its aptitude there-to be in the Nature of the thing. And if the Gospel it self be supernatural, and our Christianity and Faith an instituted thing, as well as Sacrament and Governors, and so the universal visible Church an Institution as well as a particular, then certainly want of Baptism will no more keep a visible Christian out of the particular instituted Church, than out of the universal; because as to the Point of Institution there is no such Reason as can make a Difference.

‘8. The great and excellent part of Church Communion is that which you call natural Worship as performed by Believers, in the loving God in Christ and admiring and magnifying his Love, in the Riches of the Grace of Redemption, and seeking with all Saints to comprehend it, hearing his Counsels and Commands, praying for his Grace and Glory, and praising and magnifying him in Faith, and Hope, and Love, with our Eye upon the second Coming of our Lord. And that which you call Instituted Order and Worship, is but the means to this, and without this but a Shell: It is subservient to it. And therefore

‘1. They that are capable of the greater, are capable of the less. Heathens are bound to meer natural Worship, and their Hearing and Praying is another thing, and Obligation and Capacity differ.

‘2. They

2. They that must do the work, must do it in God's way, and by his means. The great internal Worship is as the Soul, and the external as the Body, which are to be distinguished, but not separated. Must one sort of Christians have the Soul of holy Communion without the Body, and carry the Knife naked, while you deny them the Sheath?

9. If a Member of the Universal visible Church, as such, is *pro tempore* to be admitted to Communion in all Ordinances with any particular Church where they come, then these that you acknowledge such visible Members, must by you be so admitted, and so are capable of Communion in instituted Ordinances, but the Antecedent is true beyond Dispute. None of the Apostles were Members of particular Churches, but were as Itinerants to do their work in many Countries: so was it with abundance of Itinerant Preachers of those times called their Companions and Fellow-Labourers and Helpers: as *Barnabas, Luke, Mark, Silas, Timothy, Titus, Epaphroditus, Apollos, &c.* When Paul came to *Troas*, Acts 20. he and all his Company are admitted among the Disciples in breaking-Bread, and that not as Members of any particular Church, but as Christians. Some Christians are lawfully excused, and necessarily deprived of stated Church-Membership in a particular Church (as Princes Ambassadors, that may spend their Lives in motion and action in several places, &c.) And shall all these Christians be deprived of actual Communion, Sacraments, &c. in the Places where they come, because they are incapable of any fixed Station. Yea, when perhaps it may be the Work or Cause of God that is the Cause of their unsettledness.

10. Dare you undertake to exempt all, but those that you judge Baptized, from the frequent Precepts of knowing those that are *over them in the Lord*, and submitting themselves, and esteeming them highly in love for their work sake, and being at peace among themselves, 1 *Thess.* 5. 12, 13. and from giving double honour to the Elders, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. and obeying those that rule over them, &c. *Hebr.* 13. 7, 17. All Christians that have opportunity are bound to submit to and obey their Guides and Pastors, and that cannot be statedly, but in a particular Church. And then if you look to the beneficial part, it's plain, that when Christ *ascended up on high, and gave gifts to men*, it was for the perfecting of the Saints, and the work of the Ministry, and edifying of the Body of Christ, even that Pastors and Teachers were given, till we all *come in the unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God to a perfect Man*, *Ephes.* 4. 9, 11, 12, 13. And will you exclude twenty, if not five hundred parts of the Church from this (all this) benefit of Pastors and Teachers, when Christ provided them for all? Consider what you do?

11. The Unity of the Catholick Body, and their commanded correspondency requireth a Fellowship with all the Parts according to opportunity. From Christ the whole Body fitly joyned together (or jointed, which is by Officers, Order, and Love) and compacted by that which every joynt supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, (when you exclude a hundred, or many hundred parts from their Communion) maketh increase of the Body to the edifying of it self in love, (not only secret, unknown love, but love appearing in Communion) *Ephes.* 4. 16.

12. Excommunication out of particular Church-Communion, in instituted Ordinances, is a grievous Censure, and never inflicted on the holy Servants of Christ, that never wilfully resist or reject his Truth or Precepts. No nor on Offenders, but for impenitency, or grievous Crimes. Durst you Excommunicate me out of your Church, if I were in it, and professing my owning of Baptism, and my hearty longing to know and obey the will of Christ. There is many an honest humble Christian in this Town (that I conjecture you may know and deal for) that if you should cast out, on such an account, I am confident infinite Love would be offended with you, and say you have toucht the Apple of mine Eye. *Inasmuch as you cast out these my Members, you did that which was too like casting out me.* And sure you must cast them out upon your grounds, if they were in your Church, because you judge them incapable of a station and communion with you, and judge your selves bound to separate from such.

13. You seem to exalt an outward Act even when the heart disclaims it, before a heart that is right with God, without the Act. For if you had one twice or thrice Baptized in your Church that afterward disclaimed it, and owned none but his Infant Baptism, what would you do with this Man? If you would retain him, you would lay more stress on a disclaimed outward Action, than on the Life of Grace. If you would reject him, then it seems you judge not the Baptism and Entrance,

Entrance, which you suppose right, to be enough in Fact and Existence, but you think a belief of its Necessity necessary, and so you put it among the *Credenda*, and not the *Agenda* only, when it was never in the Churches Creed. For if it be a necessary Article of Faith, they must perish that reject it.

14. *Paul*, and other Penmen of the Scripture, telling us of many greater Errors than the thing you oppose, doth not require an avoiding of the Communion of the Erroneous, yea commandeth us to receive them that are weak in the faith, but not to doubtful Disputations, Rom. 14. 10. and dare you reject a strong Believer upon a doubtful Disputation?

15. Search, observe, and judge whether the abundant earnest Precepts for Special Love, and Company, and Endearedness of Saints, as Saints, (I could soon fill a Sheet with pertinent Citations) will possibly consist with your rejecting them from special Communion and Separating from them. Is this the appearance of your honouring them that fear the Lord, Psal. 15. and your Loving the Brethren, and that with a pure heart fervently. Can all Men know you by this to be Christ's Disciples? Communion is but the expression of this special Love, and holy Improvement of each other for God and our mutual Benefit. As he contradicts himself that saith, *He loveth God and hateth his Brother*, so doth he that saith he loveth his Brother and yet separateth from him, or rejecteth him (and most such on Earth) for an unavoidable infirmity. If you that are strong (or think so) are bound to bear the Infirmities of the weak, then not to Excommunicate them, Rom. 15.

1. Though this Body hath some Parts which we think less honourable, yet must there be no Schism in it, but the Members must have the same care one of another as Suffering, being honoured and rejoicing together, 1 Cor. 12. 24, 25, 26. nor must one part say to another, *I have no need of thee*, nor cut it off from the Communion of the Body. The general command of Love, Company, Familiarity, Edifying, and Admonishing one another, comprehends the Means in which this Communion must be held, or will not be fulfilled in rejecting such Persons.

16. When you are in doubt between two Difficulties, the clearest and greatest Truth should prevail against the less. But much more when on one side there is great weight and no difficulty; and on the other, much difficulty and far less weight; the uncertain smaller Point should give place to the greater, and more certain. But it is of clearest certainty and greatest weight, that we dearly love the Saints as Saints, and use them as Saints, and have Communion with them as Saints: But you are not so sure that you must not reject almost all the Saints on Earth for want of your season of Baptism, nor hath God laid weight by Promise upon such a Duty, or by a Threatning driven you to it, (but contrarily condemned it as a sin).

17. Doth not your Cause plainly bear an Image contrary to that of God? Love is likest him that is Love. Charity covereth infirmities, and thinketh no evil, and shall we find them (and make them) in our Brethren? Christ gathereth, and will you scatter? he reconcileth and uniteth, and will you divide? he justifieth, and will you be he that shall condemn? Even them that are in Christ Jesus? *who walk not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit*; and all for want of delaying Baptism till your time, when in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth nothing nor uncircumcision, but the New Creature and Faith that worketh by Love. Have you mark'd how Unity and Love is inculcated in the New Testament, and that as Omnipotency is most eminently engraven upon the Creation, and Wisdom on the Laws of God, so Goodness is most eminently engraven on the Redeemer, and that in this Glass the Father in his Love and Goodness must be known, and hereby the Impress and Image of Love must be made upon our Souls. They that are least for Love and holy Unity, are least like God, and least for him, and most like his Enemy and ours.

18. Christ is both King, Prophet, and Priest, and no one is sincerely related unto him in any of these respects, but is related to him in all: And Ergo, all Christians are to be under his Church-Government and Protection in his Family, as well as under his Teaching. If they are by your own confession *Fellow Citizens* of the Saints, and of the household of God, do not disfranchise them, nor deny them their Priviledges.

19. Will not your Principles lead to narrowness of holy Charity in Communion of worldly Goods, and destroy Christian Communion in this? Those that were in the Apostles Doctrine and Fellowship in breaking of Bread and Prayer, (not through levelling, but charitable Community) had all things as common: sure you will refuse this when you refuse Communion in Sacrament: you will on

the

' the same ground think that those few only of your Opinion are to partake of this Special Communication : For the Reason is the same.

' 20. Contrary to the Spirit and Scope of the Gospel, you lay greater stress upon the very timing of a holy Ceremony, than under the Law was laid upon the being of the Ceremony it self. Women had Communion without Circumcision. The Males in the Wilderness did hold all holy Communion, even in the Passover, without Circumcision. To all this, let me add these few Questions to you.

' 1. Do you think, in the most humble frame of your Soul, that you have no failing as great as you suppose the mis-timing of our Baptism to be; and would you be rejected for it?

' 2. Is this narrowness of special loving Communion answerable to the Principles of Universal Redemption and Grace, wherein I suspect you go beyond me?

' 3. Have you well considered that God's Unity is the first of his Attributes next his Being? The Lord our God is one God. And so the Unity of the Church is next the very Essence of it, so to be regarded and maintained: The Unity cannot be destroyed without destroying the Essence; and therefore many Truths and Duties must be put behind the Churches Unity, when accidentally the use of them is made inconsistent with it.

' 4. It hath been the common frame of the Church since the Apostles days, till of late, to consist of a mixture: one half baptized at Age, (being converted at Age from Infidelity, and their Baptism before neglected) and the other half that were born of Christian Parents baptized in Infancy: And both sorts lived in Peace and Love: and no Church History, that ever I read, doth give us any the least intimation that ever these two Sorts disagreed hereupon, or accused one anothers way, or made it any occasion of a Division. And will you advance Knowledge and Holiness in the end of the World, by advancing Uncharitableness and Division.

' 5. Bethink you with sobriety, as before the Lord, if you had lived in the Church in the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth Century, or lower, in all which (though many were baptized at Age, being not Christians by any Infant Covenant yet) no Writer that ever I saw doth tell us of one Church, or one Pastor, no nor of one Man that was a Catholick Christian, (no nor of one Heretick that I remember) that was against the lawfulness of Infant Baptism; I say, if you had then lived, would you have separated from all the Churches on Earth? What! from the Universal Church in your Communion? or would you have had all these Ages have laid by all instituted Church Order and Worship? The consequences of this would rise so high, that I will not name them to you. Only I would further ask you,

' 6. If you think their Baptism a Nullity? and consequently the instituted Churches, Ministry, Order, Sacraments, Nullities, that were used in all those Ages (the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, &c.) when almost none but such as were baptized in Infancy were Church Members; how far then do you differ from the Seekers that tell us, *All these were lost in the Apostacy*? 2. And how easily will a Papist trample you in the dirt, and laugh you to scorn, when he puts you to prove Successive Church, and Ordinances, and Ministry? 3. And what advantage give you the Infidels, and our own Remnants of Infidelity, to deny the Head by so far denying the Body?

' 7. Would you have a Unity, and do you ever expect such a thing or not? If not—— If you do, on what terms do you expect it? You can never with the least Encouragement of Reason expect that all should deny Infant Baptism, and come to you. These late years have given you as much advantage as you can well expect, and yet you see the most of the Godly dare not come to you. If therefore you will neither come to them in Judgment, nor yet close in Communion with Christians of different Judgment, what do you but give up Unity as desperate, and fix in your divided State.

' 8. And will you give the Papist Disputants so much Encouragement, as to confess to them, that among us there is not any hopes of Unity, or loving Christian Church Communion. I have been longer than I intended upon these Reasonings: but it is because I would not neglect you, but some one of them at least may stick upon you, of which success (your lives declaring you so honestly, impartially, and happily disposed to Love and Peace) I make no doubt. And now to your Objections, which should have been my whole Task, but that I would make sure the Issue.

And

‘ And 1. to your first Argument, I answer, 1. It is against you, and overthrows your Cause: for as ordinarily Women were admitted to the Passover, without Circumcision, but not without the Covenant: and as in extraordinary Cases offered (as of all *Israel* 40 years in the Wilderness) the Males also were admitted uncircumcised, so much more may it be now in case of Baptism.

‘ 2. Either the Ordinances and Examples of the Jews about Circumcision; afford us Arguments for regulating our Baptism and Communion, or not: If not, then you urge them in vain: If they do, then they prove the Duty, if not the Necessity of Infant Baptism.

‘ 3. Ceremonies have not so much laid on them under the Gospel, as under the Law. Mercy before Sacrifice is the Gospel Canon.

‘ *Ad 2^m*, 2. That Command *Matth.* 28. commandeth the baptizing of Disciples: I doubt not but it commandeth thereby the baptizing of Infants, who are Disciples, and made Disciples, while profelyted Parents enter them into the Covenant of God, according to his express unrepealed Law and Promise.

‘ 2. But suppose it did not command Infant-Baptism; nay, suppose it had consequentially forbidden it, it proves no more than that it is a sin, not a nullity.

‘ 3. But suppose it had made it a Nullity, how are you guilty of other mens omission of Baptism by holding Communion with them, when you may at your Enterance declare your dissent from them in that point. Your Argument would lead you to avoid Communion with all Churches in the World, even the re-baptized, that held not all that you take to be the Institutions of Christ: because you are bound to hold them. But when you have leave to do your own Duty, if you will shun all that you think do not theirs, you will abhor Catholicism.

‘ *Ad 3^m*, 1. As to *John* 3. 5. doubtless that Text speaks of more than the visible Church, even the Mystical and the Triumphant. And therefore if you will from thence exclude Infants from Baptism, and the visible Church, you must needs shut them all out of Heaven, but *Christo dissentiente*, you shall have none of Christ’s consent.

‘ 2. It is both Water as the sign, and the holy Covenant and Cleansing of the Soul, as the thing signified, that are convincingly meant in the Text. But how? one only as a sign, and the other as the thing signified: and therefore not as equally necessary in point of means, though equally commanded. Alas, how easily understand we such Speeches among Men. If a General say to the Rebels (I will spare none of you that will not come and lift himself under me) every Body will understand, that becoming a Soldier (and the Military Engagement or Sacrament, as the Oath was anciently called) is the thing here signified to be absolutely necessary: and the Lifting or Colours, but as a sign for Order, and in Cases of Necessity dispensable, and regarded but in order unto the thing signified. Your Arguments from personal Inconveniencies are none.

‘ *Ad 1^m*, 1. Do not you startle to hear the Catholick Church called the World? and a retirement into its Communion, called a Returning to the World? I have read (*Come out from among them*) that is, the World; but not (*Come out of the Catholick Church*).

‘ 2. And do you not startle to hear them call their way *Strictness*, and the other *Looseness*? If they mean a sinful strictness, so every Vice, or many, may have a strictness. Malice hath a strictness, and Covetousness and Oppression hath a strictness, and Superstition hath a strictness. But if they mean it of a holy strictness, are not they the strictest that are likest to Christ, and most conformable to his Will, and most accurate in their Obedience? And is not Love the *new and great Commandment*? Are not your People loose that are so far from holy Love and Catholick Communion. *God is Love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God*. They are strict then in opposing God, and the Unity or sweet Communion of the Members of the Lord. Is it an honour to be strict Sinners and Destroyers of the Church and Holy Love? Let some take heed, least they be too strict to come into Heaven among so many Millions of Souls that never owned any but Infant Baptism (which is, I think, since Christ many hundred to one, that is there, that never were against Infant Baptism) whether do you think Christ or the Pharisees were the stricter, when they condemned him for *eating with Publicans and Sinners*, and his Disciples for *breaking the ears of Corn*, and him for *Sabbath-breaking*, &c. Sure he more accurately observed his Father’s will, even the blessed Rule of Love and Mercy, though they were more superstitious and strict, was it the weak, or the strong Christians, *Rom.* 14. & 15. that were the stricter about *meats*, and *drinks*, and *days*? The weak superstitiously, but the strong did more strictly ad-
here

' here to the Law of Christ. Do you think that Man that shall say Christ died
' but for half the Saints themselves, to be ever the better for that strict Opinion?
' If you are for such forbidden strictness of Practice, why do you not answer it
' in your Opinions about Grace? &c.

' 2. You have cause to be much humbled before the Lord for bringing your
' People into this Snare and Misconceit, and *ergo* should not be guilty of continu-
' ing them in it, nor make the fruit of your Sin an Argument to go on impeni-
' tently.

' 3. So great a Truth and Duty as Christian Catholick Love and Communion, is
' not to be bawked for fear of danger. Tell you of it plainly, and trust God with
' the Issue. It's doubt, those that will turn *Quakers*, that is Infidels, or near, rather
' than be reduced to Catholick Love and Communion, are never like to come to
' good, if you keep them where they are. It's a fearful thing that any Man should
' think the better of his Spiritual state, because he flieth furthest from the Catholick
' Love and Communion of Saints, that is, from the Church, from Christ, from
' God, from Heaven.

' *Ad 2^m*; Your Communion with differing Saints, is not a sinning against your
' Opinion about Baptism, nor a leaving your station. You may own your way,
' and yet own Catholick Communion.

' Dear Brother, I think the Lord of Love and Peace is laying hands on you, and
' will have you away out of your dangerous Schisms into the Paths of Love and
' Peace. It is Uncharitableness and Separation that hath made the Rebaptized so
' odious throughout the World. Love breedeth Love, as Heat breedeth Heat.
' The Christian Charity that appeareth in your Lives, I sensibly feel draws out my
' own Heart in love to you. All God's Saints will love you, if you will but turn
' into the way of Love. I hear that the Rebaptized in *Ireland*, that grew to the
' reputation of Turbulent in their height, begin now to be thought more peace-
' able and tolerable than some others there, that being lately in the Saddle, posses-
' sed their Prosperity and unquietness. O! if days of Persecution come, it will
' cut your hearts to think how you have refused Communion with your Brethren in
' days of Peace. If we all lay our Heads and Hearts and Hands together for God's
' Church and Cause, it will be too little. My motion to you is, That you will
' joyn with us for a Brotherly Agreement between the Men of your mind and ours:
' The Articles shall be but these three.

' 1. That all that can, being satisfied in Conscience with their being Rebapti-
' zed, shall continue loving Communion in the Church.

' 2. That those that cannot be brought to this, but will hold separated Churches,
' shall acknowledge us true Churches, and profess their Brotherly Love and distant
' Communion.

' 3. That we all agree on some Rules for the peaceable management of our
' Differences, without hardning the Wicked, ensnaring the Weak, hindering the
' Gospel, and wronging the common Truths which we are agreed in. If this mo-
' tion take with you, I will send you a Form of such Agreement: and get as ma-
' ny as you can of your way to Subscribe it; and the Associated Ministers of this
' County, I doubt not, will Subscribe it; and we will do our parts to lead the
' World to Peace. Seek God's direction, and return your Resolution to

Your faithful Brother,

Novemb. 6. 1658.

Rich. Baxter.

To Mr. William Allen.

Worthy Sir,

I Received yours of the 9th past, wherein you are pleased to endeavour my Satisfaction touching the Passages in your *Key*, which I wrote about, as if I had taken Offence at them. I do acknowledge I was a little troubled; But I can truly say, so far as I know my own Mind, I was not troubled so much for my own sake, as for the sake of others, who I was afraid would make worse use thereof, than ever I am like to do, and so receive more prejudice thereby: For I am not thereby set back a Hair's Breadth in my earnest desire to general Communion; but do fear the general Inclinations of some others thereto are weakened thereby, and an Advantage taken by such who have a mind to oppose an Agreement; and the Minds of many prejudiced against your worthy Proposals for Government, and the reading of them. As for Example, I was within these five Days, commending your wholly Common-wealth (and truly I desire with all my Heart a Government exactly calculated to your practical Model) and there was one in Company, who is Author of a small Piece, called, *A sober Word to a serious People*, that took occasion to give a dash to my Commendation, and to weaken the Reputation of your Writings, as if you were easy in suggesting and asserting things upon Surmises, or very slender Information. Instancing what you say of himself, in p. 332. of your *Key*, as insinuating him to be such an one as did not think as he wrote, but to be a Designing Jesuit: When as all that know him, and have known him a Tradesman here in *London*, and in publick Employment for many Years, would be ready to acquit him in their Thoughts, from any such thing; which indeed I believe: And I am informed that one *Stubbs* of *Oxford*, (who is said to have written *Sir H. V. Vindication*, &c. how true it is I know not) is employed to scrape together such things out of your Writings, as may any wise reflect Disparagement. The which things I still inform you of, for no worse end than that you might avoid occasion towards those that seek occasion, and that the Devil may have no Opportunity given him to hinder the Propagation and Fruit of your worthy Labours.

As for *Sir H. V.* I did not intend to interest my self in the Vindication of his Principles by that touch of him in my Letter, for I do not know but that I am at as great a distance from them as you may be, and am heartily glad to hear that his Interest and sway in the present House is much fallen. I am not without a deep Sense of our Danger, and that the preventing of near approaching Confusion and Blood, under God, depends much upon the speedy and well Settlement of the Militia through the Nation, if it be not too late. I cannot but have a jealous Eye upon the Quakers, as well as the C. and Popish Party, &c.

Sir, I suppose my Brother *Lambe* will suddenly be with you, if he be not already, and therefore I shall earnestly intreat you to caution him against Extremes, to which his temper doth much addict him. I hear Mr. *Gunning* (and what he is I presume you know) giveth out that Mr. *Lambe* is come over to them. And my Brother *Lambe* hath been too apt to let fall odd Expressions, shewing how far his Thoughts incline him to hold Communion with Papists, as those that wish him well do affirm. And he hath oft been speaking to me, how hard a thing it is to justify our Separation from *Rome*, and to condemn it among our selves. I thought good to give you this hint, as being persuaded you may improve it for his good, who I hope will much regard your Advice.

All against Infant Baptism, are not esteemed Anabaptists; for then *Turks* and *Jews* would. Nor could you intend it in that Sense about King-killing; for then there would have been no place for the *Vanists* to have been another Party distinct from them. Nor does an after owning of their Act who took off the King, prove them to be Agents in it, that had no Hand in it when it was done. These times have discovered as abundance of Wickedness in some, so of Weakness in all sorts of good Men in one kind or other. O that God would pardon what's past, and reduce his People into right Order.

Pray, Sir, excuse these confused Lines, the Fruit of Haste and Diversion of Thoughts. I had left at my House this Day, a large Manuscript, Intituled *Romanism discussed*; or, *An Answer to the Nine first Articles of H. T. his Manual of Controversies*, &c. Written by Mr. *Jo. Tombes*. The Printer that left it with my Wife in my Absence told her, that Mr. *Tombes* desired me to write to you, to prefix an Epistle to it; but I have not spoke with Mr. *Tombes*, nor the Printer about it;

or

or if I had, should be loath to be so bold to desire such a thing, unless I knew how acceptable it would be to you. Sir, the good Lord keep you and him who is

London, July 12.
1659.

Y O U R S,

Affectionately to serve you,

Will. Allen.

To his very Worthby, Good Friend, Mr. Rich. Baxter, in Kidderminster.

Dear Brother,

I Take my self exceedingly beholden to you for your last, it is so plain and purely Friendly. And though I seem by my Reply to excuse those things, which I take it for a kindness to be told of, I beseech you believe, that I speak but my Heart, and the truth of my meaning. The Author of the *Sober Word* I commended: I never talkt of his being a Jesuit: His Assertion forced me to conclude, that either he was of a very lamentable Understanding, or else he wrote not as he thought: One of the two must needs be true. Judge you whether a Christian of good Understanding can believe that Christ came at the end of Four Thousand Years to gather him a Church, and settle Ministry and Ordinances for Eighty or a Hundred Years only, and so to permit them to be extinguished! Is not this the next Step to Flat Infidelity? Is not a Christ that comes on so low a Design, and settles a Church of so narrow a Space and short Continuance next to no Church? I must profess, if I believed this to Day, I should be an Infidel to Morrow: Besides the plainness of Scripture against it. But that this Author is no Dullard, is apparent by his ingenuous Writing: I meet with few that err so far, that write in so clear and judicious a Stile; So that I still profess, be he what he will, I much value the clearness of the Author. Being then in a necessity of Judging him either lamentably weak (and worse) or else to be one that thinks better than he writes, Reason and Charity commanded me to judge the latter to be more likely: And that likelihood is all that I have asserted. But if he had rather that I judged much worse of him (*viz.* that he hath as contemptible Thoughts of the Kingdom and Design of Christ as he expresseth) if I may know his Mind I shall consent. Will you do me the Favour as to tell me his Name?

To your other Objections: 1. Not Infidels, but yet all Christians with us, that deny Infant Baptism are commonly called Anabaptists, and in that Sense I did intend it: But so as that I distinguish between Anabaptists and meer Anabaptists; some are only Anabaptists, and those I distinguish from other Parties of their Mind; some are Anabaptists and more, and those are commonly denominated from the greatest Differences. The greater Error in the Denomination is to carry it before the less. And yet (*E. G.*) a Quaker pleading against Infant-Baptism, ceaseth not to be an Anabaptist, because he is a Quaker, but yet is to be entitled from the worst. And this distinguished from meer Anabaptists: This all know is the common Custom of Speech, and a Man should not be well understood that departs from it.

2. An after owning proveth guilty, though not Agents: But I know well of abundance in the Army (more than you mention that pleaded against Infant Baptism before, and I can easily prove that (even the best that ever I knew of) the Anabaptist Churches petitioned for Justice on the King, and laboured for Hands from others to it. I am loath to Name Men publicly, and stir in this, least it occasion Offence: But I intreat you freely give me your Advice in it. I purpose not to have answered *Stubs's* Vindication, and the Ministers commonly were the Cause by dissuading me, saying none regarded it, and that I should exasperate Sir *H. V.* against them all for my sake. But now I am told that some very honest Anabaptists take it for granted, that I have written Untruths of Sir *H. V.* and that I owe him a Recantation, and they question History that speaks against them for my sake. Hereupon I have changed my purpose, and writ a plain Confutation of *Stubs's* Vindication. Now I crave your Advice in Three Things, 1.

‘ Whether indeed it be best publish the Answer I have prepared or not (supposing it true and satisfactory). 2. Whether I were best take any Notice of the Offence of the Author of the *Sober Word*, and say as much to him only as I have here done? 3. Whether I were best take notice of the Anabaptists Offence? I pray deal freely with me, and if it may be by the next Post; for I shall delay for your Advice, because you know the Minds of these People better than I. My own Thoughts are, 1. To publish that against *Stubs*, as necessary. 2. To say nothing about the Anabaptists because I must name Pastors and People that petitioned for the King’s Death, and such things that are utterly unfavoury to me and unseasonable, and will increase Displeasure; and I had rather bear their Displeasure as it is, than increase it. 3. And as to the *Sober Word*, I am indifferent.

‘ I received yours but a little before Mr. *Lambe’s* Departure; but my own Thoughts had led me to harp on the same String that you directed me to. I was very glad to find you jealous of that Extreme (that is in it self much worse than Anabaptism in our Thoughts that dissent from both): But I hope yet that he hath no liking of Popery or Formality, but only Charity for the Men. I told him not of any thing concerning him in your Letters, but only afterwards I told him that I heard Mr. *Gunning* judged him of his Mind, but told him nothing whence I had it.

‘ As to Mr. *Tombes* Book, I shall much refer it to your Advice. 1. I resolved not to meddle with it unless he signify his Desire (for it would be an abuse of him to meddle with his Works without his Consent; I should not take it well my self;) nor unless I first see the printed Sheets (which we ordinarily see before we write Epistles) but on these two Suppositions I should do it, not only willingly, but gladly: 1. Because I would further any Work against Popery that is solid; and am troubled that no more turn their Studies and Labours that way. 2. Because I would have the World see that Mr. *Tombes* and I can agree against the common Adversary, and for the common Truths. But one thing only a little scruples me (which I charge you to conceal from him and all Men) A great Scandal hath been long raised of him by Collonel *Clieve*, who about two Years ago put it by Letters into my Hands, and I caused Mr. *Tombes* to have the Knowledge of it, but otherwise stifled it as well as I fairly could. But now Collonel *Clieve* hath made it very publick, and told it the Commissioners for Approbation, who greatly resent it, &c. If you know not of it, you shall know no more for me. Now whether under the heat of this Scandal, the prefacing to his Book will favour well, and do more good or harm, is a thing that I am willing to be advised and ruled by you in; (supposing that he desires the thing and hears not of this my Scruple; which you should not have heard from me, but that it’s publick). My Confidence of your Fidelity makes me thus free and bold with you.

‘ O, Brother! Must we be all divided in this Day of Peril, when we are ready to be assaulted by the common Enemy? O pray, and strive for Love and Unity; and if my Ignorance and Rashness hath done any thing against it, pray that I may have Pardon and more Grace. I rest

July 18.
1659.

Yours unfeignedly,

Rich. Baxter.

To my Loving Friend, Mr. William Allen in London.

Worthy Sir,

‘ I Received yours of the 18th Instant, and was very glad to see you took so well that which I looked on as somewhat rude in my self, and was troubled after the Letter was out of my Hands, that I should give you any occasion of Trouble, by meddling so far as in my Letter I had done. As to Advise in the Particulars you mention; I count my self very incompetent for such Consultations, and do know you are so well able to make Judgment in such Cases, that if I should undertake to gratify your Desire, it would signify little. As for your answering the Vindication, I do acknowledge Your Resolution herein is attended with Difficulties on both Sides. If you do it not, you lye under some Imputation, and it will
‘ be

'be taken for granted you cannot vindicate yourself. If you attempt it and should not do it to the Satisfaction of Impartial Men, the latter Art would be thought worse than the first, unless you should do it only by way of Apology, shewing by what you were induced so to write, as in your *Key* you have done. But my thought is you had better never attempt it than not to carry it clearly; and if you do that, I confess it will be more than I did expect.

'And on the other hand, whether your Confutation be fall or faint, when it comes abroad, it will provoke both the Principal and his Adherents, many of whom are honest Independants and Anabaptists, prizing him upon a Civil Account (at least in great part) for his great Accomplishments for Civil Affairs, and so indispose them to consider and receive your many worthy Proposals and Directions, tending to gather such as were too much scattered. And how far you may by such a thing exasperate him and his Confederates against not only you, but other Godly Ministers for your sake (the thing you mention) is considerable.

'But then again if it shall be supposed that he is that way disposed and in Resolution ingaged to the length of his aim already, and whether he be or no I cannot say, I would hope otherwise) then it will be considerable whether it will not be a good piece of Service to weaken his Interest so far as relateth to his Counsels about Church Affairs, by discovering his weakness and unsoundness in things of that Nature. And how far your intermeddling this way (I mean in relation to his unsoundness) in your own Vindication, may draw on you a Suspicion of Uncharitableness (if you should do it) is hard to say. He is now in place of Power (whether upon better Terms than *Nero* or those under him will not be the Question;) but how far it would have becomed a Minister of the Gospel, and publickly to have discovered the then Rulers Unsoundness, would be a Question. I do acknowledge also that a great deal of Care and Tenderness of due belongs to the Reputation of your Person and Name in relation to your place and Office in the Church, as well as it does to another in respect of his place in the Commonwealth. So that if you could heal the Wound which the Author of the Vindication hath endeavoured to make, without wounding the Name, or touching the publick Authority now vested in him (*Sir H. V.*) I think the case would be clear. But then this I think would be without dispute, that if you find cause to print, that then you carry things with all Christian Sweetness, evidencing your Tenderness to the Names of Men so far as may possibly consist with your Faithfulness to a greater and better Interest. And I have heard the Author of the Vindication blamed by several of *Sir H. V.* his Friends, for his Edge and Bitterness. The less of that appeared, the more is gained in any Personal Contests: I shall pray the Lord to direct your Thoughts, but do not think my self wise enough to be positive in this Advice. As for that which concerns the Anabaptists Offence, I incline much to think the safest will be not to meddle in it for the present: And if you think good to Communicate your Knowledge of the Churches of the Anabaptists; their petitioning for Justice to be done upon the late King, I shall as I have Opportunity, acquaint them what you have in readiness to make good your quarrelled Assertion, but that tenderness to them, and Christian Peace, hath for the present bound your Hands.

'As for the Author of the Sober Word, whose Name is Mr. *John Jackson*, formerly Grand Treasurer for the Excise, I think from the beginning of it to the Change of Government, and now in Commission for bringing in all Arrears of Excise, &c. you will not need, I think to do any thing publickly, I meeting him last Night at the Militia (where he and I had occasion to be) I thought good to acquaint him with so much of your Letter as concerned him: And in return he hath promised me a piece of his, which he will desire me to send to you for your further Satisfaction touching him as to be no Jesuitical Designer: I think it's made against the Quakers.

'For that which concerns Mr. *Tombes* his Name, I had heard of it more particularly than you express; and am troubled that so little hath been done by himself towards his own Vindication, unless more hath been done than hath come to my Ear. I question whether he will make it known so as to be communicated to you to be his desire that you should write an Epistle, &c. If he should, a Work of that nature may receive your Countenance and Attestation, if it deserve it, without concerning your self in his Morals. You have (if my Intelligence be right) in your County, and in the County of *Gloster*, armed Designs brought almost to the Birth, and are like to put you suddenly into Trouble, if not made Abortive. Endeavours are on foot for Prevention: some Reserve of Horse and new Arms have

' have been made. I believe it concerns you, and such as you, to be mindful of
' your own Security, by contributing your help towards the Maintenance of the
' Publick Peace. If things are bad now, I believe they are like to be much worse
' if a turn should come by the Hand of War. Sir, Narrowness of Opportunity
' hath produced the too much undigestedness of these Lines. That the Lord
' may preserve you, and fill you with the Spirit of Wisdom and of Power, is the
' sincere desire of

London, July 23.
1659.

Yours faithfully engaged in true

Affection to serve you,

Will. Allen.

To the Reverend and his worthy good Friend Mr. Rich. Baxter in Kidderminster.

S I R,

' I Thank you for yours of the 13th current, which I have: and I do confess
' that the several Tempers and Interests of Professors of different Perswasions
' considered, a wise Man can have no great hopes (whatever his desires be) of any
' General Accord. And to answer your desire in some account of the progress of
' the Meeting on foot for Agreement. Be pleased to understand, that however the
' Work went on merrily whilst Generals only were dwelt on, yet it's almost put to
' a stand when we come to some Particulars which were thought necessary to be
' descended to. That which hath troubled us most, hath been about sending forth,
' or furnishing the Nation with Preachers of the Gospel. Though we all agree,
' 1. That it's all our Duties to promote such a work: And 2. That the Persons
' employed in it, must be godly, sound in the Faith, and apt to teach: And
' 3. that they ought to pass under some trial for Approbation; And 4. that a con-
' venient Maintenance for them should by all meet means be procured; yet by
' whom and how they should be so approved, as to be made capable of holding
' the Parish places, we cannot hitherto agree. It was propounded at the Meeting
' this Afternoon, as an Expedient to issue this business, that considering that Patrons
' of Parish Livings claim a Right of Presentation, the People of Election, the Ma-
' gistrate of Approbation, and the Eldership of Churches, or Churches themselves
' by them, and Power of Mission and Ordination: And that since the Magistrate
' hath been still wont to trust his Claim of Approbation in the Hands of Presby-
' ters of one kind or other; and Presbyters of all Perswasions hold themselves ob-
' liged to further the propagation of the Gospel abroad, and claim a share in send-
' ing Preachers for that end; I say, these Things considered, and to satisfy all
' Claims, and yet to make a competent Provision for the spreading of the Gospel in
' all the Parishes, it was proposed, 1. That the Magistrate might be desired to be-
' trust his Claim of Approbation in the Hands of a convenient Number of Presby-
' ters of the three denominations indifferently, in several places of the Common-
' wealth, that none might be bound up by the Power being ingrossed by one or
' two Parties. 2. That no Person presented by a Patron, or chosen by the Peo-
' ple, should officiate as a publick Preacher, in any Parish, without an Instrument
' of Approbation first obtained under the Hand and Seal of at least three or more
' of the Presbyters aforesaid. 3. That such an Instrument obtained should invest
' the Preacher with power to receive such Maintenance as is or shall be settled by
' the State, or raised by voluntary Contribution of the People. But alas, it was
' thought by some, that to interest the Magistrate in such a Claim, will not be
' found in the Scriptures; and to have a Hand in the investing of a Preacher with
' power to sue for Tithes (whether it were known, whether he would so use it or
' no) is a thing not to be indured. And I doubt the Party that propounded this
' Expedient, is like to be looked shie on by his Brethren the *Anabaptists* for his la-
' bour, as fit rather to be ranked among the *Presbyterians*, as hath been hinted to
' him.

' The

' The business of Maintenance was moved by the Presbyterians again and again to be laid aside, they would trust the Providence of God with that, and that something might be resolved on about the Magistrates Approbation, in which we might agree, without which it was not thought probable to procure so much as opportunity of a fixed abode to preach in most places, nor if there could, would the Churches be able to supply the want of the Magistrates Countenance or Power, in procuring Maintenance. I may not enlarge to acquaint you what was offered on the by for the Magistrates Power (the Dispute of it hath hitherto been declined) only something was hinted, That if Christ is King of Nations, as well as of Saints, then those that rule the Nations for him, are as such charged with the care of his Interest, and so with his Ministers as those in special, by whom it is to be promoted. There were some pretty large Concessions at last made by some of the Anabaptists, who I confess were not so steady in their Debate, as would have been wished, unless it were in too much shieness of granting too much. And the unhappiness is, that some not leastly crochical among the Anabaptists, nor most peaceable, do interests themselves most in the management of this Treaty. Indeed this Meeting was almost brought to a period this Night without any good Conclusion; but my Lord Goff (as some call him) and some others, did earnestly move that that wherein they had agreed, might be improved for common benefit ; and (which was agreed to) that three or four of each Perswasion should meet privately, to see what could further be done, and that there should be no further Publick Meetings, till they were in a readiness to call them. I must acknowledge to you that I am many times sadly affected, to hear and see the strange Confusions that swarm in this City about things both Civil and Divine; and the height and confidence of many is wonderful, that I am ready to wish with him for *the wings of a Dove to flee into the Wilderness* to be at rest. And truly, by several hints which I have picked up, I cannot but expect the acting of some further force to some Alteration or other, and what will be the end of these things ! It will become such as have any true sence of the Interest of Religion, to be encouraging and stirring up one another to stand together, and to bear up against the several Assaults which on every hand almost are made against it, that if it be possible to prevent that no Man take our Crown.

' Sir, I was desired several Weeks since by Mr. Jackson, Author of *The Serious Word*, to send you a couple of his Books against the Quakers, that you might see (I think) how Orthodox he is, and far from Jesuitism. I have now performed his desire by the hand of Mr. Pearfall, by whom also I have sent you Mr. Rogers and Needham's piece ; and a Copy of my Retraction, which I must thankfully acknowledge was helped on much by your hand, and therefore if any good redound by his Publication, you are like to have a large share in the reward. You will, Sir, I hope, excuse my prolixness ; I shall now put you to no further trouble, but beg your Prayers for Wisdom how to carry it towards those, that at least at first will be somewhat provoked against me, for attempting the raising of the Wall of Separation, though I have done it with as much moderation and care to prevent offence, as I well knew how, and have very much Peace and Satisfaction in my own Spirit in what I have done.

S I R,

Sept. 30. 1659.

I am entirely yours,

Will. Allen.

To the Reverend and his worthy good Friend, Mr. Richard Baxter, Minister of the Gospel in Kidderminster.

S I R,

SIR,

‘ Since I saw you, I have perused Mr. *Rutherford's* Piece upon the Covenant ;
 ‘ which ministers yet further occasion, as I apprehend, to second my former
 ‘ motion to you of handling the Doctrine of the Covenants in a more distinct man-
 ‘ ner, then hath been done by any I have yet met withal. For if that which is
 ‘ proper to each Covenant were handled apart by it self, and the appropriate de-
 ‘ sign, end and use of each of them respectively, were but plainly set forth so far
 ‘ as the Scripture will guide therein ; I cannot but think it would be of as great use
 ‘ as any one thing you can undertake ; and it is not my opinion alone. For want
 ‘ of which it hath happened, that Men have interwoven and confounded one Co-
 ‘ venant with another, and great Mistakes have thereby been committed by many
 ‘ in stating the Terms of the New Covenant, and the true Notion of Justifica-
 ‘ tion by Faith : and through such Mistakes a great part of the Apostles Epistles
 ‘ have been obscured, instead of being expounded. As for instance ; Whereas there
 ‘ may be a sixfold opposition easily observed in the Apostles Writings ; in reference
 ‘ to the Doctrine of Justification, (which being attended to the scope and meaning
 ‘ of them, will plainly appear) there hath been a seventh most insisted on ; which
 ‘ is not, I think, there to be found. And this hath come to pass for want of un-
 ‘ derstanding the difference between the two Covenants , and for want of a di-
 ‘ distinct consideration of the several false Opinions of the then present Jews about
 ‘ Justification, which the Apostles in their Writings engage against. The Opposi-
 ‘ tions I mean, are these :

‘ 1. As the promise of Justification and Eternal Life upon condition of Faith in
 ‘ the Promise relating to the Messias before he came, is opposed to the Promise of
 ‘ Temporal Felicity upon condition of a due Observation of the Law of *Moses*,
 ‘ *Gal. 3. 11, 12.*

‘ 2. As the Promise of Justification and Life upon condition of Faith in the Pro-
 ‘ mise to *Abraham*, is opposed to the Errour of the Jews , who held that Promise
 ‘ to be made to *Abraham* upon condition of Circumcision, and to them as his Seed
 ‘ upon condition of a Litteral Observation of the Law of *Moses*, *Rom. 2, 3*, and 4th
 ‘ Chapters, *Gal. 2, 3*, and 4th Chapters.

‘ 3. As the Promise of Justification and Life upon condition of Faith in Christ
 ‘ as crucified, is opposed to the Errour of the Unbelieving Jews , who held it pro-
 ‘ mised to their Litteral Observation of the Law of *Moses*, without Faith in the
 ‘ Death of Christ, *Heb. 8, 9*, and 10 Chapters.

‘ 4. As the Promise of Justification and Life upon condition of Faith and Go-
 ‘ spel Obedience only, is opposed to the Opinion of some Judaizing Christians,
 ‘ who held the same to be promised upon condition of Faith in Christ, and a Lit-
 ‘ teral Observation of the Law of *Moses*, jointly, *Gal. 5. Acts 15. 1, 5.*

‘ 5. As the Promise made to *Abraham's* Spiritual Seed, is opposed to the Opini-
 ‘ on of the unbelieving Jews, who held it made to his Natural Seed as such : Or
 ‘ which is much the same ; as the Promise made to Persons so and so qualified, is
 ‘ opposed to the Jewish Opinion of an absolute and unconditionate Promise made
 ‘ to them in Person, as they were the Offspring of *Abraham*, *Rom. 9. 6, 7, 8. Rom.*
 ‘ *2. 28, 29.*

‘ 6. As Justification by Faith, accompanied with Gospel Obedience, is opposed
 ‘ to the Opinion of some Professors of Christianity, Gnosticks or other Solifidians,
 ‘ who held Justification by Faith alone, without reference to or necessity of a holy
 ‘ Life, *James 2. 1 Epist. John, Jude 3, 4, &c.* These are the things to which the
 ‘ Controversal Part of the Apostles Writings in reference to the Point of Justifica-
 ‘ tion, do relate.

‘ But beside these, there is another insisted on, as if it were still included and in-
 ‘ tended in the Apostles reasonings against Justification by Works of the Law, and
 ‘ that is an Opposition between Faith and all Works in reference to Justificati-
 ‘ on, as well such as consist in Gospel Obedience as the effect of Faith strictly ta-
 ‘ ken, as those which are properly Works of the Mosaical Law. Whereas such an
 ‘ Opposition seems to be not only without, but against Scripture Evidence. For
 ‘ Gospel Obedience, as an inseparable effect of Saving Faith, is as well as Faith, and
 ‘ together with Faith, opposed to the Works of *Moses's* Law in point of Justificati-
 ‘ on. For so I take it to be, where it is said, *Circumcision* (which by a Synecdoche
 ‘ is put for the Works of the Law) *availeth nothing, but faith which worketh by love :*
 ‘ which is as much as to say, which worketh by keeping the Commandments of
 ‘ God,

God, and by fulfilling the Law : for so Love is said to be. Yea, Evangelical Obedience (as comprehending Faith, no doubt) is by the same figure of Speech as before, opposed to the Works of *Moses's Law* ; where it is said that *Circumcision is nothing, and Uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping the Commandments of God.* The like Opposition again is made between the Works of the Law and the New Creature ; which consists in a new frame of Spirit, and cannot be considered without new Obedience, in will and resolution at least, *Gal. 6. 15.* This Opposition which some make between Faith and Gospel Obedience in the Point of Justification, seems like unto that (if not the same in *Jude*) which was made by the Gnosticks, and which *James* opposeth in his Epistle, rather than any which the Scripture any where maketh. And truly this Opinion, together with another as groundless as this, hath, I fear, been a great Underminer of the Power of Religion in the Hearts and Lives of Men, and a Betrayer of the Souls of many ; and that is, that by Faith without Works the Righteousness or Obedience of Christ is not only virtually, (which we all hold) but formally *imputed to us for righteousness* : so that we are reckoned to have obeyed in his Obedience. Which, I think, hath not been the Doctrine of a few called *Antinomians* only, but of so many, that not long since he could hardly be counted Orthodox, that did not hold so too. And it is to be feared that many that have been of these Opinions, have thought themselves good Christians, and in a justified state, though otherwise of ill Tempers and of bad Lives. Whereas did they understand that the design of the New Covenant is to restore the Humane Nature gradually to that rectitude and perfection from which it fell ; and that the terms of it are so laid, that no Man can have any ground of confidence of enjoying the Saving Benefits of it, further then he knows that he sincerely endeavours in the use of means to recover that rectitude, and to be *perfecting holiness in the fear of God* ; they would be delivered from that delusive Confidence, and consequently be put upon such sincere endeavours ; or be deprived of the comfort of that delusive Confidence, by which while they are under it, they support themselves. All which considered, (if really true as I apprehend them to be) what I have humbly moved to you, cannot but be a most worthy Work, and of great acceptance to very many, as well as of general and of most important use unto all. And in case you resolve on it, I think to use as much brevity as will consist with plainness, and as much plainness as the nature of the thing will bear, will be generally most acceptable and most profitable ; and the more inviting to be read.

I have made bold herewith to send you some Papers, which sometime since were written for private use, and for trial of what might fairly be made out touching the Subject Matter of them. To the end you may by them see some of the things more fully exprest, which are but hinted in this Letter : as also to desire your Judgment, Whether the main scope of them be Matter of Truth, or Matter of Error ? And in particular I desire your Thoughts, Whether that perfect Obedience which Mr. *Truman* insists on, or that sincere Obedience mentioned in these Papers, was the Condition of the first Covenant ? And whether the first Covenant, as such, did threaten Eternal Punishment to the Transgressors of it ; and the Curse of what Covenant it was that Christ redeemed us from, in being *made a Curse for us* ? For touching these things, I confess my self not well resolved. The hanging on the Tree was but a Temporal Curse, and was not all that Christ redeemed us from. And when you have a fitting Opportunity, I pray you return them to

London, May 27.
1671.

Your obliged Servant,

Will. Allen.

Those of the Separation that are more moderate do blame Mr. *Bagshaw*, and think you need not answer him ; and his Temper is to have the last word. If you think otherwise, a calm Answer will be best.

Dear Sir,

I Received your Preface, by which you have been pleased to add unto all former Obligations wherein I stand bound. I have moved Mr. *Simmons* about printing the Copy, acquainting him with your Preface, but not with the Author of the Papers: but I perceive he hath no mind to undertake it; since when I have not spoken to any other. Sir, It hath been sometimes on my thoughts to draw up some thing against Separation more then what is in my Retraction, at least to be published after my death, if surviving Friends should think fit, but have forbore to publish any thing of that nature hitherto, partly to avoid suspicion of strengthening the hand of Severity against the Separatists, to the doing of hurt to whom I would not be in the least accessary: and likewise to avoid the suspicion of being acted therein by Carnal Motives. However something I have now prepared, and herewith sent you, presuming yet once more to give you the trouble at your leisure of casting your eye upon it. And do pray that you will please to correct, or direct me to correct what needs correction: and to give me advice, whether it will be best to make it publick, or to forbear. I confess, I have been induced to do what I have done at this time, upon occasion of the Indulgence, as conceiving it not less necessary nor less seasonable (to say no more) than it was before. And your motion of reprinting my Retraction, had its share in inclining me to this present Undertaking. As I have been taken in the Snare of Separation for a time, so I was in that of *Antinomianism*, about 37 or 38 years ago, not long after my first coming to *London*; as not being able to withstand the Insinuations of it, and yet to retain the Opinion of the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness in that Notion of it, in which I had been instructed; and never fully recovered my self till I heard Mr. *John Goodwin*. The Experience of what I suffered my self, and occasioned others to suffer by my running into those Errours, hath put me upon doing more to warn others against them, or recover them out of them, then otherwise I should have thought fit for me to have done. You may perceive in part how frail my memory was, by my often blottings and interlinings. Excuse me for this time, and you are never like to be troubled with any of my Papers more, whether I live or die. The good God that hath, out of good will to the World, made you so meet to be serviceable to it, continue you long in it, and still strengthen you to succeed, and prosper you in his Word: So prays

London, June 29.
1672.

Your very much obliged

Servant,

Will. Allen.

I live next the *Green-Man* in *Prince's-Street* by *Stocks-Market*, and not at the *Bottle* in the *Poultrey*.

Dear Friend,

This Day received and read your Book and knowing so well the Author's Experience, Judgment, and Sincerity, it hath made a great change upon my Judgment; viz. Whereas I once thought that some Mens Usage of this poor Kingdom and Christ's Ministers, and the false Reports and Representations made of them, did shew not only Charity, but common Honesty and Humanity, by which the civil differ from others, to be with such Men very low; I find now my better Thoughts of those Men much revived, by finding that so good a Man as you, can in any Measure in such a time and place so far mistake the case as you have done. But long Experience hath acquainted me with more of the Cause than perhaps you have observed your self: That is, 1. All Mens Capacities are narrow, and we cannot look every way at once: Our thoughts are like a Stream of Water which will run but one way at once, and carry down all that's moveable in that Stream. When you were for Anabaptistry and Separation, it's like the Stream

'Stream of your Thoughts, run all that way, and you studied more what was for you, than what was against you : and now the Sense of your Error hath turned your Thoughts the contrary way, I may judge by the Effects, that you think more what may be said against Nonconformity than what may be said for it. 2. And Experience makes me take it for granted, that to judge hastily before they fully understand or hear the Cause, is the common Disease of Man's depraved Intellect, which few are cured of in any great Degree. I would not be guilty of it while I blame it, if my Frailty can avoid it, and therefore I will suppose that you have more Reasons for what you say, that I yet understand, and shall only as a Learner, desire you to help me to understand them.

'And 1. Seeing almost all your Book is against *Anabaptistry* and *Separation*, I desire you to acquaint me why you entituled it, *An Address to the Nonconformists* ? when it is certain that the ignorant Multitude, who have some such Thoughts already, will hence be more persuaded that the Nonconformists are commonly for Separation; which being a Calumny, I suppose you thus indirectly propagate it for some Reason which I know not. Falshood and Hatred are so befriended by common corrupted Nature, that they need no Books to be written to encourage them. If a Philosopher wrote against *Manicheism* and called it *An Address to the Christians* ; Or a Papist wrote against *Anabaptistry* and *Separation*, and called it *An Address to the Protestants*, the Intimation were unjust.

'*Quest. 2.* Will not the Conformists think that you prevaricate, in pretending to plead for a *National Church*, p. 101. and when you explain your self speak but of a [*Church Inorganical*] that is equivocally and ineptly so called: seeing *forma denominat*, and the Word *Church* in the common Controversy about [*National Provincial, Diocesan Churches*] is taken for an Ecclesiastical Polity and Society, and not for a meer Community : A Family without a Master, a School without a Schoolmaster, a Kingdom without a King, and a Church without a Pastoral Regiment, are equivocal improper Denominations *a materiâ* ; when you knew that the Nonconformists have long asked which is the true constitutive Ecclesiastical Head of this National Church ? When you were upon the Subject it would have done well to have told them ; for an accidental Head (the King) they confess as much as others.

'*Quest. 3.* When you plead so much for Parish-Churches, are you therein a Nonconformist, and is your Address to your self ? or do you take the Word [*Church*] there also equivocally and improperly ? If so, you should have said so. The Prelatists grant with *Cyprian*, that *ubi Episcopus ibi Ecclesia* ; and with *Ignatius*, that to every church there is one Bishop with his Presbyters, &c. No King, no Kingdom ; no Master, no School nor Family ; no Bishop, no Church : Therefore the Prelatists hold that we have no true proper Church below a Diocesan, and that Parishes are not Churches but Chappels, or parts of a Church, and this is not the least part of our Nonconformity, who hold that Parishes are, or should be true Churches, and not only parts of a Church *in fini ordinis*, without any proper Bishop. Tell me better I pray, which side you here intend to take.

'*Quest. 4.* Seeing p. 111. &c. you very well plead for the Power of Kings in Determination of Parish-Bounds, and Church Orders, as under the Jewish Polity, and the new way of the Conformists is so far contrary, as that they hold that if a Bishop command one Time, one Place, one Translation, Metre, Ceremony, Utensil, &c. and the King another ; that the Bishop is to be obeyed before the King, because it belongs not to him, but to the Church. Is it the New Conformity in this that you are for, or for the old, and the Nonconformists who in this Agree.

'*Quest. 5.* Some Words p. 124, 125. move me to ask you, whether such *Anabaptists* as you formerly taught and joined with, or the ignorant irreligious vulgar, as you then accounted them, were the better People ? If the Religion of them that mind little of God or Life Eternal, further than to join with the Church, be the true State of Regeneration and Holiness, were it not more worth your Labour to write a Book against that which now we take for Holiness (*seeking first God's Kingdom and Righteousness*) : But if other Wise and Pious Sectaries be better than impious Churchmen, were those times so much better than these as you describe them, in which there was not one counted Religious (e. g. from 1625. till 1637.) for Three that, I say not for Ten or Twenty, that are now in most places that I have known.

'*Quest. 6.* And I add, hath not Scotland kept out Sects without our Conformity, more effectually than Conformity here kept them out ?

' *Quest. 7. P. 129.* Had you nothing but [*Suspicion*] and [*Opinion*] to oppugn?
' and must that be granted you? and yet have lived so long where you live.

' *Quest. 8.* Because you talk so much of [*Schism sinful in it self*] without ever
' telling us exactly how to know it, I pray tell me if Mr. *Sangar*, Dr. *Manton*, and
' such others should say to these Parishioners [we are in the Relations which we
' were truly and justly stated in, and because the Magistrate hath given others the
' Parish-Churches and the Tythes you separate from us, and come not to our Assem-
' blies; therefore you set up a sinful Schism, as some did in the Churches of the
' Roman Empire, who adhered to Pastors put in by the Emperors, while the Peo-
' ple adhered to their former Pastors] How shall I answer them better than they do
' you.

' *Quest. 9.* Your Question p. 157. moveth me to put you to think it over again,
' whether you think indeed as your Words import, if all the People of England
' these fourteen Years past had heard no Sermon but in the Parish-Churches, and
' so had heard none of the 2000 Nonconformists (or neer) that were silenced even
' in all those Parishes, where the reading of the Liturgy is the far best and likeliest
' means of the Peoples Good, and in all those Parishes, where not one of very
' many hath any Church to hear in; I say, do you think that there would have
' been more Persons truly converted and saved by this means? If you think that all
' these 1800, or 2000 Mens Preaching hath done, and doth more harm than good,
' had it not been a directer way to have written to them to convince them of it,
' that they might cease? of which more anon.

' *Pag. 161.* You say, [*If instead of this each Christian of you had kept to Parochial*
' *Communion, and each owed Minister had kept their Residence among them, and Commu-*
' *nion with them as private Members in the Parish way, and had also in a private Capacity*
' *joined with those Ministers which have succeeded them in doing all the Good they could in*
' *the Parish, as by a private Application and Improvement of the publick Labours of their*
' *Minister, together with Catechizing and other personal Instruction and Exhortati-*
' *on privately administred to the several Families in the Parish, &c.*]

' *Quest. 10.* Will you do us the Favour as to answer first those Books that be writ-
' ten to prove our Obligation to Preach such as *Jos. Allen's Call to Archippus*, and
' my *Sacrilegious Dissertation*, &c. was not that to have gone before such Advises as
' this? If you say Dr. *Fullwood* hath done it, I beg of you to tell me what Argu-
' ments of his you think have done it (while he yields the contrary).

' *Quest. 11.* Would you have all those Ministers take this course that must lye in the
' Common Goal if they come within five Miles of the Place? can they do it in
' *Newgate*? If you say that the Act of Confinement had not been made but for
' Conventicles, we have no Proof of that, nor is the Occasion now any Remedy
' for the future.

' *Quest. 12.* Do you not know that Conformists will not endure us in this private
' Diligence which you speak of? I will give you in the end an Instance from the
' Parish where I live.

' *Quest. 13.* Do you well know what sort of Ministers are in too many Parishes of
' England? I will not imitate the *Glascester* Cobler in gathering up their Faults;
' but only ask you if for Instance Mr. *Corbet* that was turned out of *Bromshurst*, had
' stayed there where Mr. *Hook* the Patron hath often told me, that their Preacher
' was formerly an *Ale-seller*, and was so common a Drunkard that he would be
' drunk in the Pulpit, could you have advised him to do nothing but apply this
' Man's Sermons as you say? When I was young the first place I lived in had four
' Readers successively, some Drunkards, all my Masters; the next place had in my
' time an old Reader that never preached, (as had most of the Churches round
' about us) his Curates were successively three Readers, of which one never Preach-
' ed, one Preached and was a Stage-Player, another (my Master also) a common
' Drunkard, never preached but once, and then he was stark drunk: when the
' Old Man's Eyesight failed (that was the chief Incumbent) he said Common-Pray-
' er by rote, and one Year a Day Labourer, and another Year a *Taylor* read the
' Scriptures, and we had no more. What Mr. *Dance* and Mr. *Turner* were at *Kid-*
' *derminster* and *Mitton* Chappel, I suppose you know.

' *Quest. 14.* Would you have those Ministers take the Course which you describe, in the
' Parishes, where the generality of the People must be then untaught? You know,
' I suppose, that a Man that must go but from House to House can speak but to few
' Persons in a Year: 1. If all Families were ready and willing, how little a part of
' great Parishes would be taught? 2. People are commonly poor, and from Morning
' to Night about their hard Labour, and cannot hear us. 3. They are unwilling that
' we

'we should come into their Houses, and see their Disorder, and Poverty and Unclean-
 'ness. 4. Many Ministers are so Valetudinary that their cold Houses would destroy
 'their Health to talk with them there but an Hour. 5. By this way we must be almost
 'continually speaking, and he that can preach once or twice a Week, cannot preach
 'four or five times every Day; without which it would be next to nothing: One
 'may preach to Two Thousand at once in Pablick, when to say the same to those
 'Two Thousand by One or by Four at a time, must take Five Hundred Sermons.
 '6. By this means Ministers (were there Bodies able) must do nothing else: and
 'whereas most have little or no maintenance of their own, what time will you al-
 'low them to labour with their Hands to get Bread for their Families? how shall
 'their Rents and Charges be paid? 7. Or if they must beg or live on others Charity,
 'where shall they have it, if they take your Course? If they teach but few, few
 'will relieve them; if they stay from Cities and Corporations in poor Country Vil-
 'lages, few are able, if willing to relieve them. Some that have done so, and
 'Preached too, have yet been put to keep Wife and Children upon little besides
 'brown Rye Bread and Water. By what Law is both Silence and Famine made their
 'due? 8. You know doubtless that in such Parishes as *Steepley, White-chappel, Al-*
gate, Giles Cripplegate, Sepulchres, Giles in the Fields, Andrews Holbourn, Clement Danes,
Martins, &c. it is but a small part of the People that can hear in publick: I sup-
 'pose there may be Twenty or Thirty Thousand untaught in the Parish whence
 'Mr. Read is gone to Goale for teaching. The People say that this Parish hath
 'Fourscore Thousand Souls; suppose it be less, when scarce Two Thousand can
 'hear well in the Church. Are you risen up now to hear the Silencers Opinion as
 'that you would have all these Souls untaught and America transplanted into *Lon-*
don? Is the Gospel grown so indifferent to you, in Comparison of your things
 'indifferent? can they believe without hearing, and hear without preaching? I
 'am not yet grown so desperate a Gamester, as to cast away so many thousand
 'Souls to the Devil at hap hazard, for fear of hearing [*Schism, Schism*]. Why
 'should Preachers be sent to the *Americans* rather than to *St. Martins, St. Giles,* and
 'such like places?

'*Quest. 15.* How will you absolve us from our Ordination Vow? even Papists
 'say the Character is indelible: we were not ordained *pro tempore*, or on Tryal: If
 'a Man may forbid us preaching to all, save four among a Thousand, or Forty
 'Thousand, or Fourscore Thousand, why not also to those Four? If to all Corpo-
 'rations and Cities (where Churches only were planted at first) why not also to the
 'Villages? If where Souls need the Number of Twenty or Ten Teachers, all may
 'be forbidden save one, why not that one also? How many hundred Years did
 'prohibited Pastors teach and guide the Churches? I beseech you clearly satisfy us
 'what it is that disobligeeth us all from God's dreadful Charge, *2. Tim. 4. 1. 2. Before*
God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick, and the dead at his appearing
and his Kingdom to preach the Word, be instant in season, out of season, &c. And
 'why we may not as well be disobligeed by *Mans* Prohibition from relieving the
 'Poor that else will perish? Yea, our own Children?

'*Quest. 16.* Might not *Daniel* then have forborn Praying, and may not, yea,
 'ought not you if forbidden, forbear praying in your House, reading the Scrip-
 'ture, or exhorting, and admonishing, and teaching others in your place and
 'Converse?

'*Quest. 17.* Is it likely to be of God which is so pleasing to the Flesh, the Papists
 'and the Devil, as our ceasing to preach the Gospel would be?

'*Quest. 18.* Is it not the great Mark to know all false Sects and Sectmasters by
 'that they are still for that which hindereth the Gospel, and hurteth Souls. Tho
 'grievous Wolves, though in Sheeps Cloathing, devour the Flocks; the Thorns and
 'Thistles have Pricks instead of Grapes and Figs: And if the silencing one faith-
 'ful Minister in the Churches Necessity be a heinous Crime, what are you turned
 'to, if you would have near Two Thousand silence themselves? They that silence
 'us by a Prison, cause not our sin, because it is not voluntary but forced; but you
 'would make us the sinful Doers of it our selves, which is far worse.

'*Quest. 19.* Is it the way to prevent our threatened Judgments to call us all to Re-
 'pentance for preaching the Gospel these Fourteen Years, and to call us all off from
 'preaching it for the Future, that we might not call Sinners to Repentance for their
 'Sins? (how glad would the Papists be if you could prevail but with a few that
 'most molest them?) what a Life have I to repent of if this must be my Repen-
 'tance? and at how cheap and easy a rate, might I have prevented it? must I that
 'have

‘ have hazarded my Life for many a single Sermon now repent of all? what then can I take Comfort in of all my Life?

‘ *Quest. 20.* Is it not as sinful to Write and Counsel when prohibited, as to Preach? and must we repent of all our prohibited Writings to? if God bless our Preaching and Writing to the good of many Souls, doth it not forbid us to repent, or at least make it very hard to us? can I honestly wish all undone again?

‘ I pray you hasten your convincing Reasons to keep me out of Prison, and further Guilt if this be criminal.

‘ *Pag. 197, 198, &c.* You speak principally to me, which bids me further ask you, *Quest. 21.* Whether we did profess that our private catechizing alone did all that Good, without our publick preaching or rather with it? If not, whether you did not unhappily hence collect our Unhappiness?

‘ *Quest. 22.* If I were able in this Parish, or the last I lived in (or the ejected Pastor who liveth near me) to go from House to House, it would be many Years before he or I could go over half the Parish. And do you think that to be taught once a Year, or in many Years, is enough to counterwork Sin, the Devil and his Instruments? Would you have no more, except for Two or Three Thousand of all the Parish.

‘ *Quest. 23.* But are you not too suspicious when you talk of *shrewdly suspecting* (*p. 198, 199.*) those that support the Ministers, unless they would do it to them that cease Preaching? You must needs know that in most Country Parishes the People cannot support them; and others far off are less apt to feel the Wants of distant Persons; and Charity would have gathered but this: It is their Supporters Judgment and their own, that not the Loyerer, but the Labourer is worthy of his Meat (at least); and that to cease Preaching till Mens necessity cease is a heinous Sin: and a Man may forbear rewarding and encouraging heinous Sins, without the Guilt that you seem to suspect.

‘ *Quest. 24.* Why do you think that the Ministers do not do their best in private (as well as in publick) to those that will receive them! Read *Jos. Allen's Life*, enquire better in *London* whether Mr. Sangar, Mr. Caughton, Mr. Reed, Mr. Doelittle, Mr. Turner, Dr. Anesly, Mr. Vincent, and such others, do not labour as well in Private as in Publick? for my part, I am not now able, must I therefore do nothing? is it a Sin to speak to Two Thousand at once, and a Duty to speak to them one by one, doing that a whole Year, which I can do in an Hour?

‘ You say, *p. 205.* you speak not to all alike, but to all in their several measure you speak: And you'll say all Parishes be not so great, nor all Ministers so bad as some in publick, nor so unable, &c. I answer, 1. Nor do we behave our selves in all places alike: Not only I, but other more eminent Ministers of *London* (many) go to the Parish-Churches, especially in the Country, and countenance honest publick Ministers to the utmost, and communicate ordinarily with them. And many Ministers in the Country do as you advise, in living in great Love and Communion with the Parish-Ministers, save that they cease not Preaching as you would have them, and they gather not distinct Congregations; but must the same course be taken in *London*, where the Fire hath burnt the Churches, and half and more of the People have no Churches to go to, through the greatness of the Parishes: Should such a famous City be Paganised by the Persuasions of Godly Men, as for the promoting of Unity and Godliness? If you say, that most Ministers settle where the Churches are not full, and not in the great Parishes. I answer, 1. That is because they are driven out of the great Parishes by force. 2. And People cannot come out of the great Parishes to them, where they are, or else to the publick Churches the better when their Absence maketh room.

‘ *Pag. 182.* You say If those formerly or more lately who desired some Alteration in the external Form of Administration used in our Church had not run so high as to assert things unlawful, which by all their Mediums they could never prove to be so, &c. *Quest. 25.* Why then did not their Charity or yours shew the weakness of what we took for Proofs, nor ever answer our three last large Writings given in to them?

‘ *Quest. 26.* You (truly) contradict many Writings of the (unanswerable) Conformists, who say that at *Worcester House*, or in that Treaty we professed all that we opposed to be lawful, and only inconvenient? which of you shall the ignorant believe?

‘ *Quest. 27.* Know you not how much is added since? Will you join with them that build up a double Wall of Separation, and will by no intreaty take down one Stone of it, and then cry [*Schism, and Separation*].

‘ *Quest.*

Quest. 28. Did you ever see or hear our Reasons to prove that unlawful which we took for such? If not, how can you judge so peremptorily of them? If yea, of the eight Points that at the *Savoy* we undertook to prove great Sins, and of Thirty that I take for heinous Sins (should I commit them) which are now in my Thoughts, I will only beg the Charity of your Arguments to prove the Lawfulness of these very few following, least by the number I discourage you.

Quest. 1. How prove you it lawful to *Assent* and *Consent* to a doubled certainty that *Infants baptized and dying before actual Sin, are saved?* not excepting any Infant of Pagan, Turk, or Atheist, or Infidel? Were you certain of this by God's Word heretofore? Are you certain now? O then help us to certainty by your Proofs. May not a Man be baptized that is not certain that the Gospel is true, if he believe it so far as to venture Life and Soul, and all upon it?

Quest. 2. How prove you that I may assent and consent that no Parent shall be Godfather for his Child, nor enter him at all into God's Covenant, by speaking one Word of Promise or undertaking (nor saith the Canon may he be urged to be present) but that the only covenanting Undertakers or Promisers shall be our Godfathers and Godmothers, who perfidiously promise what not one of thousands (that adopt not the Child) ever make any Man believe that they have any intention to perform, and tempt Anabaptists to take us all to be unbaptized, as not being covenanted for by any that had Authority to do it by God's Law.

Quest. 3. How prove you it lawful to *Assent* and *Consent*, to deny Christendom to all Infants, whose Parents will not have them dedicated to God by the Transient Image of the Cross? or will not have such God-fathers the sole undertaking Covenanters, but will openly enter their own Children into that Covenant themselves? especially when the Liturgy saith, 1. That these Infants are certainly and undoubtedly saved, if baptized. 2. And denyeth them Christian Burial if they dye unbaptized. Prove that a Minister may Assent and Consent to deny them Christendom and certain Salvation, because of this Judgment of Godly Parents.

Quest. 4. Prove it lawful to deny Christian Communion to all Christians that dare not receive Kneeling, or that are Excommunicate for not paying the Fees of the Court, or all that a lay-Chancellor using the Power of the Keys doth Excommunicate; and to assent and consent so to do (to the first at least).

Quest. 5. How prove you it lawful to assent and consent to deny Christian Communion to all that are not *Confirmed by the Bishop*, or willing to be so? though he were never so willing to own his Baptismal Covenant, and do all that a Christian Man should do. When the Reformed Churches have written so much against the necessity of such Confirmation.

Quest. 6. How prove you it lawful to assent and consent that all the Atheists, Infidels, Hereticks, and Wicked Men, yea, every individual Person in *England*, except the *Unbaptized, Excommunicate* and Self-murderers shall at their Burial be Ministerially pronounced *Saved*; viz. *That God of his Mercy hath taken unto himself the Soul of this our dear Brother out of the Miseries, &c.* as you read. And when we are stifled in a Goale our selves as Schismatics, unless a Man (usually) excommunicate us, they will pronounce us saved.

Quest. 7. How prove you it lawful deliberately to publish your *Assent* and *Consent* to that little gross Falshood, the Rule to find out *Easter-day*.

I will trouble you with none of the many greater things. If you say that you mean not to justify all these and such like, 1. Will not common Reason think so by your Words, do they not imply it? 2. If you think our Nonconformity our Duty, what meaneth your Address to us as such, and your Counsels aforementioned? and how cometh our Silence and forsaking the Preaching of the Gospel to be our Duty during the need of so many Thousand Souls?

As for unwarrantable Separation and Accusation of the Parish-Churches and Liturgy, we are many of us as truly (though not as far) from them as you. If what I have written displease you, it will but tell you that I prefer Truth and Conscience and the Churches Good before my very dear and much valued Friends Opinion or Will; and the Welfare and Peace of his own Soul, before the pleasing of him: I am past doubt that you do in Sincerity seek the same thing that I and others do, that is, the healing of a divided People, and the Cure of those Distempers which have drawn many to sinful Separations. Three sorts of Schism we disclaim as well as you: 1. Making Factions and Parties in a Church to the Hindrance of Love, Peace, and Concord. 2. Separating from a Church on the Account that its Communion is unlawful, when it is not so. 3. Much more separating

parating from a Church as no Church, and a Ministry as none, when it is not so.
 In none of these respects do we separate or divide from the Church or Churches that we should hold Communion with. 1. We separate from the Catholick Church; 2. Nor from the Church of *England*, as accidentally headed by the King. 3. Nor as a number of Churches associated for Concord; 4. Nor as a meer Community, part of the Church Universal; 5. We separate not from the Parish-Churches that have true Pastors, either as no Churches, or as holding Communion with them in ordinary publick Worship to be simply or commonly sinful: 6. Nor would we make any Division in the Churches by unjust contention; but that *there are Separatists* that do so, and deserve all your reproof, and need all your Admonitions we doubt not: But by overdoing (the ordinary way of undoing) I doubt you have lost your labour, and much worse. Not but that all of us have great cause to thank you, if truly you do detect any guilt of ours, as well as others: but if you have done much to increase the Schism, and made your self guilty of it, you have crost your own end, notwithstanding your good meaning.

1. We are not for building up any Walls of Separation; some Masters of Schism are.

2. We think that no Humane Churches have power to abrogate the Priviledges or Duties of the Churches of Christ's own institution. Some Schismatics think otherwise.

3. We hold that Christians should live in holy Love and Peace, when tolerable Differences of Opinion placeth them in divers Congregations: but some Schismatics think otherwise, and make such a peevish unreasonable noise against all that do not meet with them, and subject themselves to them, as that their Clamour is the scandal to the Infidels, Atheists, and Papists, making them believe that we are mad, or all in pieces, when we differ but in little things: and so they reproach the Frailty of Humane Nature and the common Imperfection of Believers with calumniating Censures and Accusations, as if they were a greater evil than they are.

4. We hold that Love and Tenderneſs and Self-denial should pardon honest Christians, for choosing such Pastours, as are really most serviceable to their Salvation, and their own Experience find to be so, rather than unsuitable Men (to say no worse) that are thrust on them against their wills: and that other Ministers should be glad, if they will live peaceably under others, and profit by them, though they choose not them: but some turbulent Self-seekers are of another mind and way.

5. We think (as is said) that the Parishes are or should be true Churches, and we hold Communion with them as such: but some Conformists un-Church them, and make them but parts of a Church, and hold no Communion with them otherwise.

6. We go upon certain and plain grounds in determining what Schism is (as the three sorts *e. g.* aforesaid) but so do not many Schismatics that yet cry down Schism.

1. Some of them make it Schism not to obey the Pope as Universal Monarch.

2. Some make it Schism not to be subject to a true Universal Council, as the Collective Head of the Church, when there neither was, is, or ever will be such a thing in the World; much less the rightful Head of the Church.

3. Some (with Bishop Bromball and his Advocates, and others) would have the Pope to be *Principium Unitatis*, and Patriarch of the West, and so it shall be Schism not thus to submit to him.

4. Some (as Mr. Thorndike) would have these Councils and Canons to rule us for Concord which were till the time of *Charles the Great*.

5. Some are for Concord on the reception of the four first Councils, some of six, some of eight, *Grotius* of all well expounded.

6. Some hold that it's Schism to disobey the King's Church Orders, and to refuse any Bishop or Minister that the King or a Patron choose for us.

7. Some hold that it's Schism to obey the King in the *circa sacra*, as aforesaid (in choice of Pastours, Time, Place, Translation, Meetre, &c. if the Bishops or Bishop be against it, and command the contrary; and that these must rather be obeyed.

8. Some hold that it's Schism to separate from a Parish Church as no Church: others think it none.

9. If the Archbishop command one thing, and the Bishop another, and the Parish Pastor another, and a Parent another, (as when to Communicate, and in what

what Gesture, Habit, &c.) they are not agreed what Disobedience here is the Schism.

10. Some take it for Schism if a prohibited Minister speak to God in Prayer, or to the People in teaching them, in any words but what a Bishop or Bishops write them down; or if he obey not a Bishop never truly chosen by the Clergy or the People even in every commanded Form and Ceremony.

11. Some think it Schism if we hold Communion with those whom a Lay-Chancellor Excommunicateth, or if we deny our Communion to those that he absolveth, yea if we publish not his Sentence as in the Bishop's name, that perhaps never knew of it.

12. Some say it is Schism if we preach in another Man's Parish, be there never so great need, without his consent.

13. Some say it is Schism if we preach without the Bishops licence, though we have the King's, or at least be Ordained even by the Bishops.

14. Some say, that if we be licenced, it's Schism to preach to above four in an unlicensed place.

15. Some say, if Person and Place be licenced, it is Schism to preach without the Common Prayer.

16. Some say, that if the Bishop command us *rebus sic stantibus* to preach or meet only at midnight, or twenty miles off, or but once a month, or if they forbid all God's Publick Worship (which yet Mahometans offer him some) it is Schism not to obey.

But if the Bishop do but say the word, we may meet daily without Schism: and the Place, Person, Exercise that before was Schismatical, if he do but licence them, are presently lawful. So that the Bishop's word against the King's (yea, against God's command to *preach in season and out*) can make a thing Schism, and his word can make it none again in a moment.

17. Whether it be Schism to go to a better Minister in another Parish in the same Diocese, though we separate from no Church (in their sense, the Diocesan being the lowest proper Church) is not well agreed on.

Feigning Schisms is making Schism by turbulent noise and false Accusations.

We that impose on no Man, and that obey them in lawful things that we for Universal Love and Peace, even with that meet in different Assemblies, and in different Forms; we that hold Communion with all true Churches as aforesaid, and yet because we can be but in one place, at once do choose the best, obeying God's Command, [*Let all things be done to edification*] and knowing best what edifieth our selves, we suppose are farther from Schism, than those that as from the Throne of Authority pronounce Schism, and never help us to understand the sense and reason of their words; but use it as for the advantage of their Cause: And as one lately writeth, *Have led that Bear so long about the streets, till the Boys lay by fear, and do but laugh at it.* Nor are there many more effectual Causes of Schism, and that harden true Schismatics against all Conviction, then when it is seen, that Men of Contention, Pride, and Worldly Interest, first make the Schism by sinful or impossible terms of Unity, and next falsely call the most Innocent, that obey not their Domination, Schismatics, and the greatest Duties (even Preaching where many and many thousands have no Preaching, nor no Publick Worship of God) by the Name of Schism, as if we must let London turn Heathens for fear of being Schismatics. Dear Friend, though these things have these Forty years had my deep, and I hope impartial thoughts, and I dare not for a thousand Worlds think to do otherwise than I do in the main, yet I shall heartily thank you if by true light you help me to see any Errour which I yet perceive not.

And seeing Experience hath justly taught you to dread Anabaptistry and Separation, think further, 1. Whether they that forbid Parents to enter their Children into Covenant with God in Baptism, and lay all that Office on those that have no power to covenant in their names, nor shew any purpose to perform what they promise, and deny Baptism, as aforesaid, to the Children of such as submit not to this and the Cross, be not *quantum in se* Destroyers of Infant Baptism (which is no Baptism if there be no Covenant).

2. (Again) Whether they be not Separatists that both un-Church all the Parish-Churches *quantum in se*, and also deny Communion with the Nonconformist Churches, as null or unlawful, even when they had his Majesties Licence? Be impartial against Antipedobaptists and Separatists. I constantly heard and communicated with the Parish-Church where I lived; but the Conformists usually fly from

the Nonconformists Assemblies as unlawful: but if both sides were heard in their Charge against the other, I know which would have the more to say. Accept this freedom from the unfeigned Love of

May 13. 1626.

Your much obliged Friend,

Rich. Baxter.

The Instances promised you.

I. **W**hen I was cast out at *Kidderminster*, (and you know what a Minister was there) I offered, while the Indulgence of the King's Declaration continued, to have been the Reading Vicar's Curate, and to have preached for nothing, and could not prevail: I was by the Bishop forbidden to preach in his Diocese; and when I offered him to preach only Catechistical Principles to some poor Congregation that else must have none, he told me, *It was better they had none than me*. My presence at *Kidderminster* was thought so dangerous, that Force was assigned to have apprehend me, and had I stayed it must have been in the Jail, and many another for my sake. When I was forced away, at *Venner's* Rising I wrote but a Letter to my Mother-in-Law, and it was way-laid, intercepted, opened, and sent up to the Court, though there was nothing concerning them in it, but some sharp Invectives against the Rebellion, which my Lord Chancellour acknowledging, caused my Lord *Windsor* personally to bring me back my Letter: so that I durst not write to them of many years. My Neighbours I had perswaded to do as you advise, to joyn in the Publick Church, and help each other as private Men, and for so doing, (repeating Sermons, and praying and singing a *Psalm*) many of them lay long among Rogues in the Common Jail, and others of them impoverished by Fines.

II. When I came to live at *Acton*, I drew all the People constantly to Church that were averse; sometime I repeated the Parsons Sermon, and sometimes taught such as came to my House, between the Sermons. When the Reverend Parson saw them come into Church, he would fall upon them, &c.—And not being able to bear my little Endeavours for their Instruction, he caused me to be sent to the Common Jail, (not one Witness or Person being suffered to come into the Room while I was examined and committed.)

III. I am now in a Parish where some Neighbours say that there are Fourscore thousand Souls; suppose they be fewer: Not above Two thousand of all these can hear in the Parish Church: so that it's like above Sixty thousand have no Church to go to, no not so much as to hear the Scripture or the Common-Prayer. Here I need not tell you what Prohibitions I have had, and what my Endeavours to teach a few Publickly, have lost me and others: And lately, because one that preached for me did (without my knowledge) at the importunity of a Parent, Baptize a poor man's Child, when they told him it was in danger of death, the Curate of the Parish came to my House to expostulate the matter: when yet many are baptized by Papist Priests, for want of others to do it, as they say. I never my self Baptized a Child, or administred the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper these fifteen years, but ordinarily received it in the Parish Church at *Totteridge*, and elsewhere, (one of the first times that I received it in private, a Bullet was shot into the Room among us, and came near to the Heads of divers of us). I never gathered any Church from among them; and yet have been usually the first sought after to be imprisoned or ruined in each assault: and was put to sell my Goods and Books to save them from Distress. Near me, in the same Parish, liveth Mr. *Gabriel Sanger*, the late Incumbent Pastor of the Parish, a Man of Age and Gravity, great Moderation and Peaceableness, and far from Faction or Turbulency; who preacheth but to a few in his own House: And where should he use his Ministry, if not in so vast a Parish where so many Thousands are untaught, and where he is not sure that his old relation is dissolved, though the Tythes and Temple be given to another? One Mr. *Grove* (that

(that oft heard me) being lately dead, and his Widow sick, she sent for Mr. *Sanger* to visit her, who after a short Instruction prayed with her: while he was at Prayer, Dean *Lampley* the Parson (or Vicar) of the Parish came in, and heard him at Prayer, staying till he had done in an outer Room, and as soon as he had done, as Mr. *Sanger* affirmeth, came in upon him, and fiercely askt him, What he did there? He told him, Nothing but what beseemed a Minister of the Gospel, to visit the Sick when he was sent for. And to the second Expostulation, told him, That he thought he should be thankful to him for helping him in such a Parish. To which the Doctor answered, That then he should have done it according to the Liturgy: fiercely adding, *Get you out of the Room.* At which when he demurred, he more fiercely took him by the breast, and thrust him, and said, *Get you out of the Room:* which to avoid unpeaceableness he forthwith did. I saw not this, but I think no Man that knoweth Mr. *Sanger* will question the Truth of his deliberate Affirmation of it.

In what Parish of *England* should a Man expect leave to visit the Sick, when sent for, rather than in *St. Martins*? From what Minister in *England* should one rather expect leave than from Dr. *Lampley*, who hath so many Thousands more than he and his Curate and Lecturer can suffice to teach and visit? and who, I hear, is a very worthy Man, and a Teacher of more than ordinary diligence, and especially excelleth almost all that I hear of in Constancy in the needful Work of Catechising, for which, though I know him not, I do much honour him. And what Minister in *England* may expect leave to visit the Sick, or privately help the People, if not Mr. *Sanger*, who was lately the Publick Incumbent himself, and is a man as unlikely to stir up any Man to Envy or Wrath, as most that ever I knew: I will not parallel my own Case with his: If I be unworthy of such liberty, might not such as he be tolerated so far?

This being our Case, will you be the Man that shall tell us and the world, that we should have kept our Residence, and joyned with the succeeding Ministers in private helps, and how well we and Religion had then sped, as if you had not lived in *England*? to make Men think that the Parish Ministers are willing of this. Yet I will again say, Necessity is laid upon me, and wo be to me if I preach not the Gospel, though Men forbid it. And if I either give but to one poor Man, when I might give to a thousand, or teach but one ignorant Sinner, when I might teach a thousand, how shall I look my Judge in the Face, who gave me that terrible warning, *2 Tim. 4. 1, 2.* as well as *Matth. 25.* And did I think that ever you would have been one that should publickly have perswaded us to this. When it is the grand Work of Satan to Silence the Preachers of the Gospel, and the great Character of all sorts of his Agents (one way or other, on their various pretences) to effect it: Papists would silence me: Prelatists would silence me: Quakers, Anabaptists, Antinomians and Separatists would silence me! and would my dear and judicious and experienced Friends silence me also! Alas, how many Difficulties have we to overcome! while our weary Flesh, and too cold Love, and the Relicks of Sloth and Selfishness, which loveth not a laborious suffering Life, doth hinder us more than all the rest. But the Judge is at the Door.

To Mr. W. Allen.

Number V.

S I R,

I Find that in a Book of yours, defending Schism against Mr. *Hales*, on pretence of opposing it, you were pleased to think many Passages in my Writings worthy of your Recital to your ends: I thank you that you chose any Words for Peace, which some may make a better use of than your self: But I think if you had referred Men to my own Books to read them with what goeth before and after, they would have been more easily understood. I understand by your Book that you think that you are in the Right; which is the most that I have yet learned out of it, unless it be also that you think the Nonconformists be not yet hated and afflicted enough; or that he that *sweareth*, must ascend by treading upon him that feareth an Oath. I am in some doubt least you have wronged our Prelacy by so openly proclaiming the Enmity of so great a Man as *Hales* against them, and by enticing Men by your Noise to read his Book which you contradict; which if they do, I doubt your Confutation will not save them from the Light. But the Reason of my troubling you with these Lines, is only to crave some Satisfaction about two or three Matters of Fact in your Book, which would seem strange to me, did I not find such things too common in Invectives against the silenced Ministers, and did I not know that is part of Satan's Work to persuade the World that no History hath any certainty of Truth, that so sacred History may be disadvantaged.

' I. One is in these Words, p. 101. *When they had in the grand Debate given in their Objections to the Liturgy, some of the Brotherhood had prepared another Form, but a great part of their Brethren objected many things against that; and never as yet did (as I hear of) agree upon any other, nor I think ever will.* I crave the Justice of you to tell us, which was that you call the Grand Debate, and who those were that dissented: or what Proof you have of any such thing: Either you knew what you say, or not: If not, and publish it in such a manner, while you are accusing others of Sin? What is this to be called if you did, it is yet far worse; either you speak of the *Westminster* Assembly, which made the Directory, or of the Commissioners in 1660. Not the first sure, for none, I think, was yet ever vain enough to pretend that they thus drew up another Liturgy. It must needs then be the latter: Of which this is past denial by any but the——

' 1. That the King's Commission under the Broad-Seal authorizing to make some *[Additional Forms]*.

' 2. The late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Sheldon*, when we came according to appointment, to try by Friendly Conference, what Alterations each Party might yield to for our desired Concord, without any injury to their Consciences, began with a Declaration, that we being the Plaintiffs, they would no farther proceed or treat with us, till we had given them in entirely in Writing, 1. What we blamed in the Liturgy, and our Reasons of it. 2. And what we desired as better. Mr. *Calamy* and others said, [This was plainly to deny the Conference which we were commissioned for] and they would there have broke off, had it not been for me who requested them rather to yield and undertake it, than give them occasion to charge us with Tergiversation and Refusal of any lawful thing; though I easily saw that the Motioner thought thereby to break us as disagreeing when we came to perform the Undertaking: While others drew up their Exceptions against the Liturgy, they appointed me to draw up the *Additional Forms*: But remembring the Bishops Words [*What we desired instead*] I drew up a Liturgy. It must needs be very imperfect, being done (in necessary haste) in Eight Days: Dr. *Reynolds* only thought that we should be blamed for offering a whole Liturgy instead of *Additional Forms*. I told him, 1. It was but to be added to the old if reformed. 2. And they might cut off all that they thought superfluous upon debates, even all that the Bishops should except justly against; for we did but offer it to them, professing we were ready to alter any thing upon their Reasons: Hereupon Dr. *Reynolds* yielded, and it was oft read over among us, only the Prayer for the King being thought too long, Dr. *Wallis* was appointed to draw up a shorter; which he did, all the rest standing as I wrote it: It was agreed to without one dissenting Vote; nor had we one Objection sent us in by any other. I was appointed at a meeting with the Bishops at the *Savoy*, at once to deliver them
' them

‘them this *Liturgy*, *A Reply to their Answer to our Exceptions*, and *A Petition for Peace and Concord*, all which they had appointed me to draw up, and had examined and consented to. We waited for an Answer to all, and never had an Answer to any one of them; but they kept them and said nothing of them: I was especially desirous to have heard their Exceptions against our *Liturgy* (when they thought we would have disagreed among our selves) and urged some of them to it, and could never get a Word of Answer, or Exception, which made me wonder, as well knowing 1. How very willing some were to have found it faulty. 2. And how hard it is in necessitated haste to write such a thing that shall not be liable to many Exceptions: Yea, when Roger L’*Strange* after wrote against us, he saith little at all against the *Liturgy*, save that we left Men at too much Liberty; to which we then said, That imposing and restraining was not our work, but the Bishops, who we supposed upon Debate, would have too much done it. Now if this full *Concord*, and no Answer or Exceptions from them that extorted this Work from us, be agreeable to the Report you make, or if you have dealt here like a Minister of Truth, I pray you help me to discern it. The Book with the rest was printed long ago, most of them by some poor Scriviners, that being used in transcribing, had got a Copy, and did it for Gain.

‘II. Another Passage is P. 293. *No sinful Act being required to make ministerial Conformity unlawful*, [which if there had been, they or some others would and ought to have discovered it, and then, I doubt not, it would by Authority have been taken away, but that being not done].

‘Here I desire you to satisfy me in a few things: 1. When even our Publick Reply and foresaid Petition, against the old Conformity were never answered to this Day, is it ingenuous to take this for a Confutation, barely thus to say [it is not done] should I say [it was never yet discovered that Episcopacy is lawful] would you not have called me—as long as *Saravia*, *Bilson*, *Hooker*, &c. are unanswered?

‘2. Do you not know what abundance of old have thought they discovered the sinfulness of Conformity (*Bradshaw*, *Nicolas*, *Ames*, *Parker*, *Jacob*, *Cartwright*, &c.) and what *Aloundel*, *Salmasius*, *Gerson*, *Bucer*, *Didoclarve*, &c. have written against Prelacy, and some of late against our Conformity, (*Cawdry*, *Hickman*, and others, yet unanswered): And is this your dry Denyal a rational Confutation?

‘3. Would not your Words make the ignorant believe that we have the Liberty of the Press, and may do it if we will? and do not the Act of Parliament, and the severe Searches of the Press, and the Printers Refusal shew how false such an Intimation is: It may be some small Pamphlet may with much ado creep out; but so cannot any thing that is full and satisfactory: Our Cause is a meer Stranger to our Accusers; (it seems even to such as you) because we cannot have leave to print it: A few have heretofore when the watch was less strict got somewhat out, to little purpose (*Mr. Hickman’s* was beyond Sea): But nothing that may make us well understood. And is it fit work for a Minister to blame Men thus Publickly for not doing Impossibilities.

‘4. It must be supposed that you know these things, 1. That the Law forbids us to deprave or speak against the *Liturgy* upon grievous Penalties. 2. That the Canon excommunicateth us *ipso facto*, that is, *sine Sententia Judicis*, if we do but say that there is any thing that a Man may not with a good Conscience conform to. 3. And that our present Governors are against it. 4. And that for doing it we are sure by Conformists to be called *disobedient* to Authority, and Seditious. 5. And that we are so accused by you commonly for Preaching when forbidden, which is as much our vowed Duty sure as Writing. And do you now tell us that we ought to discover it if there be any sinful Act Commanded: Will you warrant us against the Charge of Disobedience, or do you drive us on that, which if we do, you know we are already judged to excommunicated Jailes and Ruine. We have long beg’d of Parliament men that we might but once have leave to speak, for our selves (which we never yet had as to ~~the~~ new Conformity to this Day); and yet we might petition for such leave; and they tell us these Fifteen Years almost, there is no hope, it will but ruine you. I have offered two of the most eminent Bishops to beg it of them or any on my Knees, that we might but once publish the Case and Reasons of our dissent. And is it not enough to be Fifteen or Sixteen Years ejected, silenced, scorned, accused, as unworthy to be endured, and to be silently Patient, and never answer for our selves, nor have the common Justice of being heard, but we must have the additional Abuse, to be told that

‘we

' we ought to do it : Yea, many of the Conformists (O, with what a Face!) have published to the World, that we take not the things which we refuse for Sins, or dare not say so of them ; when even the far easier Conformity 1660. We did by Word and Writing declare to be sinful, and in our Petition for Peace (Printed) protested that did we not take it to be sinful, and hazarding our Souls, &c. We should never have stuck at Conformity to them. And it is no small Number of Sins so heinous which we suppose since imposed, that we dare not so much as name them, least we displease you, and make you say that we render the Conformists such heinous Sinners ! But I will alledge your Authority when any of us are next blamed for discovering the heinous Sinfulness of Conformity, as we yet believe it would be to us.

' If you say that the Licensers would licence our Writings, if we did it with Sobriety : 1. You know that the Canon and Law is against it. 2. I shall then in Justice challenge you to make it good, and here promise you an account of my Nonconformity whenever you will procure it licensed.

' 6. And which way got you so strong a Faith as to be past doubt *that did we discover any sinfulness, it would by Authority have been taken away.*] Make this true yet (after near Two Thousand Ministers have been near Sixteen Years ejected and silenced, and many killed by Imprisonment, and the People of the Land divided and distracted by the training Engines) and you shall have the Honour of being the greatest healer of our Breaches, that ever rose in the Days of my Remembrance : But if it be not true——

' III. The Third Passage is p. 69, 70. throughout ; These are great things to be spoken so boldly : 1. Do you suppose your Reader one that never read Church-History ? What Work the Bishops made for *Arrianism*, for *Nestorianism*, for the *Eutychians*, and *Acephalites*, against *Nazianzen*, *Chrysostom*, &c. for the *Monothelites*, about the *tria Capitula* for *Images*, against Emperors and Kings, setting up the Pope, and decreed the Deposition of all Princes that obey him not, and making Loyalty to be *Herefis Henriciana* : How the River *Oronte* at *Antioch* hath been coloured with the Blood, and the Graves of the Monks and People that fought it out in the Streets for the several Bishops, what work they made at the first Council at *Constance*, the first and the second of *Ephesus*, the Council at *Calcedon*, and many another ? How many Ages they were, and yet are the Army of the Pope, to subdue Princes and Nations, Truth and Justice, and set up the Evil that now reigneth in the Christian World. How even against the Popes Will, they made the best King and Emperor, *Ludovicus Pius*, as a Penance, resign his Crown and Scepter on the Altar, to a Rebel Son, and sent him to Prison. He that ever read but *Baronius*, *Binnius*, or other Episcopal History will pity you, can you name one Presbyter for very many Bishops that have been the Heads or Fomenters of Herefie, Schism, or Rebellion ? and yet Presbyters were more in Number than Bishops ? Innumerable Bishops saith *Binnius*, were in the *Monothelite* Council under *Philipicus*. Of all things that ever befel the Christian Church, I scarce know any thing comparable in Shame and Mischievous Effects, to the horrid perfidiousness, Contention, Schism and Pride of Bishops ; Cursing one Year by Hundreds all that were of one Opinion, and another Year all that were of the contrary, as the times and Interest, and Emperor changed. And if *Arius* or *Novatus*, *Aerius* and *Donatus* (which are all you name were the Beginners of any Schism, how many hundred Bishops were the Promoters of them all, save that of *Aerius* against themselves. And is it any honour to Episcopacy that *Arius*, and *Aerius* (an *Arian*) were not Bishops when they were said to be Seekers of Bishopricks, and to divide because they could not obtain them. Sure they were Prelatical Presbyters : what honour were it to Episcopacy that you are no Bishop, if all these, and such things, were vended by you in hope of a Bishoprick or some Preferment. I will never whilst I breathe trust a Presbyter that sets himself to get Preferment, no more than I will trust a—— But did you know, or did you not, that as for *Novatus* and *Novatian*, one of them was an ill-chosen Bishop of *Rome*, and the other a Promoter of his Prelacy ? and that as for *Donatus* there were two of them, one of them a Bishop ; and that the Donatists Schism was meerly and basely Prelatical, even whether their Bishop or *Cecilianus* should carry it ? and that their Re-baptizing and Re-ordaining and Schism was because they took none to have power that had it not from their Bishop, as being their right, (like our Re-ordiners). And are these Instances to prove what you assert ?

' Were

' Were it not for entring upon an unpleasing and unprofitable Task, I would ask you, 1. Who that *Juncto* of Presbyters was that dethroned the King? was it they that petitioned and protested against it? 2. Whether it was not an Episcopal Parliament (forty to one, if not an hundred) that began the War against the King? 3. Whether the General and Commanders of the Army, twenty to one, were not Conformists? 4. Whether the Major Generals in the Countries were not almost all Episcopal Conformists? (The Earl of *Stamford* was over your Country). 5. Whether the Admiral and Sea-Captains were not almost all Episcopal Conformists? (As *Heylin* distinguisheth them of Archbishop *Abbots* mind, disliking Arminianism, Monopolies, &c.) 6. Whether the Archbishop of *York* were not the Parliaments Major General? 7. Whether the Episcopal Gentry did not more of them take the Engagement (and many Episcopal Ministers) than the Presbyterians? 8. Whether if this Parliament, which made the Acts of Uniformity and Conventicles, should quarrel with the King, it would prove them to be Presbyterians and Nonconformists? 9. Whether the Presbyterian Ministers of *London* and *Lancashire* did not write more against the Regicides and Usurpers, and declare against them, than all the Conformists, or as much? And the Long Parliament was forced, and most of them cast out before the King could be destroyed: And when they were restored, it made way for his Restoration. And Sir *Thomas Allen*, Lord Mayor, and the City of *Londons* inviting General *Monk* from the Rump into the City, and joyning with him, was the very Day that turned the Scales for the King. But all these are Matters fitter for your better Consideration than our Debate. I rest

July 26. 1678.

Your Servant

To Mr. Long of Exeter.

Rich. Baxter.

Numb. VI. *A Resolution of this Case; What's to be done when the Law of the Land commands Persons to go to their Parish-Church, and Parents require to go to private Meetings.*

Quest. **T**HE Law of the Land commandeth me to go to the Publick Churches; the Canon commandeth me to go to my own Parish-Church, and not to another Parish: Both forbid me to go to Conventicles and silenced Preachers. My Father and Mother forbid me to go to the Publick Churches, and command me to go constantly to a silenced Minister in Meetings forbidden by the Law! But specially not to go to my Parish Priest, (saying he is an insufficient and drunken Railer) but to a Neighbour Parish, if I will not obey their first Command! Am I now bound to obey my Parents, or the Law, and Canon?

Ans. It is an hard Task to a Minister of Christ, either so to practice or so to speak, as shall seem to accuse his Rulers and the Laws; but when the saving of our own or other Mens Souls requireth it, there is no remedy. Our own silence, if we ceased Preaching, and our practice contrary to the Law in Preaching or Praying, which is forbidden, do against our wills unavoidably intimate that we suppose great sins to be commanded us: And whether we preach or be silent, while we *Subscribe not, Declare not, Covenant not, and Swear not, and Practice not, all that is required of us*, this cannot be hid: Though our cautelousness and fear of accusing our Governours or the Conforming Ministers, have given some Men occasion to affirm, That we take not Conformity for a sin: or that no considerable persons among us dare say so (we spare the Authors, whose published Names are dishonoured by themselves, when prefixed to such words, as he that will but read our *Petition for Peace*, and our Reply (unanswered) delivered to the commissioned Bishops 1660. will say did ill bescem a Doctor, a Preacher, a Christian, or a Man). We profess from the first to this day, that it is a great sin in us to forbear our Ministry, or to exercise it in a forbidden manner, especially when such doleful Divisions and Calamities follow it, if it be not sin, that is required of us: and if it be not, many and heinous sins, our peace in suffering will have some less reason to that, than we have thought it had.

There-

Therefore being urged, I cannot in Conscience deny a plain Answer to this Question. But I despair of satisfying those Men that must have that which *Augustine* said he hated, viz. *A short Answer to a long and hard Question*; and that cannot away with distinction, when distinct matters must be spoken to. Let such Readers cast this Answer aside, as being not suited to their Wits and Dispositions.

1. We must distinguish between an Infant or Child in the Parents Family, and one that is at Age, or gone out of the Family.

2. Between a thing that is either Duty or Sin or Indifferent, in it self by the Law of God, and Mens thinking it to be so, or not so.

3. And particularly between a Minister justly silenced, and People justly prohibited to meet, and those that are unjustly silenced and forbidden.

4. Between the Prohibition or Command of the Civil Magistrate, and of the Bishops.

5. Between the Command of Laws or Parents, to hear such and such Ministers, and their Prohibition not to hear others, nor joyn in such Assemblies.

6. Between an Act of Formal Obedience to a Command, and an Act of Prudence moved by the good or hurt that will follow.

7. Between guilt of Divine Revenge, and guilt of Humane Punishment.

I make use of all these distinctions in resolving your Doubt by these following Propositions.

I. There is no Power but of God, and none above God, nor against him, or any of his Laws. All Laws are null to Conscience, as being no Acts of true Authority thereto, that are against the Laws of God, in Nature or Scripture.

II. Though only Rulers be Judges publicly to decide Controversies, and punish Offenders, every rational Man must judge discerningly of his Duty, what God's Law and Man's require: else we were not governed as Men but as Beasts, nor were accountable for our Actions to God, any further than whether we obeyed Men: And else all under Heathens, Mahometans, Papists, Hereticks, must be of the Kings Religion. And then if the King and a Usurper strive for the Crown, we must not be Judges whose part we must take: All which are intolerable Consequents.

III. Every true Minister of Christ is in his Ordination devoted and consecrated to that Sacred Office during Ability and Life: And it is from the Law of Christ that their Authority immediately ariseth; as the Lord Mayor's from the King's Charter; though Men elect, and the Ordainers invest them in it by delivery. And as he that crowneth the King cannot depose him, or he that marrieth Persons cannot unmarry them, no more can any depose a Pastor, and dissolve his Obligations to his Office, but in case of such Crimes as God's Law deposeth him for, and enableth them to do it: Of which Bishop *Bilson* of Obedience speaketh soundly, too large to be here recited.

IV. For a Minister of Christ to forsake his Calling or Work, while his Vow and the true necessity of Souls continue his Obligation, and this meerly because he is unjustly forbidden by Man, is to be odiously perfidious and sacrilegious, and a Deserter of his great Lord and Master's Work, and a Murderer of the Souls which he neglecteth, as verily as Parents murder their Children whom they give not food to. And no Murderer hath Eternal Life, were it but of the Body or Temporal Life; such being as Cain, of him that was a Murderer from the beginning; and contrary to Christ, who came to seek and save the lost.

V. The unjust forbidding Christ's Ministers to preach his Gospel, is a sin so exceeding heinous, as that no Christian should either concur in the Guilt, or be so scandalous as to seem to do it. Had I lived in Germany when many hundred Ministers were ejected, and thereby the Churches cast into division and confusion, and Protestant Preachers turned against each other, about the Form or Book called the *Interim*, while *Melanchthon* and some good Men partly conformed to save the Churches from ruine, and *Illyricus* and more were Nonconformists, I would not for all the Riches of the World appear before God in the Guilt of those three Men that did Compile that Book (*Julius Pflug*, *Sidonius*, and *Isebius Agricola*) or of those that for it silenced or banished Christ's Ministers. 2 Tim. 4. 1, 2. I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead, at his appearing and his Kingdom, Preach the word, be instant, in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort, with

with all long-suffering and doctrine. 1 Theff. 2. 15, 16. *Who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own Prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men, forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved, to fill up their sins always, for the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost. When they persecute you in one City flee to another.*—*Shake off the dust of your feet against them. It shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the Day of Judgment than for that City,* Matth. 10. 14, 15. and 23. 22.

VI. God hath set up more Governments in the World than one, and each hath its proper works and bounds; and one may not destroy the other. There is *private Self-Government, Family-Government, Church-Government, and Civil-Government*: each have their proper Ends also, though all have one common End, the pleasing of God. The King in his manner and measure and to his Ends (the Publick Good) is the Ruler of all Persons, all Families, all Pastors and Churches, all Physicians, School-masters, &c. that is, to see all these do their own duty; but not to take their Work from them upon himself; not to take all Men from Self-government of their Tongues, Passions, Actions: not to take on him the part of Parents, Pastors, &c. And no Prince's Laws will acquit a Man before God from his Duty in any of these Relations while he is in them.

VI. God hath much conjoyned Interest and Duty: No Man is so much concerned, *whether I be saved or damned, as I am my self*: And therefore my own Choice and Self-government is first and chiefly to be used for the saving of my own Soul, without which no Man else can save me. Therefore I am more concerned than any Magistrate is, to the Counsel and Conduct of *what Pastor* I commit my Soul, and I have the *nearest and first power* in the Choice. There is great Controversie in the World, Whether Subjects have a Propriety in their Estates, which is not at the will of Princes? And it is commonly affirmed, That Propriety is antecendent to Regiment, which is but to order it for common good, and not to destroy it. But I had rather quit my Claim to Propriety in all my Worldly Estate, than of my *Salvation*, or the *necessary means* thereto. If the Law commanded me but to use a Physician that I thought unskillful in my Disease, and his Medicines pernicious, I would choose a better if I could, though the King and Laws forbad me, and I would refuse the obtruded Physician and his Medicine: so I would do if they commanded me to marry an utterly unsuitable Wife: And I should judge that as these matters are more my Interest than theirs, so they belong to my *Self-governing power*, and not to their Civil Government. And next my self, while I am young, my Parents being naturally indued with stronger love to me, than Magistrates are, the Choice in such Cases more belongeth to their power than to the Magistrates.

VII. Accordingly it was for Seven hundred, if not a Thousand years, the current Judgment of the Christian Churches, that a Bishop must be set over a *particular Church*, by the Election or Consent of all the Clergy and all the People, and that he was no justly called Bishop that came not in by the *common consent of the Flock*: This is not only proved in the ancientest Writers, even *Clemens ad Corinth*, and others commonly; but by many Canons, and even the Popes Decretals, for many hundred years, and the contrary is an undoubted Innovation.

VIII. It is certain that neither Civil nor Ecclesiastical Rulers have their Power for destruction, but for edification, 2 Cor. 10. 8. and 13. 10. Rom. 13. 1, 2, 3, 4. Even Parents that give life and being to their Children, are justly destroyed if they destroy them. It is no singularity of Mr. *Humphrey*, that hath lately written, That Laws against the Common Good bind not in Conscience to Obedience: It is the Judgment of the greatest Casuists; *Greg. Sayrus, Fragosus*, &c. in whom you may see many others: The *terminus* entereth the definition of relations. It is not Authority (*Fus regendi*) which is not for the Ends of Government, the Common Good. The Magistrate may order the preaching of the Gospel, and other means of Salvation; but not forbid them, and destroy them. If he do this, it is not by Authority received from God; as Bishop *Bilson* afore-cited often sheweth, and Bishop *Andrews* in *Tortura Torti*. I have more power from God to use needful means of my own Salvation, than any Man hath to forbid me the using of them.

IX. It is not another Man's saying, [*That much preaching or praying is not needful to me,*] that will make or prove it so, or excuse me from it. And there is so vast a difference between a sound, skilful, and experienced lively Teacher, and one that is ignorant, heretical, a meer artist, dead or dull, that readeth a Cento as a Boy saith his Lesson, that no Man can make it my Duty to commit the Pastoral Care of my Soul to the latter, when the former may be had without a greater hurt than the benefit will compensate. Nor will other Mens Crosses, Opinions, or Appetite herein, suffice to satisfy me against my Sense, Reason, and my own and other Mens Experience.

X. Yet a *tolerable loss* must be born rather than publick Order violated. And seeing our Laws and Church-Canons allow any Man when he will to change his Bishop or Pastor or Congregation, if he will but change his Dwelling, the losses of this must rather be born, than any greater real detriment to our Souls or to the Publick Good. But Wives, Children, and some others, cannot remove their Habitations.

XI. An Infant or Child in minority in his Parents House, as he is not to be supposed to understand the Laws, so *ceteris paribus* he seemeth to me to be more obliged to hear the Teacher that his Parents choose for him, than one that is chosen by the Magistrates. As in his Diet, and the choice of a Physician when he is sick, so here. The Magistrate is an Officer of *Power, Wisdom, and Love*, but principally of *Power*. The Pastor is an Officer of *Power, Wisdom, and Love*, but eminently of *Wisdom*. The Parent is an Officer of *Power, Wisdom, and Love*, but eminently of *Love*: And the works of Love to his Children eminently belong to his Care and Government.

XII. Yet when Children have the true use of Reason, to discern what God and Man command them, they must obey neither Parents nor Princes against God.

XIII. In the *circa sacra* or Circumstantial of Religion, so much as should be commonly agreed on by all or most Churches for the Common Good, the Prince by the Counsel of the Pastors, is the Judge of, and is to be obeyed before the Bishops; unless he leave it only to the Pastors own Consent, and then their Consent in Synods must be much regarded: (of which *Grotius de Imperio Sum. Potest.* hath written excellently, notwithstanding Bishop *Brumhalls* discommendation). But in the Circumstances that are not to be universally agreed on, but belong to the Pastoral Office to vary *pro re natâ*, the present officiating Pastor is the Judge, and to be followed.

XIV. Rules are to be obeyed in all lawful things belonging to their Office to command: but all lawful things belong not to their Office. Whether I shall eat once or twice a day, or once in two days? what Meat I shall eat, and how much? what Horse I shall ride on? what Wife I shall marry? what Physician, or Teacher I shall trust, and what Medicine I shall take, &c. belongeth more to my self, as is said.

XV. Intolerable Ministers justly forbidden to preach are bound to obey, and the People forbidden to hear them, should forbear: But it no more follows that the Case is the same to all others, than that a true Man may be hang'd because a Thief may: If we be unjustly forbidden to Preach while Ability and Mens need continueth, we must neither obey, nor rebel.

XVI. A Man may go further in obeying the Civil Power that only sets up *Publick Teachers* or *Catechizers*, if they be unworthy, than those that set up *Church Pastors*, to whom we must commit the Pastoral Care of our Souls, (if they be unfit) and receive the Sacraments from them: Of which Mr. *Philip Nye's* Papers now printed may satisfy you.

XVII. On some occasions it is lawful to hear an unmeet Minister; And his Sacramental Administrations may not be Nullities, or invalid to the Innocent Receiver: We lose not our right, when he loseth his reward: But it is not lawful to encourage any intolerable Person in his usurping of the Ministry, either by ordinary attending

attending him, or by committing the Care of our Souls to him : that is, 1. To such as are intolerably unable in Knowledge or Utterance or Practice ; 2. Or to such as are Atheists, Infidels, or true Hereticks ; 3. Or to notorious Malignants, that do more harm than good.

XVIII. Though its a hard Question how far other Vices disoblige us from submitting to such a Ministry, e. g. Perjury, Renouncing, Reformation and Repentance, great Errours, Drunkenness, Idleness, and such like ; yet 1. He that can without greater mischief than benefit, have a better, should undoubtedly prefer him. 2. And a Man that seeleth the need of a better to his own Soul, and knoweth how much a Scandalous Ministry wrongeth Christ and the Church, is very unfit to be persecuted or troubled for preferring his Soul's benefit before a Humane Parish Order : For Cyprian and an African Council, in the Case of two Portugal Bishops, have laboured to prove out of Scripture, That *A Libellatike, and so such like scandalous Sinner, is incapable of being a Bishop or Pastor, and ought to be forsaken by the People, though the Neighbour Bishops own him.* 2. Pope Nicholas, and the Canons of some Councils, Command that no one bear Mass of a Priest that liveth in known Fornication. And may not a Christian be tolerated in being but as strict against Vice as the *Papists* and Councils are ; and being of the opinion of so holy a Martyr as Cyprian : and erring (if he err) but as he and that African Council did.

XIX. All this is but Preparatory : To the Case, I say, you must distinguish between the Command and the Prohibition of your Rulers and your Parents.

1. The Command of your Prince is the Command of a lawful Power ; and to hear honest tolerable Ministers (such as we have many) in the Publick Assemblies, is a lawful Command (whatever some say without profit against it) and therefore you ought to obey it. And your Parents are a lawful Power (for the many Reasons which I publickly named) expressly mentioned rather than Princes, in the fourth Commandment : And to Hear and Communicate in the Assemblies of Orthodox godly Christians unlawfully prohibited by Man, is a lawful Command, and ought to be obeyed. Both the Powers are lawful, and both the Commands lawful, and both must be obeyed as far as you can, at several seasons : But you cannot be in two places at once.

2. Intending no dishonour to Authority, I must not betray Truth and Souls, while it is my Office to resolve their Doubts proposed ; with submission to better Information, I am past doubt, that both the Prohibitions in your Case here are lawful, and neither of them to be formally obeyed. That is, in general to take any true Ministers of Christ for no Ministers, or Christians for no Christians, and Churches for no Churches, and so to avoid them, or to take their Communion for sinful when it is not, is a heinous sin : He that thus avoideth lawful Communion as unlawful, reproacheth the People and Worship of the Lord, and in a degree doth as it were Excommunicate all those Churches, judging them unworthy of Communion. And if it be a great sin rashly to Excommunicate one Christian, what is it so to Excommunicate whole Parishes, Cities, Counties, or Congregations ? Your Parents forbid you to hear in Publick : It is an unlawful Prohibition of a lawful thing commanded by the King and Laws, and you are not to obey it. You say the Laws forbid you to joyn with any Nonconformable Ministers and Christians in other Assemblies than the Parish Churches : If they do so, I humbly conceive that it is an unlawful Prohibition of a thing that God to some commandeth, and therefore is not to be formally obeyed. God commandeth us not to forsake the assembling of our selves, *Hebr. 10.* He chargeth all true Ministers, to preach his Word, and be instant, *in season and out of season* ; and woe be to them that are truly called, and not lawfully deposed, if they preach not the Gospel, when there is need. He that shall say, That now in England there is not true need of the joynt Labours of all faithful Ministers of Christ, Conformists and Nonconformists, will but shew that ignorance or unconscionable indifference in the Matters of Salvation, as will warrant all wise Men to suspect his Counsel, and all that know the Falshood to reject it. Christ requireth all his Servants to live in purity, love and peace ; and consequently not to reject Communion with each other as unlawful, when it is not so, nor to go any further from each other than they needs must ; nor unjustly to judge one Man, much less Christian Societies. He that in the days of the Emperours of various Opinions (*Constantius, Valens, Theodosius Junior, Zeno, Anastasius, the Leo's* and others, that were some for Images, and some against them, would have called the Pastors and Assemblies unlawful and unfit for Communion, because they were forbidden, would have been a guilty Separatist. And so may he be that separateth from forbidden Assemblies,

blies, as well as he that separateth from *commanded ones* (by men). And if God command Love and Communion of all Christians, as they have occasion, as being one Bread and one Body, what God commandeth and conjoyneth, no Man may forbid or put asunder. Therefore I conceive you owe Obedience to *both the positive Commands, but to neither of the general Prohibitions of Communion.*

XX. *But you cannot obey both at once:* I answer; Obey both as far as you can; and obey neither when it tendeth to your destruction. If Parents bid you joyn with Hereticks or Rebels, obey them not. If others bid you commit the Pastoral Care of your Souls to intolerable Men, obey them not. But where formal Obedience ceaseth, Prudence must direct you about material Obedience. It is Obedience when we do it in Conscience to the Authority: It is Prudence when we gather our Duty from the End. Avoid that most that bringeth the most intolerable Consequents, and prefer that which tendeth to the greatest Good. Some dwell where there is no Competition, all the Ministers being only of one way: Some when the ill Consequents are more on one side, and some where they are more on the other. And Rituals give place to Morals: *Go learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice.* You shall answer for your own Souls: Neither Parents nor Princes have an absolute or a destroying Power over them, nor any that divesteth you of the Charge or Government of your selves. Prudence therefore in such Cases must look to Order, to Publick Good, and to your own Edification, and preserve all as far as you are able; and God will accept you if you do your best, though interest'd Factions be offended with you.

XXI. It is a great Doubt among Casuists, Whether and when the Breach of Humane Laws oblige Men to any other than *Humane Penalties*? So far as God is offended and his Law broken by the breach of Mans, so far Punishment from God also is deserved; but no further. And a Council at *Toletum* hath an expresse Canon, that lest Subjects by the Churches Laws should have their Souls ensnared in Guilt towards God, it is declared that their Provincial Canons bind only *ad penam, non ad culpam*, to bear the Penalty, but not to conclude men Sinners. The Expressions want skill, but the Meaning is manifest.

XXII. The Persons belief that an evil Course is lawful, maketh it not lawful to him: The *esse* is before the *scire*: If God's Law have forbidden or commanded; Man's Errour may ensnare himself in sin, but cannot change the Law of God.

XXIII. Some that I love and honour, that have heretofore been ensnared in Anabaptistry and Separation, in the sense of their Errour (as is usual) warp to the contrary Extream, and fear not the *dreadful guilt of perswading Christ's faithful Ministers to lay by the Sacred Office which they are devoted to*; yea, and would blind us to believe there is no need, save only to speak to particular persons privately; whereby they should be a year in speaking to those whom they may speak to in an hour, and few be able to do it, and perhaps be thrust out with wrath by the Parish Ministers, as creeping into Houses to seduce silly women, or reproached and suspected for it. They say truly, that he that hath gone their former way of unjust Separation, is like one that in travel seeth here a Leg and there an Arm lye in his way, and therefore should fear to go on in danger. But I tell them further, he that readeth Church History and Councils, what work Church Tyranny and striving to be greatest, hath made with Kings and Kingdoms, Churches and Families, and the Blood of an hundred thousand Christians, for about a thousand years at least, is like one that in his travel seeth here a hundred Carkasses, and there an hundred, and there a stream of Blood, and there a City ruined, and there a good King surrendring his Crown as an Act of Penance (as *Ludovicus Pius* did), and there the Streets covered with the Blood and Carkasses of Monks and others, and then cast into the Rivers, by the wars and broils of contending Bishops (as at *Antioch*, &c) and if this Man will go on, he overcometh another kind of warning than [*here a Leg and there an Arm*]. Read but the History thoroughly, and judge. But what will not Ignorance make men say?

XXIV. Some think that if Sacramental Communion only were left free, it would alone heal most of our English differences. I confess, I that think Men may be forced to hear and be catechized, do think the great Priviledges of Sacramental Communion, and a sealed Pardon, should be given to none by *Cramming*, or as a *Drench*;

Drench ; I mean, to none against their wills : none but Volunteers or Confessors being capable of so great Benefits according to Christ the Donor's mind : But this requireth many Cautions, and belongeth not to the Case in hand.

Numb. VII. A Letter of Mr. Baxter's about the Case of Nevil Symmons.

SIR,

I Think not the Confuting of any of the Calumnies that are cast upon me by Backbiters (whether from Ignorance or Envy) worth any great care or labour, were it not for the sake of the Guilty themselves, and others whom they may draw into the same Guilt, or hinder from profiting by my Labours, in the Calling that God hath placed me in. But I will not despise all these so much, as not to think them worthy the labour of a few Lines.

It is not long since some Gentlemen at a Coffee-House affirmed, That I had kill'd a Man in cold Blood with my own Hand, that is, a Tinker beating his Kettle at my Door, and disturbing me in my Studies, I pistoll'd him, and was tried at Worcester for my Life. But these Gentlemen were so ingenuous as to ask Forgiveness, and confess their Fault, and one of them openly to my Vindication. Though Dr. Boreman, Parson of St. Giles's in the Fields, that in a printed Pamphlet led the way, never did so. (Yet lived three or four years Suspended, or supposing himself Suspended, and so died). Another (characterized James 3.) reporteth that I am so hot a Disputant, that at a Gentleman's Table, I threw the Plate at him that I disputed with. The whole Story feigned; nor did I ever know the least occasion for the Report. The greatest Reproach that's laid on me, is by Conformists for not Conforming, or not giving over my Preaching and Ministry : And if they accuse me for not turning Papist, and for not giving over Prayer as they did Daniel, it would have the same effect with me.

But now comes a new one (my Sufferings are my Crimes) my Bookseller, Nevil Symmons, is broken, and it is reported that I am the Cause, by the excessive Rates that I took for my Books of him; and a great Dean (whom I much value) foretold that I would undo him. Of all Crimes in the World I least expected to be accused of Covetousness. Satan being the Master of this Design, to hinder the Success of my Writings when I am dead, it is part of my warfare under Christ to resist him. I tell you therefore truly all my Covenants and Dealings with Bookellers to this day.

When I first ventured upon the publication of my Thoughts, I knew nothing of the Art of Bookellers. I did as an act of meer kindness, offer my Book called *The Saints Rest* to Thomas Underhill and Francis Tyton to print, leaving the Matter of Profit without any Covenants to their Ingenuity. They gave me Ten pounds for the first Impression, and Ten pounds apiece, that is, Twenty pounds for every after Impression till 1665. I had in the mean time altered the Book by the Addition of divers Sheets: Mr. Underhill dieth; his Wife is poor: Mr. Tyton hath Losses by the Fire 1666. They never gave me nor offered me a Farthing for any Impression after, nor so much as one of the Books, but I was fain, out of my own Purse, to buy all that I gave to any Friend or poor Person that asked it.

This loosening me from Mr. Tyton, Mr. Symmons stepped in, and told me, That Mr. Tyton said he had never got Three pence by me; and brought witness. Hereupon I used Mr. Symmons only. When I lived at Kidderminster, some had defamed me of a covetous getting many hundred pounds by the Bookellers. I had till then taken of Mr. Underhill, Mr. Tyton and Mr. Symmons (for all save the *Saints Rest*) the fifteenth Book, which usually I gave away; but if any thing for Second Impressions were due, I had little in Money from them, but in such Books as I wanted at their Rates. But when this Report of my great Gain came abroad,

‘ abroad, and took notice of it in print, and told the World that I intended to
 ‘ take more hereafter; and ever since, I took the fifteenth Book (for my Friends
 ‘ and self) and Eighteen pence more for every Rheam of the other fourteen;
 ‘ which I destinated to the Poor. With this, while I was at *Kidderminster*, I
 ‘ bought Bibles to give to all the poor Families: And I got Three hundred or Four
 ‘ hundred pounds, which I destinated all to Charitable Uses: At last, at *London*,
 ‘ it increased to Eight hundred and thirty pounds, which delivering to a worthy
 ‘ Friend, he put it into the Hands of *Sir Robert Viner* (with an Hundred pounds
 ‘ of my Wives) where it lyeth settled on a Charitable Use after my Death, as from
 ‘ the first I resolved: If it fails I cannot help it. I never received more of any
 ‘ Bookseller than the fifteenth Book, and this Eighteen pence a Rheam. And if
 ‘ for after Impressions I had more of those Fifteenths than I gave away, I took
 ‘ about two third parts of the common price of the Bookseller (or little more) and
 ‘ oft less: And sometimes I paid my self for the printing many Hundreds to give
 ‘ away, and sometimes I bought them of the Bookseller, above my number, and
 ‘ and sometimes the Gain was my own necessary Maintenance; but I resolved ne-
 ‘ ver to lay up a Groat of it for any but the Poor.

‘ Now, Sir, my own Condition is this: Of my Patrimony or small Inheritance,
 ‘ never took a Penny to my self, my poor Kindred needing much more. I am
 ‘ fifteen or 16 years divested of all Ecclesiastical Maintenance: I never had any
 ‘ Church or Lecture that I received Wages from: But within these three or four
 ‘ years, much against my Disposition, I am put to take Money of the Bounty of
 ‘ special particular Friends; my Wives Estate being never my Propriety, nor
 ‘ much more than half our yearly Expence. If then it be any way unfit for me
 ‘ to receive such a Proportion as aforesaid, as the Fruit of my own long and hard
 ‘ Labour, for my Necessary and Charitable Uses; and if they that never took
 ‘ pains for it, have more right than I, when every Labourer is Master of his
 ‘ own, or if I may not take some part with them, I know not the reason of any
 ‘ of this. Men grudge not at a Cobler, or a Tailor, or any Day-labourer, for
 ‘ living on his Labours: And why an ejected Minister of Christ, giving freely
 ‘ five parts to a Bookseller, may not take the sixth to himself, or to the Poor, I know
 ‘ not. But what is the Thought or Word of Man?

‘ Dr. *Bates* now tells me, that for his Book called the *Divine Harmony*, he had
 ‘ above an Hundred pounds, (yet reserving the Power for the future to himself):
 ‘ For divers Impressions of the *Saints Rest*, almost twice as big, I have not had a
 ‘ Farthing: For no Book have I had more than the fifteenth Book to my self and
 ‘ Friends, and the Eighteen pence a Rheam for the Poor and Works of Charity,
 ‘ which the Devil so hateth, that I find it a matter past my power, to give my
 ‘ own to any Good Use; he so robs me of it, or maketh Men call it a Scandalous
 ‘ Thing. Verily, since I devoted all to God, I have found it harder to Give it
 ‘ (when I do my best) than to get it: Though I submit of late to him partly upon
 ‘ Charity, and am so far from laying up a Groat, that (though I hate Debt) I am
 ‘ long in Debt, &c. &c. &c.

S I R,

Yours,

R. B.

Numb.

Numb. VIII. *The general defence of my Accused Writings, called Seditious and Schismatical.*

I. **M**atter of Right cannot be determined without foreknowing the following Matter of Fact.

I. There is an Enmity and War, through all the Earth, between Christ and Satan : Christ and his Soldiers strive for Light, Love and Mercy or Beneficence. Satan fighteth for Darkness against Light, and for Hatred against Love, and for Hurting and Destroying against Mercy and Good Works. All Christians in Baptism are Vowed and Listed in this Warfare to Christ against Satan : All Ministers are vowed in their Ordination to be Leaders in Christ's Army, and to preach the Gospel according to the Holy Scriptures. In all Ages and Nations Satan hath wofully prevailed against this *Light, Love and Mercy*, by hindering Preachers, partly by Persecution, and mostly by Corrupting them. Till Christ came as the Light of the World, the Darkness of Ignorance and Idolatry overspread the Earth. Three hundred years all Princes were against the Gospel : when *Constantine* owned it, the rest of the Empires of the World long resisted ; and to this day, all that receive it are but a sixth part of the World. And in the Christian Empire and Churches, the erroneous and corrupt Princes and Bishops took up Satan's Silencing Work : *Constantius* and *Valens* and the *Arrian* Bishops almost extinguished the Orthodox Light : The *Goths* did the like. The *Macedonians*, *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, and the Parties for and against the Council of *Ephesus*, of *Calcedon*, the *Tria Caputula*, the *Monothelites*, the Adoration and Use of Images, and the Councils for and against *Photius* and *Ignatius*, &c. left but few Bishops of Note in the Eastern Empire that were not by turns Condemned and Deposed by the contrary side when it was uppermost. The Pope himself was an hundred years at once, renounced by a great part of *Italy*.

II. But the corrupt sort of Popes out-did all others : They Silenced the Christians that reprov'd their Crimes, and murdered (say Historians) above a Million, calling them *Hereticks*. *Hunericus* and the *Gothish* *Arrians* had before kill'd many, and cut the Tongues of some that after spake by miracle : but the Pope made more general Desolation. In the Wars between many Emperours and Popes, Bishops that were for the Emperours were damned as *Henrician* *Hereticks*, and decreed by Councils to be burnt when dead. General Councils decreed to Excommunicate and Depose all Temporal Lords that would not Exterminate as *Hereticks*, all that were against Transubstantiation, and such like. Divers Popes did so notoriously do Satan's Work, that they interdicted the Preaching of the Gospel, and all Publick Worship of God, to *England*, *France*, and other whole Nations, for a Quarrel with the King. *Robert Grossthead*, the holy Bishop of *Lincoln*, wrote to *Innocent* the Fourth, That the *hindering* of the preaching of the Gospel was next the Sin of *Lucifer* and *Antichrist*, the greatest in the World, and not to be obeyed by any Christian, whoever commanded it. As Reforming Light arose, Papal Silencing and Cruelty increased, till Inquisitions, Flames, Massacres, in *Spain*, *Low-Countries*, *Bohemia*, *Germany*, *France*, *Ireland*, and *England*, had made those Murders and Devastations, which no true Christian dare own.

III. At this day, the Light of clear sound Doctrine is obscured, and such Preaching silenced or ceased in most of the Christian Churches on Earth : Besides the bloody Persecutions which met those honest Jesuits and Fryars that preached in *Congo*, *Japan*, *China*, and other Heathen Lands : In *Abassia*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Assyria*, *Armenia*, there is very little Preaching at all ; yea, want of Printing keepeth them without the holy Scripture, which is rare and in few hands. *Turkish* Oppression hath so debased the *Greek* Church, that sound Preaching is rare among them. In all the Empire of *Muscovy* Preaching is long ago put down, lest Men should preach Sedition. Among most Papists and Protestants beyond Sea, it is turned too much into *Invectives* against one another. This is the Success of Satan's War.

IV. Being vowed doubly to Christ (in my Baptism and Ordination) I had been a perjured Traytor against him, if I had not hated this Sin, and done my part in my place against it. There is no Age or Land so good, where Christ and Satan, Light and Darkeness have not this War : and Secular Interests or Quarrels are made Satan's Advantages, who pretendeth to great Power in Disposing of the Riches and Honours of the World. This War ended not in *England* with *Queen Mary's* Reign. The unhappy Differences of *Frankford* came over with the Exiles : One Party running into Extreame against Episcopacy and the Liturgy, and the other forbidding not only them, but all Ordained Ministers, to preach or expound any Doctrine or Matter in the Church or elsewhere, without further Licence. I lived to see so much of the Effects of these Differences as grieved my Soul : Excellent Preachers, and of Holy Lives, mistakingly censorious against some lawful Things, and Silenced for it ; some flying to *America*, and some absconding here. I saw the diseased Passions and Divisions thus caused ; and how much it extinguished Christian Love : At last we all saw it break out into the Flames of an odious War. And even the Usurpers, that by Silencers pretended their Provocation, fell into the Crime which they Accused ; and cast out many Learned Bishops, Doctors and Preachers, for refusing their Covenant, and their Engagement, and their Way of Worship, and for being against their War. Thus Satan's Silencing work went on.

When Experience and Smart brought most Men to their Wits, and they had found that a divided Kingdom cannot stand, and that returning to Love and Unity must be our Recovery ; I laboured with Ministers of each side with all my power for Agreement, on such Terms as we were then capable of : and that was to joyn in the amicable practice of all that they were agreed in, and to bear with one another in the rest (which were no necessary things) : On these Terms *Worcestershire* and seven or eight other Counties quickly agreed : *Ireland* profest consent : More were closing : But the Divisions of the Usurpers, and the begun Reconciliation of the Peace-makers (or Pretenders) presently restored the King.

Men were then variously affected, between hope of Unity and fear of Discord, and of the old Silencing dividing Work. That we had one lawful King to Unite in who promised his help hereunto, and declared his Judgment for necessary Indulgence, and that Lords and Knights printed their professed Renunciation of Revenge, and Doctors professed Moderation, did greatly raise Mens hopes that there would be no more such Divisions, as should Silence faithful Ministers. But they that knew how hardly Love and Moderation are restored, after the Exasperations of so odious a War, and how few conquer Worldly Interest and old Opinions, and do as they would be done by, feared that still the Silencing Work would be carried on. I was certain that good Men would not be united by coming all over to the Opinions of each other : which Party soever was in the right in all the Points called *Indifferent* by some, and *Sinful* by others, I knew the Difference would continue : And it doth so. I knew that those that were most obedient to God, would not do that which they judged he forbade them. I knew that if for this they were forbidden to Worship God in Church-Worship, they would not forbear, till Suffering disabled them. I knew that there were so many such, and the Suffering that disabled them must be so great, that the Land thereby must needs be divided into the Afflicting and Afflicted Parties : And the more conscionable the more constant would they be : It were well if most understood all things necessary : But that all should understand all indifferent things (that might be commanded) to be indifferent, I knew would never be, if all the Land were Doctors. It was easie to know what Exasperations of Mind all this would cause, and what a Conquest Satan would make here, against Light, Love and Mercy, that is against Christ.

In the deep Sense of this Danger I set my self to try, whether Terms of Possible Concord might be obtained : The *London* Ministers joyned : The King greatly encouraged us ; First by his Declaration at *Breda*, and that against Debauchery. Next by Personal Engaging us in a Treaty with the Bishops, and his Promise that he would draw them to meet us, if we would come as near them as we could. Then by his gracious Declaration, and the Testimony there given of our Loyalty and Moderation. Then by his Commission to treat for Alterations of the Liturgy ; But the Bishops denied the Need of any Alterations, and dashed all our Hopes : And the Convocation and Parliament cast by the King's Indulgence ; and issued all in the Act of Uniformity.

I was the more earnest to have prevented this, because I knew not but that most of the whole Ministry of the Kingdom might have been Silenced in one day : I knew what was said against much that is imposed : And I knew that near Ten thousand Ministers had Conformed to what the Parliament had imposed, and most taken the Covenant, and used the Directory and not the Common Prayer. And how knew I that only Two thousand would stick at the New Impositions, and Seven thousand obey them (and Assent and Consent to the New Book which they (mostly) never saw, it coming not out of the Press till too late).

V. While I was engaged in this Treaty by the King, the Bishops denied all further Debates with us, till we had given them in Writing all the Faults that we found in the Liturgy, and all that we desired in stead, or as Additions: So that we did by Authority and Demand, write and deliver (as our Proposal before, so) our Desires and Reasons of the mentioned Alterations, and a long and humble Petition to prevent the foreseen Breach, and our Reformed Liturgy, and Reply to their contrary Reasons : which some Scribes for gain after printed ; I knew not who, with abundance of Errata.

VI. After this 1663. the King revived our hope in part by a Declaration of his Judgment and Purpose for our Leave to Preach and Worship God.

VII. In this Case I continued Silent as to any further Suit or Plea, keeping constantly in the Communion of the Parish Churches where I lived, till in 1668. I was imprisoned for Teaching a few ignorant Neighbours, whom thereby I drew with me into the Church, and was delivered by righteous Judges.

VIII. The Lord Keeper *Bridgman* near that time, called some of us as by the King's pleasure, to Receive and Treat of some Proposals offered for Comprehension and Indulgence ; and appointed Bishop *Wilkins* and Dr. *Burton*, to Treat with Dr. *Manton*, and Dr. *Bates* and me, which required that we opened to them our Cause. We came to a full Agreement, which Judge *Hale*, then Lord Chief Baron, greatly approving it, drew up in an Act to be offered the Commons ; who Voted to receive no such Act : and defeated the King's Offer and our Hopes.

IX. In 1672. the King again declared not only his Judgment, but Resolution for our Leave to Preach, and gave us actually Licenses : But many Church-men opposed it, and called it *Schism*, and dissuaded us from using our granted Liberty, and said we were bringing in Popery by it : And the Parliament was against it, and caused the King to reverse his Licenses. And in this time I wrote my Books against our Silencing in Defence of the Liberty granted by the King, though they were after printed.

X. After this, Bishop *Gunning* of *Ely* urged me to declare the Reasons of our Nonconformity ; and said, He would Petition the King to force us to it, that we might be Answered, and not keep up a Schism, and not tell for what. I told him, I would beg leave to do it on my knees, but durst not, lest they that called for it could not bear it.

XI. And the Right Reverend Bishop of *London* urged me to the same ; and said, That the King took us as *not Sincere*, because we so long forbore Conforming, and declared not our Reasons. To whom I gave the same Answer.

XII. The Earl of *Orery* told me Bishop *Morley* proposed some Terms for Concord to keep out Popery, and urged me to draw up for the said Bishop what we must have granted : which I did, and had the Bishops frustrating Answer.

XIII. Another time Dean *Tillotson* and Dr. *Stillington* moved us to a Treaty for Concord, as encouraged by Bishop *Morley* and others : And we gave them all our Desires *in terminis* ; which they seem'd to consent to, if the Bishop had not reject it.

XIV. After this I wrote a Book of the *True way of Universal Concord*, and directed it to to Bishop *Morley* and Bishop *Gunning*, as the Men that I meant that had frustrated

frated our hopes. On which Bishop Gunning sent Dr. Crowther to invite me to a Conference; and our Debate three days was, *Which is the true way of Universal Concord?* which he maintained to be by Obedience to the Legislative and Judicial Governing of the Colledge of Pastors. I drew up the Sum in three Letters to him, maintaining Universal Communion, but denying all Foreign Jurisdiction, and the possibility of one Humane Sovereignty, Monarchical or Aristocratical, over all Kings and Churches and all the World.

XV. After and under all this Discourse, Pulpits and Press, by Men not to be despised, openly accused us as *Contriving and Designing a Rebellion, by continuing Nonconformists when we had nothing to say for us.* So that now our Silence past almost into a *seeming Confession of an intended Rebellion.*

Now I appeal to Reason and Conscience, to Christianity and Humanity, Whether all these Calls of Kings and Bishops, Friends and Accusers, justify not a Serious Account of our Case, after Fourteen or Seventeen Years accused Silence.

XVI. Yet after all this I *durst not*, I did not write either any *Justification of our Scruples*, or any *Reasons to prove the Impositions sinful* (save that I gave the Reasons for our *not ceasing to preach*, and against a spurious sort of Diocesanes of some Innovators Description) But only barely named *de facto*, what it was that we feared as *sin*, protesting over and over not to accuse the Law or the Conformists.

XVII. And that which on all these Provocations I have done in many Books, is but these two things:

1. To beg for Concord, and prove, and it never was nor will be had, by forcing all to profess consent to numerous, dubious, unnecessary Things, but only on Terms *few, plain, and necessary*, in which all sound Christians are agreed.

2. To beg for *mercy* (not so much to many hundred suffering Ministers, and many Thousand dissenting godly Christians (such as no Nation under Heaven, out of his Majesty's Dominion, hath better that I can hear of), but specially for many score thousand needy, ignorant, untaught Souls: For I wrote with respect, 1. To the *Case of the whole Land*, before I knew that Seven thousand of the former Incumbents would stay in. 2. To the *Case of London in the dreadful Plague*, when infected Men cried for help, and had no Teachers, the Pastors being fled, and the Nonconformists prohibited: And about a dozen that ventured (and as *Großhead spake, obediently disobeyed*) saw wondrous Success of their Labours in the Penitence of the affrighted humbled Crowds. 3. To the *Case of the Fire* that the next year burnt *City and Churches*, and many years but few Capacious Tabernacles were built, so that Publick Worship mostly ceased: And hundred Thousands of undone Persons should then have had special Comfort and Counsel: But the Nonconformists were forbidden still. 4. I had special respect to the *Case of Great Parishes*, such as *Martins, Giles, Stepney*, and many more, where Ten, Twenty, Forty thousand persons have no room in their Parish Churches, and *Mahometans* use some Publick Worship). And what shall all these Persons do? who by Custom excused by Necessity, grow to live willingly like Atheists. In my Poverty I built a Tabernacle in *Martins* Parish, and though I have the Bishops License to preach in *London Diocess*, I could not be suffered to use it, though I would have had the Liturgy there used: And I thankfully and gladly accepted of Dr. *Lloyd's* Consent to take it for the Parish use. 5. I never beg'd leave for any to preach, but loyal, sound, peaceable Men; and that only where there was plain Necessity, and for nothing of Salary, and only under Government and Laws of Peace. And I thank God that all the Passions, Provocations, Temptations and Trials that have risen, have drawn to Plots, or Rebellion, or Disloyalty, no one Person that I can hear of, of all those that I was acquainted with, and for whom I then beg'd for Liberty and Mercy. And most of them are gone out of a Malignant World, to their Everlasting Rest.

XVIII. The contrary-minded, while they cried down Division as well as I, left us but these three impossible ways to cure them.

1. To make all Men and Women so much wiser than themselves, as to know all their Things called *Lawful* to be so indeed: (when we can get too few to understand their Catechism).

2. Or else to get all that fear God to obey Men in doing what they think God forbiddeth, and leaving undone what they think he commandeth.

3. Or else to punish those that will not do this, to utter Disablement, Extirpation, or Death. The two first ways I was sure would never prevail : And I knew that the third would cost so dear, as that no Ceremonies, Forms, or unnecessary Oaths or Covenants, would finally bear the Charges of it: The Blood of the faithful is of hard digestion, and *Judas* his Conscience hath an awakening Day, when his Companions in Guilt will cast him off: And God esteemeth such Blood precious: And when the Jobb is done by it, it leaveth an Everlasting Odium on the Doers, and Shame upon their Cause: And their own Successors disown it, and say, If we had lived in the days of our Fathers, we would not have been Partakers with them in this Blood: And they build their Sepulchres whom their Fathers slew, and Saint them that were despised (as *Martin, &c.*) And the Moderate must come after to heal all, by crying Shame on the Cruelty of their Predecessors, as *Salvoian, Clemangis, Erasmus, Esphenæus, Cassander, Grotius*, and such others do; and say as *Tertullian*, *Solitudinem faciunt & pacem vocant*. But the final Reckoning will pay for all.

Some say, We and other Countries have lived in Peace on the Terms that you call impossible.

Ans. It's true, of some kind of Peace: So they do in *Spain, Italy, Turkey, Moscow, &c.* keep Men so ignorant, that they shall not know Duty from Sin, nor trouble their Heads about God's Law, and in Satan's Darknes you may keep Men in his Peace; and they will venture their Souls on the Opinion of them that can hurt their Bodies. But when Christ battereth this Garrison of Satan, he breaks this Peace. And I knew that in *England* many score Thousands would never return to this ignorant Peace.

XIX. As I was sure that there was no hopes of Peace, in any but the way of plain Christianity, so I found that all the wisest, and famousst Lights of the Church, and greatest Peace-makers, had still been of the same mind. The Primitive Churches for Three hundred years did lay their Unity on this ground; and by Degrees Divisions grew up as needles Impositions grew. *Nazianzen, Hillary, Vincentius Lirin, &c.* and since *Erasmus, Ferus, Cassander, Grotius, Acontius, Bergius, Junius, Usher, Hall, Darvenant, Chillingworth, Hales, &c.* go all this necessary way. And when my dearest Friend, the Lord Chief Justice *Hale*, was not far from death, I wrote to him to leave his Judgment in Writing to the World, of the true way to Heal our present Breaches: And he left for me to that use three small Tractates before written, which I published; shewing that all our Divisions and Calamities come, by making that to seem part of Religion which is none, and that to be necessary which is not so.

XX. But lest any racked words of mine should be interpreted to be for *Sedition* or *Schism*, these being the things that my Soul abhorreth, I wrote near Twenty Books almost wholly against *Schism* and *Sedition*, and all the Principles and Reasonings that favour them; on all Extrems: I was discouraged a while to find that the Stream of Philosophies, Politicks, Canonists, Casuists, Papists and Protestants, and the greatest Lawyers that I could meet with, agreed that the People are the Fountain of Civil Power, and give the Sovereign what he hath; and many such Notions: I feared to contradict such a stream as this. But being satisfied, I first confuted it in *Harrington* 1659. and then punctually in *Richard Hooker* (though dedicated by a Bishop to the King) and then in many others of all sorts. And for Church-Concord, no Man living hath written half so much as I. And now after all, I am singled out as accused for that which I have written near Twenty Books purposely against, and above an Hundred in which this Doctrine of Love, Unity and Subjection hath its due part.

XXI. The words which are misinterpreted as Seditious, by feigning me to mean worse than I speak, leave me and all Writers to the mercy of Mistakers, which are most that have ignorance and ill-will. I mean no more than I speak: If other Mensay that my words signifie more, they thereby make them *theirs*, and not *mine*: God only is the Judge of secret Thoughts. Humane Converse hath made these Rules of Exposition: First, That words be taken in the usual sence of Men that Treat on the Subject that they handle, unless the Speaker otherwise expound them. Secondly, That the whole Scope and Context must expound particular

ticular words. Thirdly, That an odd strained word is not to be taken contrary to the Author's Declaration of his Judgment in many whole Copious Volumes; such as I have written against Disloyalty and Schism.

XXII. Almost all the most approved Writers speak far more sharply without Sedition. The words of *Nazianzen, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Hillary, Salvian*, and many Fathers: the words of *Petrarch, Clemangis, Alvarus Pelagius, Erasmus, Jansenius, Glandarv. Grotius, Jewel, Bilson*, I am ready to cite, far more sharply speaking of the Sins of Civil and Church Rulers than ever I did: besides such as *Gildas, Grosthead, &c.*

XXIII. By such Accusers measures I am condemnable if I say but the *Lord's Prayer*, or the *Common Prayer* when I am commanded. 'They may say that I accuse the Church, when I say, that [*we have left undone the things that we ought to have done, and done the things that we ought not to have done; and there is no health in us.*] And that I mean Rulers, when I say [*Deliver us from Evil*] and [*Forgive our Enemies, Persecutors, and Slanderers, and turn their Hearts*] and [*From our Enemies defend us, O Christ; Graciously look upon our Afflictions: That we thy Servants being hurt by no Persecution, may evermore*] &c. That God will defend us in all the Assaults of Our Enemies; That the Evils which the Craft or Subtily of the Devil or Man worketh against us be brought to nought]. If at the Sacrament a Minister say, [*If any be a hinderer of God's Word——Repent, or come not to this Holy Table, lest the Devil enter into you as he did into Judas, and fill you full of all Iniquities, and bring you to Destruction of Body and Soul*]. What Remedy have I, if any will say that I mean Rulers by these words as Silencers and Persecutors? Yea, or when I read all the dreadful Passages against Persecutors in the Gospel. There is bound up with our Bibles and Liturgies a *Prayer for Families*, which saith, [*'Confound Satan and Antichrist, with all Hirelings and Papists whom thou hast already cast off into a reprobate sense, that they may not by Sects, Schisms, Heresies, and Errours disquiet thy little Flock. And because, O Lord, we be fall'n into the latter days and dangerous times, wherein Ignorance hath got the upper hand, and Satan by his Ministers seeks by all means to quench the Light of thy Gospel, we beseech thee to maintain thy Cause against those ravening Wolves, and strengthen all thy Servants whom they keep in Prison and Bondage. Let not thy Long-suffering be an occasion to increase their Tyranny, or to discourage thy Children, &c.*]. The Homilies have many Passages liable to hard Interpretations. The use of none of these is Sedition.

XXIV. From 1650. to 1660. I had Controversies by Manuscript with some great Doctors that took up with Dr. *Hammond's* and *Petavius's* new singular way of Pleading for Episcopacy, which utterly betrayed it. They held that in Scripture time all called Presbyters were Diocesan Bishops, and that there was no such thing as our Subject Presbyters, and yet that every Congregation had a Diocesan Bishop, and that it was no Church that had not such a Bishop, and that there are no more Churches than there are such Bishops: And so when Diocesses were enlarged as ours, the Parishes were no Churches, for no Bishop had more than one: And that Subject Presbyters are since made, and are but Curates that have no more power than the Bishop pleaseth to give them. Dr. *Hammond* in his *Vindication* saith, That as far as he knoweth, all that owned the same Cause with him against the Presbyterians, were come to be of his mind herein. And we know not of four Bishops then in *England*. And the *Et cætera* Oath and Canons of 1640. and the Writers that nullified the Reformed Churches Ordination and Ministry, and pleaded for a Foreign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and for our Re-ordination, all looking the same way, I thought they knew the Judgment of the few remaining Bishops better than I did, and sometime called it, *The Judgment of the present Church here*, that is, of these Church-men, and the *English Diocesans*: but proved that the Laws and Doctrine still owned as the Churches was contrary to them, and took the Parishes for true Churches, and the Incumbents true Pastors, and the Diocesans to be over many Churches, and not one alone: whereas the Men that I gainsayed overthrew the whole Sacred Ministry among us, and all our Churches as of Divine Institution: for our Presbyters, they say, were not in Scripture times: Our Parishes are no Churches for want of Bishops: our Diocesans are no Successors of such Apostolick Men as were over many Churches, ours having

ving but one: And they are not like those that they call the Scripture Diocesans, for they (say these Doctors) had but single Assemblies. These Men I confuted in my *Treatise of Episcopacy*, and other Books. But the Scribe or Printer omitting my Direction, to put still [*The fore-described Prelacy and Church*] instead of [*The English Prelacy and Church*] I was put to number it with the *Errata*, and give the Reader notice of it in the Preface and Title Page, and have since vindicated the Church of England herefrom.

XXV. I hear the angry *Protestant Recusants* say, ['It is just with God that he ' that hath done more than all others to draw Men to the Parish-Churches, and ' hath these Thirty years been Reconciling us to the Papists in Doctrinals, and is ' now called *Bellarminus junior* for his Arguments for Liturgies and Forms; and in ' his *Paraphrase* hath so largely and earnestly pleaded for Charity to Papists, as not ' Babylonish or Antichristian, should be the first that should suffer by them, and ' that for this very Book that so extraordinarily doth serve their Interest].

To which, I say, take heed of mis-expounding Providence: that Error hath cost England dear. If I be put to death by them, I shall not repent of any of those Conciliatory Doctrines and Endeavours; I have reviewed my Writings, and am greatly satisfied that I suffer not for running into either Extream, nor for any false Doctrine, Rebellion, Treason, or gross Sin; but that I have spent my Labour and Life against both *Persecuting* and *causeless Separating*: And that I shall leave my Testimony against both to Posterity; and for what could I more comfortably suffer? It is by decrying their Persecution and Cruelty that I have angred the hurtful Papists, and by confuting their gross undoubted Crimes, more effectually than you do by the Name of *Antichrist*, *Babylon*, and the *Whore*: And if their Cruelty on me should prove my Charge against them true, I shall not be guilty of it. Nor will their Sin abrogate God's great Law of Love, even to Enemies, and if it be possible, as much as in you lyeth, live peaceably with all men; follow peace with all men: blessed are the peace-makers, &c.

The disorderly tumultuous Cries and Petitions of such ignorant Zealots for Extreams under the Name of *Reformation*, and crying down all moderate Motions about Episcopacy and Liturgies, and rushing fiercely into a War, and young Lads and Apprentices and their like, pricking forward Parliament Men, had so great a part in our Sin and Misery from 1641. till 1660. as I must give warning to Posterity to avoid the like, and love Moderation. I repent that I no more discouraged ignorant Rashness, in 1662. and 1663. but I repent not of any of my Motions for Peace.

XXVI. I am sure that my Writings (besides Humane Imperfection) have no guilt of what they are accused, unless other Men put their sense on my words, and call it mine: and say, I meant the Rulers when I spake of Popish Interdicts, Silencings and Persecutions. And by that measure, no Minister must speak against any Sin, till he be sure that the Rulers are neither guilty, nor defamed of it, lest he be thought to mean them: and so our Office is at an end. If the Text and the general Corruption of the World lead me to speak against Fornication, Perjury, Calumny, Lying, Murder, Cruelty, or any Vice, must I tell Men whom I mean by Name? I mean all in the World that are guilty: And why must my meaning be any more confined when I with the Text speak against Persecution, and unjust Silencing the faithful Ministers of Christ, while I say, that Rulers may justly Silence all that forfeit their Commission, and do more hurt than good.

XXVII. Can any Man that hath read Church-History, Fathers and Councils, be ignorant how dolefully Satan hath corrupted and torn the Church, by the Ambition and Tyranny of many Popes, Patriarchs and Metropolitans, while the humble sort of Bishops and Pastors have kept up the Life and Power of Christianity? Or can any Man that maketh not Christ and his Church a meer Servant to Worldly Interest, think that this should not by all true Christians be lamented? Let such read *Nazianzen's* sad Description of the Bishops of his time, in striving for the highest Seats, and his wish that they were equal: And the same wish of *Isidore Pelusiota*; and the sharp Reproof hereof by *Chrysostom*: Great *Grotius* expoundeth *Matth. 24. 29.* of the Powers of Heaven shaken, thus, ['It is the Christian Laity, ' who after the Apostles times began to be marvellously shaken, by the Tyranny of ' the Prelates who loved Pre-eminence, and to Lord it over the Clergy by rash ' Ex-

‘ Excommunications, and a daily increase of Schisms. He that will see the Examples
 ‘ of Tyranny and rash Excommunication, let him read *John’s* Epistle to *Diotrephes*, and
 ‘ the pious Admonitions of *Irenæus* to *Victor*: The Examples of Schisms we have
 ‘ in others, not a few; To which *Optatus* *Melerv.* prudently ascribeth three Causes,
 ‘ Wrath, Ambition, and Covetousness]. But how many score Canons, Interdicts
 and Bloody Wars do prove all this.

XXVIII. And had not these Vices conquered Common Reason with Christianity in such men, it were a Wonder that so unprofitable and causeless a thing, as forcing all Christians to Unite on the *profest* Approbation and Practice of all the needless Things which such impose, and denying them Communion and Peace on the Terms that Christ prescribed, for all his Servants to own and love each other on, should be thought a sufficient Justification of all that Dividing Cruelty of which it hath been guilty. And that Church-Grandeers should make such Schisms, as are yet in East and West, and then hate and persecute the Sufferers as Schismatics: Saith *Grotius* on *Luke* 6. 22. *Scitum est Veterum Judæorum cujus Maimonides meminit, siquis Innocentem à Communionem arcuerit, ipsum excidere jure Communionis*: And *Dr. Stillingfleet* on *Archbishop Laud*, and before him *Chillingworth*, conclude, That if a Church deny Communion to her Members, on those Terms that give them Right to Communion with the Church Universal, that Church is guilty of the Schism. Were it not more Christian-like, easie and sweet, to joyn all in the practice of the Laws of Christ, by which we shall be judged, with the needful use of edifying Order and Circumstances, that all Sizes and Ages of Christians might live in Unity and Love, than to cast out all that cannot Unite on Terms so far beyond meer Christianity, as most Churches on Earth require. When the Volume of Councils and Canons were unknown, and plain Familiar Discipline was used in the open Church-Meetings, Christians were less divided: (saith *Grotius* in *Luc.* 6. 22. [*Apud Christianos Veteres presidente quidem Episcopo & Senioribus, sed Conscia & Consentiente Fratrum multitudine morum judicia exercebantur*]). If Christians be partial hear an impartial Heathen, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who, scandalized with the murder of Men kill’d in the Church for the Election of Pope *Damasus*, concludeth how well it would have gone with Christianity, if those great Roman Prelates, had lived like the poor, humble, inferior Bishops: See his words. But if *Paul’s* full Decision on *Romans* 14. will not bring us to necessary forbearance, no Plainness nor Authority will serve.

Numb. IX. *An Act for Concord by Reforming Parish Churches, and Regulating Toleration of DISSENTERS.*

I. **T**HE Qualification requisite to Baptism in the Adult for themselves, and in one Parent at least or Pro-Parents for Infants, is, Their *understanding Consent to the Baptismal Covenant*, in which they are solemnly devoted to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as their God and Father, Saviour and Sanctifier, Renouncing the World, the Flesh and the Devil, so far as they are adverse: And the requisite Qualification of the Adult for proper Church Privileges, and Communion in the Lord's Supper, is, That they forsake not the said *Covenant or Christianity*, but publickly own it, not rendering their Profession invalid by any Doctrine or Practice *inconsistent* therewith. And that they understandingly desire the said Communion.

II. The Christian Churches have universally taken the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, as delivered by Christ, for the Summary of the Christian Belief, Desire and Practice, expounding the Matter of the Baptismal Covenant: Therefore all Pastors shall Exhort all Householders to learn themselves, and teach their Families, the words and meaning of the Baptismal Covenant, and of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments: And shall also thus Catechize such themselves as need their help, as far as they (or their Assistants) can do it.

III. No Minister shall Baptize any Person, Adult or Infant, till the Adult for themselves, and the Parent, or Pro-Parent, (who undertaketh the Education of the Child as his own) have there professed their Belief of the Christian Faith, and their fore-described Consent to the Christian Covenant, in which they are to be solemnly devoted to God: And such they shall not refuse. Nor shall the Pastors admit any to the proper Privileges of Church Communion and partaking of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, but those who have made Profession that they resolvedly stand to their Baptismal Covenant, in the foresaid Belief of the Christian Faith, and Desire, and Obedience to Christ. Which Profession shall be made in the Church, or to the Pastor before sufficient Witnesses, or to the Diocesan or some other Pastor, who shall give Testimonial of it. And if any shall go from the Parish-Church Pastor to be Confirmed by the Bishop, or received by any other Minister, without the Certificate or Consent of his own Parish Pastor, the said Pastor shall not be obliged to admit him to Communion, till to him also, before Witnesses, he have made the said Profession.

IV. Because in great Parishes, and Cities, where Persons live unknown, and as Lodgers are transient, and too great a Number desire not Communion, and many Communicate only with other Churches, and it is needful for Order that all Pastors know their Communicating Flock from the rest, the Pastor may, for his memory, keep a Register of the stated Communicants of his Parish; and put out the Names of those that deny or remove, or are lawfully Excommunicate, or that wilfully forbear Communion above six Months, not rendering to the Pastor a Satisfactory Excuse. But occasionally he ought not to refuse any Stranger who hath Testimony of his Communion with any other approved Christian Church.

V. If by the Pastor's knowledge, or by just accusation or fame, any Communicant be strongly suspected of Atheism, Infidelity, or denying any Essential part of Christian Faith, Hope, or Practice, or to live in any heinous Sin, the Pastor shall send for him, and enquire of the Truth; and if he be proved Guilty, gently instruct him and admonish him, and skilfully labour to bring him to Repentance: And if he prevail not, shall again send for him, and do the same before some Witnesses: And if he yet prevail not, or if he wilfully refuse to come, or to answer him, shall [open his Case before the Church Vestry, or Neighbour Pastors; and if he be present there, admonish him, and pray for his Repentance. And if yet he prevail not to bring

bring him to the profession of serious Repentance, he shall declare that he judgeth him a Person unmeet for Church Communion till he Repent; and shall till then] forbear to give him the Sacrament: But when he professeth serious Repentance, shall receive him. But if after such oft Professions he continue in such heinous Sin, he shall not again receive him, till actual Amendment for a sufficient time to make valid his Profession.

VI. Ordination to the Priesthood shall be a valid License to Preach: And every just Incumbent being the Pastor, Overseer, or Rector of his Parish Church, shall as such have power to Preach to them without any further License, and to judge according to God's Word, to whom and how to perform the proper Work of his Office; on what Text and Subject to Preach, in what Words and Order to Teach and Pray. But if Canons also be made a Rule, they shall not oblige him against the Word of God: And if for Uniformity, or some Mens disability, he be tyed to use the Words of prescribed Forms, called a Liturgy, he shall not be so servilely tyed to them, as to be punishable for every Omission of any Collect, Sentence or Word, while at least the greatest part of the Service appointed for the Day is there read; and the Substance and Necessary Parts of the Offices be there performed; no, though he omit the Cross in Baptism, and the Surplice, and deny not Communion to those that dare not receive it kneeling. And if any worthy Minister scruple to use the Liturgy, but will be present, and not Preach against it, he shall be capable notwithstanding of preaching as a Lecturer or Assistant, if the Incumbent Pastor do Consent.

VII. No Oath, Subscription, Covenant, Profession or Promise shall be made Necessary to Ministers or Candidates for the Ministry, besides the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, and Subscribing to the Sacred Canonical Scriptures, and to the ancient Creeds, or at the most to the Articles of the Church (excepting to them that scruple the Twentieth, Thirty fourth and Thirty sixth, as they speak only of Ceremonies, Traditions, and Bishops), and the necessary Renunciation of Heresie, Popery, Rebellion and Usurpation: and the Promise of Ministerial Fidelity according to the Word of God: Or at least none but what the Reformed Churches are commonly agreed in.

And let none be capable of Benefices and Church-Dignities, or Government in the Universities, or Free-Schools, who hath not taken the said Oaths, Subscriptions and Renunciations.

VIII. Let none have any Benefice with Cure of Souls, who is not Ordained to the Sacred Ministry by such Bishops or Pastors as the Law shall thereto appoint for the time to come: But those that already are otherwise Ordained by other Pastors, shall not be disabled, or required to be Ordained again. And let no Pastor, by Patrons or others, be imposed on any Parish Church, without the consent of the greater number of the stated Communicants. And at his Entrance, let some Neighbour Ministers in that Congregation declare him their Pastor as so Consented to and Ordained, and preach to them the Duty of the Pastor and Flock, and pray for his Success.

IX. If any Pastor be accused of Tyranny, Injury, or Mal-administration, he shall be responsible to the next Synod of Neighbour Pastors, or to the Diocesan and his Synod, or to the Magistrate, or whomsoever the Law shall appoint; and if guilty and unreformed after a first and second Admonition, shall be punished as his Offence deserveth; but only in a Course of Justice according to the Laws, and not Arbitrarily: Nor so as to be forbidden his Ministerial Labours, till he be proved to do more hurt than good. And if the supposed Injury to any who is denied Communion be doubtful, or but to one, or few, let not, for their sake, the Church be deprived of their Pastor; but let the Person, if proved, injured, have power to forbear all his Payments and Tythes, to the Pastor, and to Communicate elsewhere.

X. Because Patrons, who choose Pastors for all the Churches, are of so different Minds and Dispositions, that there is no certainty that none shall be by them Presented, and by Bishops Instituted and Inducted, to whom godly Persons may justly scruple to commit the Pastoral Conduct of their Souls, whose Safety is more to them than all the World: And because there may be some things left in the Li-

turgy,

Liturgy, Church Government and Orders, which after their best search may be judged sinful, by such godly and peaceable Christians, as yet consent to the Word of God, and all that the Apostles and their Churches practised: And Humanity and Christianity abhor Persecution; and Human Darknes and great Difference of Apprehensions is such, as leaveth us in Despair of Variety and Concord in doubtful and unnecessary Things; Let such Persons be allowed to assemble for Communion and the Worship of God, under such Pastors and in such Order as they judge best; Provided

1. That their Pastors and Teachers do take all the foresaid Oaths, Professions and Subscriptions, before some Court of Judicature, or Justices at Sessions, or the Diocesan, as shall be by Law appointed; who thereupon shall give them a Testimonial thereof, or a written License of Toleration.

2. That they be responsible for their Doctrine and Ministration, and punishable according to the Laws, if they preach or practice any thing inconsistent with their foresaid Profession of Faith, and Obedience, or of Christian Love and Peace.

3. That their Communicants pay all Dues to the Parish Ministers and Churches where they live.

And if such People as live where the Incumbent is judged by them unfit for the Trust and Conduct of their Souls, shall hold Communion with a Neighbour Parish Church, they shall not be punishable for it; They paying their Parish Dues at home: Nor shall private Persons be forbidden peaceably to pray or edifie each other in their Houses.

XI. Christian Priviledges and Church Communion being unvaluable Benefits, and just Excommunication a dreadful Punishment, no unwilling Person hath right to the said Benefits; Therefore none shall be driven by Penalties to say that he is a Christian, or to be Baptized, or to have Communion in the Lord's Supper: Nor shall any be Fined, Imprisoned, or Corporally and Positively punished by the Sword, meerly as a Non-Communicant, or Excommunicate and Reconciled, but as the Magistrate shall judge the Crimes of themselves deserve.

But if Non-Communicants be denied all Publick Trust in Churches, Universities or Civil Government, it is more properly the Securing of the Kingdom, Church and Souls, then a punishing of them.

But all Parishioners at Age shall be obliged to forbear reproaching Religion, and profaning the Lord's Day, and shall hear publick Preaching in some allowed or tolerated Church; and shall not refuse to be Catechized, or to confer for their Instruction, with the Parish Minister; and shall pay him all his Tythes and Church Dues.

XII. The Church Power above Parish Churches, Diocesan, Synodical, Chancellors, Officials, Commissaries, &c. we presume not to meddle with: But, were it reduced to the Primitive State, or to Archbishop *Usher's* Model of the Primitive Government; yea, or but to the King's Description in his Declaration 1660. about Ecclesiastical Affairs, and if also the Bishops were chosen as of old (for Six hundred years and more) it would be a Reformation of great Benefit to the Kingdom, and the Churches of Christ therein: But if we have but Parish Reformation, Religion will be preserved without any wrong or hurt to either the Diocesans or the Tolerated: And if Diocesans be good Men, promoting serious Godliness, and the Sword or Force used only by the Magistrate, Dissent will turn to Love and Concord.

But if they may Suspend, Silence, or Excommunicate, Arbitrarily, or according to their present Canons (which Excommunicate *ipso facto*, all Men, Magistrates, Ministers, and People, who do but affirm that the Book of Common Prayer containeth any thing repugnant to the Scriptures, or that there is any thing unlawful to be Subscribed in the Thirty nine Articles; or Ceremonies, or that there is any thing repugnant to the Word of God in the Church Government, by *Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons*, and *THE REST THAT BEAR OFFICE IN THE SAME*] without excepting so much as Lay-Chancellor's use of the Keys) And if Men Excommunicate must, as continuing such, be undone and laid in Prison, we must be content with our Peace with God and Conscience, and good Men, and that we did our best for more, and mourn under the calamitous Effects of the Publick Enemies of Peace, whom the God of Peace will shortly judge.

To the Right Worshipful Sir E. H.

SIR,

THE Healing of Christians endangered as we are by our own Diseases, is one of the greatest Works in this World, and therefore not to be marred by haste, or for want of due Consultation and Advice. Three ways are now pleaded for among us: Of which two are Extreame, and much of our Disease.

I. One is by the forcing Prelates, who would have all forced to full Conformity to their Canons, and other Impositions; and none endured, be they never so wise, or godly, or peaceable, who think any thing in them to be sinful. This way was long tried heretofore; and these last Twenty years, it hath shewed us what it will effect: The Shepherds have been smitten, and the Flocks scattered, about Two thousand godly Ministers Silenced, adjudged to lye in Jail with Rogues, and to utter Ruine by paying Twenty and Forty pound a Sermon, &c. The People hereby imbittered against the Prelates, and alienated from their Party as malignant Persecutors, and as *Guelphes* and *Gibelines*, all in discontent and dangerous contention, and on both sides growing worse and worse. And is this the only healing way?

II. The other Extreame is those that are too far alienated into unlawful Separations; whose talk is earnest against that which is called a *Comprehension*, that is, such a Reformation of the Parish Churches as may there unite the main Body of the faithful Ministers: And they had rather the things which we cannot there consent to, were continued unreformed, that so the best People might be still alienated from them, and driven all into their Tolerated Churches. Concerning this way, I offer to your Consideration,

1. Is it the part of good Men thus to be guilty of that which themselves account intolerable Sin, and that in many Hundred thousands, desiring it might not be reformed, and this on pretence of promoting Godliness; when once their Leaders drew it up as a Fundamental, That [*he that alloweth others in known sin cannot be saved*].

2. It is certain that there is no way so orderly and advantageous to the common Interest of Christianity, as Reformed Parish Churches.

3. The most of the People that most need the Ministry, will come to the Parish Churches, and will grow worse and worse if they have not faithful Teachers; and we shall please a few good People till they are worn out, and for want of a serious believing converting Ministry, a Generation of ignorant Malignants will succeed them. And we shall come short of the main end of the Ministry.

4. So many good and scrupulous People will leave the Parish Churches, as will set the Nation (or rather *London*) in an even balance, and increase the envy of the other part, and one side will talk more contemptuously of the Parish Churches, and the Parish Pulpits will daily ring with Reproach against them, so that the Common People, who will be in the Parish Churches, will increase their hatred against the Tolerated, and they will live in a mutual and wordy War.

5. The violent Prelatists will by this have their ends, and will triumph over them in these Confusions, and say, Did not we tell you what would be the Effect of Alteration and Toleration?

6. When it is intended that this be but the Introduction of a better Settlement, the next Attempt will by this be disabled, and they will say, You see that they are never satisfied, but are still changing, and know not where to rest.

7. The next Parliament having Experience of these Confusions will recall and abrogate all their Tolerations. These things are easily foreseen. And you that were One of the Eleven excluded Members, know what such Hands have formerly done.

III. The middle true way therefore is *Parochial Reformation*. This is necessary in it self: This is consistent with the Interest of those that justly desire Toleration. In a well constituted Christian Nation, tolerated Churches should be but as Houses
of

of Charity, *Zenodochia*; Hospitals for the Aged, Weak, Lame, Blind and Sick. It is consistent with the just Episcopal Interest, and indeed is its most necessary support; for want of which a Succession of godly Adversaries will be against it to the end. Let us have Christ's true Doctrine, Worship and Church-Communion, and let General Bishops over us keep their Baronies, Lordships, Wealth, and Honour. And we will be responsible to them or any Rulers for our Mal-Administration. But let them have no Power as Bishops, but of the Church-Keys, *Et valeat quantum valere potest*: Let them teach and reprove us, and if they do injuriously pronounce us Excommunicate, we will bear it: But keep the Sword only in the hand of Magistrates, and be not the Lictors of Anathematizers and Horners by your Writs *de Excommunicato capiendo*. The Truth is, Civil and Church Government will be well done, if we knew how to get still good Men to use it. And the chief Point of Political Wisdom is to secure a Succession of such Men. Give us but such Diocesans as *Grindal*, *Jewel*, *Usher*, &c. and let them be but Pastors, and not armed with the Sword, and who will expect that they should hurt us? If Kings, that choose Bishops, and Patrons, that choose Incumbents, should be always certainly wise and holy Men, and lovers of all such, they would choose us such: But if they be not (and Christ tells you how hardly the Rich are saved) they will mostly choose such as are of their mind, or as Favourites obtrude; and bad Bishops and Priests are the mortal Disease of the Church: And if I tell King and Patrons that the Clergy and Communicants should have a Consenting or Dissenting Vote, and so the Door should have three Locks, (the Consent of the Ordainers, Communicants, and Magistrates) I cannot hope that they should regard me. But I will repeat what Mr. *Thorndike* saith, (a Man as far as most from the Nonconformists) *Treatise of Forbearance*, [It is to no purpose to talk of Reformation in the Church unto Regular Government, without restoring the Liberty of choosing Bishops, and the Privilege of enjoying them in the Synods, Clergy and People of each Diocese: so evident is the right of Synods, Clergy and People in the making of those of whom they consist, and by whom they are to be Governed, that I need make no other reason of the neglect of Episcopacy than the neglect of it.]

As for them that must needs have all our Cure dispatcht in fewer words than this half Sheet of Paper containeth, they are unfit Men to do so great a Work, and will do it accordingly, if at all: Statute Books and Councils are much greater. Sir, though Experience depress my Hopes, the Case excitemy Desires, which I here offer you; not for my self, who am not capable of any Kindness from King, Parliament, or Prelates that I know of, unless it be to do me no harm, (and much I am sure they cannot do me) but for Publick Good, which is the great Desire of

Nov. 9. 1680.

Your Servant,

Richard Baxter.

The Reasons of these several Articles.

I. **W**E cannot treat of the Government and Concord of Christians, till we agree what a Christian is, and who they are who are the Subjects. So for the II^d.

III. 1. If Ministers be commanded to Baptize those Children who are brought by no Parent, or Pro-parent, who taketh the Child as his own, and undertaketh his Education, it will cast out Multitudes of faithful Ministers, who know no right that the Children of Atheists and Infidels, as such, have no Baptism.

2. This Article for owning the Baptismal Covenant is but what the Liturgy pleads for: But when it is said [We shall admit none to the Sacrament but those that are Confirmed, or desire it] it suppoeth that they must give us notice of it.

IV. This is only for a liberty to help memory in great Parishes, where it is impossible to remember all the Communicants; and avoid confusion by the unknown.

V. With-

V. Without this much power in the Parish Minister, the thing must be undone, it being impossible for the Diocesan alone to do it ; and the ancient Discipline will be unavoidably cast out of the Church : But if the Bishops will not yield to this much, that will instead of an Appeal from the Incumbent, take the whole Work of Publick Admonition and Censure on themselves. We shall submit to the Obliteration of all those underlined Words, and thankfully use the Power of Suspending our own Acts, and that also under the Government and Correction after mentioned.

VI. 1. How is he by Office a Teacher, who hath not Authority to Teach ?

2. We ask none of the Bishop's Office for him, but his own : We leave him under Government, and responsible for his Mal-administration.

3. No Man's Ministry is safe, if he may be Suspended for not saying his Lesson as prescribed just to a Sentence.

4. This will make no Alteration in the Publick Offices of the Churches.

VII. Christ hath made the Symbols of Christianity and Communion : And he that in these Things serveth Christ is acceptable to God, and approved of (wise) Men, *Rom. 14. 18.*

2. Needless Oaths and Covenants and Professions are more useful to Satan, as Engines to tear, than to the Church as means to Concord.

3. But if under the Pretences of Renouncing Heresie, Popery, Rebellion and Usurpation, Men will draw up ensnaring words, against the Law of Nature or Scripture, it is no such Snares that will heal the Churches. To say [I renounce all contrary to this Profession] is enough. To the Renunciation of Popery there needs no more than the Oath of Supremacy it self, if to the renunciation of [*Forreign Jurisdiction*] were but added [*Civil or Ecclesiastical*].

4. If the Church Articles were more exact it were better.

VIII. 1. Those that cannot submit to a Legal Ordination, must be content with Toleration.

2. The questioning of those already Ordained, need not make a breach, as long as no Patron is forced to present such, nor the major part of Communicants forced to accept them ; nor the minor, if they dissent, forbidden their Communion elsewhere. And this quarrelling at each others Ordination is endless. As the Bishops say on one side, [None should be Ordained without a Bishop] ; so they say on the other side, [1. The chief Minister of every Church is a Bishop : specially of a City Church. 2. That Ordination is valid which is better than the Papists ; (For 1. we Re-ordain them not : 2. Our Bishops claim Succession from them :) But the Ordination used here after 1646. is better than the Papists : For 1. Theirs is to an unlawful Office, to be Mass-Priests : 2. It is into a false Church (that is, as headed by a pretended Universal Head). 3. And it is from the Pope, who as such hath no power : They profess themselves his Subjects. 4. And the Roman Seat hath had oft and long Intercisions. 5. They say that Ordination is valid which is better than the *English* Diocesans : But, &c. 1. The *English* Diocesans is derived from *Rome*, which wanted power, and was as aforesaid, false and interrupted. 2. They have neither the Election or known Consent of the Clergy or People, but are chosen by the King. And the old Canons for many Hundred years null such Bishops.

3. It is meet that the Temples, Tythes, and Pastoral Office go together to the same Men : and therefore that the Patron, Communicants, and Ordainers do all agree ; But if they cannot agree, the Patron or Magistrates Judge who shall have the Temples and Tythes.

Memorandum, Here wants the Reasons of the rest of the Articles : if not something more to the Eighth Article.

E L I S H A ' S C R Y

A F T E R

E L I J A H ' s G O D

Consider'd and Apply'd,

With Reference to the D E C E A S E of the late Reverend

Mr. Richard Baxter.

Who left this Life Decemb. 8th, 1691.

And Preach'd in Part on Decemb. 18th, An. Eod.

Being the L O R D ' s - D A Y,

At Rutland-House in Charter-house-Yard, L O N D O N.

By Matthew Sylvester, His unworthy Fellow-Labourer in the Gospel there, for near Four of the last Years of His Life and Labours.

And there was much Murmuring among the People concerning him: for some said, He is a Good Man. Others said, nay; but he deceiveth the People. Joh. vii. 12.

But thou hast fully known my Doctrine, Manner of Life, Purpose, Faith, Long-suffering, Charity, Patience, Persecutions, Afflictions, 2 Tim. iii. 10, 11.

The Law of Truth was in his Mouth, and Iniquity was not found in his Lips: He walked with me in Peace and Equity, and did turn many away from Iniquity. Mal. ii. 6.

My Father! my Father! the Chariot of Israel, and the Horsemen thereof! And he saw him no more: 2 King. ii. 14.

Quis cohortari ad virtutem ardentius; quis a vitiis acrius revocare; Quis vituperare Improbos asperius, Quis Laudare bonos ornatius, Quis cupiditatem vehementius frangere accusando potest? Quis mœrorem levare mitius consolando? Cicer. De Orat. lib. 2.

L O N D O N,

Printed for T. Parkhurst, J. Robinson, J. Lawrence, and
J. Dunton. 1696.



ELISHA'S CRY

AFTER

Elijah's GOD.

2 King. ii. 14.

אֵלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֵלֶיךָ מָה חָזַק

אֵלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֵלֶיךָ מָה חָזַק

Where is the Lord God of Elijah ?

THIS Day is a great and Solemn Day indeed, made such by Positive Institution, and by Providential Dispensation. *Finished Creation : Completed redemption by the Resurrection of our Lord :* To which we may add, the *Effusion of God's Blessed Spirit* in those Gifts and Graces, the Fruits whereof, we see and reap in the Stated Assemblies of such days, are now to have their Solemn Celebrations. And the *Execution of a broken Law* exemplified in the *Dissolution of our deceased Prophet, the Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter*, is this day to be considered and improved, by this great and mournful Assembly. Nature, through Man's Apostacy, is labouring and groaning under its heavy Curse : and, in its Aspects, Uses and Effects, it bears the Characters and clear Intimations of God's displeasure towards Revolted us. Man (once Lord of all) by his Apostacy from God, finds all in Arms against himself. He falls by Death, and is resolved into his Original Dust : *His Countenance is changed, and he is sent away :* the body dies, and rots, and must be buried out of sight, and his Soul goes to its eternal State : Either to Heaven or Hell ; even to which it shall be found most attuned by its disposition and deportment, whilst it was in this World and Body. The Death was penal ; and nothing but compleated misery had been the certain consequence thereof ; had not Grace interposed. But *Christ has redeemed us from the Curse of the Law, by being made himself a Curse for us :* and by his Mediation he opens our way to Heaven, through Faith, Hope in him, and Holiness before him. And God, for Christ's sake, gave very early discoveries, and comfortable tastes of Grace ; and early instances and pledges of our entire Translation in Soul and Body to the Heavenly State. *Enoch and Elias* escaped Death by a peculiar Indulgence, through the Arbitrary and Undeserved Grace of God. Christ undergoes and Conquers Death : Raises some from the Dead before he Dies, and, by his Personal Resurrection, assures us of his Power and Purpose, to Raise his Favourites and Members to an Immortal State of Bliss and Glory : And (having a desire to see his own in their Compleatest State) he makes all the haste that the Oeconomy of Affairs will bear, to compleat the purpose of his heart, in bringing us gloriously to our Eternal Rest. Man must be Disciplin'd by God for Heaven : and trained up by manifold Providences for those most blessed Regions whereto he is consigned by God. And, as the Providence of this day concerns us all, and reaches you and me, with all imaginable aggravations ; so (considering my Relations to God, to You, and to Him that's now retired within the Vail) whilst I was musing what part of Sacred Writ I should form some pertinent Discourse upon

on for you and me; this Text awoke with a considerable Sprightfulness and Vigour: affecting so much my own heart, as to fix my purpose to insist upon it. And the Lord assist me to discover such Truths, to draw such Parallels, to make such Inferences, and enter such Memorials, as may both reach and serve the truly useful ends and purposes of this Day's Providence and Text, in their best References, to the benefit of you, my self, and others, (a.)

The Clause now read is so impregnated with Sense and Reach, as that to form it into a Doctrinal Proposition, would be prejudicial to my thoughts and purpose: there being so much weight, and such a *weight* even in every word. Whether you consider (1.) the *God* enquired after; or (2.) the *Person*, to whom God was so evidently, so eminently, and so avowedly related: Or (3.) the *inquisitive Prophet*, so sensible of the absolute necessity of the Presence of *Elijah's God* with him: Or (4.) The *Time* and *Cause* of this Pathetical Inquiry after God: Or (5.) the *Parallel* which this day's Providence hath drawn herewith: Or (6.) the *Memorials* which God thus enters as things of great importance to us; and requiring our answerable notice of them: Or (7.) the *fit Improvement* to be made hereof, by (1.) all in General: (for it is a Publick Stroke and Loss, and hath its General Voice and Call:) And (2.) by this Congregation and my Self more closely and particularly.

Now seeing the Text it self lies as the Heart and Central Point of the whole Context; we must accordingly consider it. And while we insist upon it, the things to be delivered to you, shall be reduced and confined to these following Heads.

I. The Translated Prophet.

I. It was *Elijah*, 2 King. ii. 1. one of the *Inhabitants* (Hebr. *Sojourners*) of *Gilead*. A Man of *God*, as to his *place* and *work*. A person of Eminent Function and Employment. A Man that was to *speak* from God, and for God, to deliver the mind of God to Men, and to present their Case and Hearts to him. A Man Consecrated to extraordinary work, and to acquaint the people with what related to them, as to their *Duty* and *Concerns*. He had his Commission from on high, his Office and Function did import both his *Authority* and his *Obligation* to Special work and Service. He was a Man also *after God*, as to the genuine temper and propensions of his heart. He was imprincipled for God, and moved in his most delightful Element, when busied about the things of God. He was a trusty person, and, like a Faithfull Steward, he naturally minded the affairs and Interest of that God that sent him. And he was a Man *for God*, as to his Resolutions, Endeavours, and Designs. A Man he was of a Prophetick Spirit, acquainted with his Master's Mind and Purpose, as to several Events, concerning them with whom he had to do, of which he had no indications or probable presages from Second Causes. And he was one of wonderfully prevailing power with his God by Prayer; Witness that

(a) There is one difficulty in the Text not easily to be resolved: And that is the Import of the Words, *וַיִּמָּחֶה* which the 70 Render *ἀπαῖ, or ἀπαῖ. Theodoret ἀπαῖ, ὁ κρύπτει ἱερ- μολογῶν, καὶ τὸ ἔκθετον τὸ ἀφανὶς ἱερμολογῶν*. It seems hereby that he and others took it to import something hidden, or occult. The Interlineary render it, *Etiā ipse, Euen He*: See *Heynsius. Prolog. in Aristarch*. The Accent *Atnach*, under the Word *וַיִּמָּחֶה* seems to put a period to that clause, *Where is the Lord God of Elijah?* And then *וַיִּמָּחֶה* being not Copulative, but Con- versive, refers those dark words to the following Clause; and so Read them, *Even he smote the Waters, i. e. Elisha*. They that judge otherwise, think, *וַיִּמָּחֶה* to be Emphatically expressive of a Solicitous and Concerned Mind, in Thoughtful Agonies: *Cur non dividuntur aquæ, cum eundem colo Deum ac Elias? Varab.* The 70, by their Translating *ἀπαῖ*, were either ignorant of the sig- nification of what they rendered thus; or apprehensive of some Mystery therein, or of some Sense and reach thereof, which they either were unable, or thought not fit to tell:

Ab, Domine Deus domini mei Elyæ. Syr.

Suscipe Petitionem meam Domine Deus Eliah, etiam ipse. Targ.

Deprecationem meam O Deus, Deus Eliæ, Arab.

Etiā ipsi i. e. in gratiam Eliæ, (vel Eliæ ut alii) ut Sensus sit; etiam ipse percussit a- quas. Munst.

Ubi Deus Eliæ, etiam Ipse? qui semper Idem est fidelis, Omnipotens, & Invocantes se exau- diens. Lav. non dubitat de presentia, aut potentia Dei; sed miratur, queritque ami- ce de negata sibi celesti ope. T.

but let this be dismissed without any further Notice.

Instance

Instance of it about the Widow's Son, who was recovered upon his so serious Address to God for her and him, *1 King. xvii. 20.---24.* See also *Sam. v. 17, 18.* And how God owned him by special Providence, is manifest by the extraordinary Ministry of the Ravens unto his Bodily Necessities, *1 Kings xvii. 6.* But more distinctly. He was a Man of Knowledge, to whom the Lord imparted the things that did relate both to his Soul and Function. He understood his God, Himself, and the People of his Generation; and was every way fit and furnished to acquaint them with their Maladies, their Remedies, and their Duty. He was a Man of *Courage*, and great *Alacrity*, fit to enterprize and encounter the greatest Difficulties, whereto his God, by Providence, call'd or expos'd him. He feared no Man's face whom he was order'd to Reprove. He dreaded no Man's wrath, that any way oppos'd God. He valued not his life unto the death, might he but fulfill his Ministry, and his Course with joy. He would Run, Act, Speak, Warn, Urge, or Plead with any Man; and valued no Man's Friendship or Protection, upon any terms, dishonourable to his Cause and God. He was a Man of very great Severities, as to Temperance and Conversation. He valued not his flesh to serve his God; he could be full or empty, naked or clothed, in house or field: and would not cherish an Enemy (for pampered flesh is no better) tho', yet he would not starve a Friend (his flesh) so far as it might be servicable unto God. He was a zealous person for God's Interest, against the fierce and universal oppositions of his degenerate Age, *1 Kings xix. 10.* He was all Spirit, Life and Zeal for God. And what is Zeal, but the Fervour of Love, working by Anger, when what the heart is most intent upon, and most affected with, is either rival'd or assaulted? He is truly called the Tishbite, *1 Kings xvii. 1.* or the Converter, as the word imports; whence that Expression; Behold I will send you Elijah the Prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he shall turn the heart of the Fathers to the Children, and the heart of the Children to their Fathers, lest I come and smite the Earth with a Curse. Whence also the Evangelist thus represents John the Baptist, as going before the Lord Jesus in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, to make ready a people prepared for the Lord, *Mal. iv. 4. 5.* with *Luk. i. 17.* And how deep and Faithful his heart was in his work, may be discerned from, *1 King. xviii. 36, 37.* where he thus breaths his fervent heart; Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, let it be known this day that thou art God in Israel, and that I am thy servant, and that I have done all these things at thy word. Hear me, O Lord, bear me, that this people may know that thou art the Lord God, and that thou hast turned their hearts back again. His Function as a Prophet, his Uction as an inspired and accomplished Prophet, his diligent, fervent, constant management of his Undertakings, were things conspicuous in his day; and are as such upon Record with us. Nor did his Spirit and power want their full work and Test, and in him we may see such things as these.

(1.) God's Provident Care to fit Men for the work he calls them to. For they shall not want their clear Call, their full Commission, their Competent Uction, and Accomplishments, their great Encouragements, and their meet Assurances. They shall not run before they are sent; they shall be Authorized to do their work; and all the Abilities requisite to their work, such as Knowledge, and Utterance, they shall not want: Nor shall they be destitute of what may testify unto them God's presence with them, his Concern for them, his Delight in them, and his helping hand to Suit them to, Support them under, and carry them through what they are sent about. *Elijah*, when sent out, was both *par negotio & oneri ferendo.* His work did not exceed his Qualifications for it, nor was his Enterprize unequal to his Strength.

(2.) The Cost and Difficulties of Prophetick Work. *Elijah* had the Royal Throne, the Priestly-Robe, and the rude multitude set against him; and all that flesh could any way resent, to make his Undertaking frightful and uneasy to him every way. Hardened Idolaters, Apostates, and Transgressors are the fiercest Enemies against the Prophets of the Lord: And it is not easy for every one to encounter them; Nor was that Counsel impertinent or useless, that the Apostle thought fit to back with such Enforcements and Encouragements; as we find in *2 Tim. ii. 2---14.* And what sort of Persons the Prophets of the Lord are like to have

have to do with ; the same Apostle shews us, *Chap. iii. 1.--5.* Where he also shews his own evident Accomplishments, Exercises, and Experience, *Verf. 10.--12.* See also *Chap. iv. 1.--8.*

(3.) The Unconquerableness of Sanctified Resolution, *Col. i. 29.* *2 Cor. xii. 7.--11.* *Rom. viii. 31.--39.* Nothing could daunt this Prophet ; no man, nor thing subdued his Spirit. He well consider'd the God that sent him, the Persons he was sent unto, the Work he was sent about, and the Divine Hand that would attend him ; and having the grateful prospect of what comfortable things would end and crown his faithful Constancy, he valued nothing that could any way encounter or resist him in his Undertaking. This fixed and admirable Spirit we find Exemplified and aggrandized in that Great Apostle of the Gentiles, in *Acts xx ; 24.--27.* *xxi. 13.* *2 Tim. i. 7.--12.* Holy Men of God, and persons sent about his Work and Embassies, *look not at things that are seen, but at things that are not seen* ; and taking things into their intimate, comparative, and impartial thoughts, they quickly see what's fit to turn the ballance ; and what is most worthy of their Vigorous (though perhaps very costly) prosecution ; and therefore are they the more reconcil'd to all their determined Difficulties ; because of their promis'd and expected Recompenſe of Reward.

II. His Personal Translation therefore, both in Soul and Body unto Heaven, was his glorious end and recompence, *2. King. ii. 11.* Angels conveyed the intire Man, Soul and Body, to his God. This was miraculous indeed ; a most instructive instance of Majestick Providence every way. It is appointed for all men once to die. And had that Sentence had it's Execution according to it's instituted Course, the Prophet's Soul and Body must have parted ; but he that binds us unto this Punishment by Law, will not yet part with his Prerogative. He that determines what's our due, when we transgress his Laws, does not, *de nomine*, absolutely bind himself to execute that threatening, wherewith he guards his Law. The Law-giver thinks it not his wisdom to multiply dispensings with the determined punishment, though now and then he may pass by a few (as here he did excuse this Prophet, as he had done *Enoch* before him) from undergoing Death. And the Translation of this Prophet hence, manifests and imports such things as these to us.

(1.) That we have no continuing City here, *Heb. xiii. 14.* *1 Cor. vii. 29--31.* 'tis but a *Pilgrimage* that we are in ; a *Howling WilderNESS*, a *Theatre of Agonies*, and of Successive Exercises, and Appearances, to entertain Beholders with various Scenes of Spirits, Actions, and Conclusions ; and neither Rest, nor Troubles, Ease nor Pains, Sorrows nor Joys, Fulness nor Emptiness, can be long-liv'd. *Elijah's* Course was fill'd with divers and formidable turns of Providence : But now the tediousness of his Work and Persecutions, is all over. He hath left these Stormy Regions ; and he is no more to be as the Tost Ship upon the proud Surges of a broken Sea : Nor has he any Tempestuous Weather to work in. We see, *in him*, that whatever this World may exercise, or vex us with at present ; that cannot affect us when remov'd elsewhere. We leave all this behind, when we go hence ; and the Translation of this Prophet exalted him above the reach of Vanity and Rage : all that could trouble him is now below him.

(2.) There's another State of things and beings better than this, *Heb. xi. 16.* For who can think that *Elijah* was thus fetcht away to be destroyed by Miracle ; or to be shamed by a defeated expectation of a more Glorious State ? He was taken from these course, inconstant, and disturbed Regions, with great Solemnity and State ; and carry'd to far better Mansions, Company, and Employments. And he is now placed where God, his God, is all in all ; and where Theocracy is most compleat, most evident, and illustrious, and delightful. There's a vast difference betwixt Heaven and Earth ; and, what annoy'd him here, he meets with nothing of above : There are no dark, confused, mistaken apprehensions ; no deceitful representations of what concerns him and becomes him ; no fordid spirits, no dissolute and course tempers, no brutish Appetites, no worldly principles and propensions, no vile designs, and no unworthy ends and aims : Nothing but regent wisdom, holiness and joy. All there is orderly, suitable, and to great satisfaction ; verry
expressive

expressive of God, beneficial to himself, and beautiful in the eyes of all. How clear and excellent a **Mirror** are the Constitutions, Administrations, Entertainments and Employments of the Heavenly State, of God himself ! No wonder that the Apostle said (though in an Extasie, wherein the Representations of the Heavenly Glory, though excellent and taking, were far inferior to what this Prophet now beholds) that he heard words unwordable (ἀλόγιστα ῥήματα) which it is not lawful (or possible) for a Man to utter.

(3.) That Humane Nature is receptive of, and determin'd to obtain great things, when its great End and Author pleases. *Heb. xi. 5.* This World (when taken at the best ; Much more when it is so coarse and bad) is thought too mean and little for the Sons of God ; for his peculiar Favourites. It is highly probable, that this Translated Prophet, as he went up, was gradually refin'd ; and so attuned unto the Regions through which he was to pass successively ; until at length he was connaturaliz'd to his Glorious State and Mansion in the Heavens. What entertain'd him by the way, we know not, nor what a preparatory entertainment the Conversation of those Angels was to him, who came by a Divine Commission to fetch him up to Glory. And we as little know what influence his so transported Soul (with this high favour from his God) might have upon that Body which he took up with him, in order to its convenient Change. We know how *Stephen's* Countenance was chang'd, when he beheld through the cloven Heavens, *Christ* at his Father's Right-hand, in such a visible posture ready to own him, to abet his cause he suffered for, and to receive that Soul that did in Martyrdom so willingly give up its Body. And Sacred Record tells us of *Christ's* Transfiguration in the Mount, when pleased so greatly with his Father's presence and testimony, and with the Converse that he had with *Moses*, and with this Translated Prophet, when conversant with him, like Citizens of that blessed World above : But these things I refer to more judicious thoughts and heads.

(4.) That Humane Nature is very dear to God. *1 Joh. iii. 2.* Though it be doom'd to all that fitly may express and aggravate God's anger to us ; and to what fully may extort the testimony of our Senses thereunto ; yet God from Heaven now smiles upon us ; and sends us thence both *who* and *what* shall greatly prove our dearness to himself. That such vile Flesh, and guilty Spirits should thus be taken up, chang'd and glorified ; this speaks and proves us very dear to God indeed.

(5.) What early Instances, and lively Emblems of the Resurrection-state God gave to Men, to raise up their Hearts, Aims, and Expectation. *Enoch* and *Elijah* thus Translated, told Men from Heaven betimes, That Earth is not all that is intended for them ; would they be but true to God, and duly provident for themselves in time. *Elisha*, and the 50 Men of the Sons of the Prophets, that were by Providence Witnesses of this Translation of the Prophet unto Heaven, were now convinc'd (or might be so) that there is another and a better World than this ; and they might all of them easily infer, from what they saw, that there was room in Heaven for more than *Enoch* and *Elijah*, and that they two were not the only persons that Heaven should have from hence.

(6.) What Special Notice God will take of special zeal, and faithful service, *1 Cor. xv. 58. 1 Pet. v. 8. --- 10. Rev. ii. 10. 2 Tim. iv. 6. --- 8.* *Elijah* is exalted like himself ; God's heart as warm towards him, as ever his heart could be towards God : Whilst he was here below, he really was (and *Elisha* own'd him to be) as the *Chariot of Israel*, and the *Horsemen thereof* ; all usefulness, activity, zeal, and faithfulness in his day : And having spent his time and strength, as in the fervours of warm and busie Love to God and Souls ; and in Zeal for truth, and against Idolatry ; So what more answerable to this fervent temper than the fiery Chariot and Horses to mount him from hence to Heaven.

II. God's avouched Relation to this Prophet.

I. That God which call'd him to be what he was. For Prophets are raised up by God, *Deut. xviii. 15.* And he calls himself a Prophet of the Lord, *1 King. xviii. 22.* He

He did not act without Commission. Had he run of his own head, where had been his Help, his Peace, his Succouror, his Confidence? He was not any way defective in his Prophetick Unction: he knew his Errand, and what he was to say; he knew the God that sent him; he knew to whom he was to speak; he knew how to speak pertinently, clearly, pungently, cogently, and boldly; and all this Spirit that was inspired into him, came from above; from the Father of Lights; and from the Original and End of every good and perfect gift. What had he, that he had not received? and what he had received, was eminently Divine, both in the nature, measure, and designs thereof. Had not his Spirit been large and great, and his Tongue touch'd as with a Coal from God's Altar; he had been daunted by his Enemies, and straitened in his own Bowels: but he was like that other Prophet, *full of power by the Spirit of the Lord, of Judgment and of Might, to tell Transgressors of their iniquities and sins*, Micah iii. 8.

II. That God, whose Interest and Glory he design'd, and pursu'd, in his whole Prophetick Course. 1 *King*. xviii. 36, 37. He neither baulked nor flatter'd any. He did not fear the frowns or rage either of armed or enrobed Dust: nor did he court the smiles, protections, gifts, or honours of the Enemies of God upon dishonourable and mean Terms. He did not talk, nor act deceitfully for God. He did not seek himself in what he appeared, and professed to do for God. God was the Lord his God; as being most intirely minded, most highly valued, most thoroughly served, most intimately trusted, most closely followed, and most absolutely delighted in by him. And his whole care, purpose and work was this; that all he was, and did, in Spirit, Speech, and Practice, might reach and witness his devotedness and faithfulness to God. His whole self was a daily Offering to God; and to the Concernments of God's Government and Name, he most intirely and faithfully sacrific'd his all: as if he had known before, the urgency, and import of that Charge and Counsel, given long after, in *Rom*. xii. 1, 2. He knew the narrowness and meanness; the insignificancy, emptiness, contemptibleness, and danger of that Soul that is not more for God than for its self; and that it was not worth his while, to live and act, were not his all devoted, and directed to that end, which is infinitely better than its self. He thought God's glory needful; but not his own Interest, or Being; save to this end.

III. The God which own'd him constantly and greatly, in what he did for God. God kept his Spirit up, and would not quench that Sacred Fire which he had kindled in his Breast. God steel'd his Countenance, and rendred it incapable of being daunted, by either the loftiest, or most surly Looks. He feared not the face of *Ahab*; neither could *Jezabel* cut him off, nor daunt him by her threats or greatness: And all her Prophets, under her Countenance and Protection, could not prevent their own Destruction at this Prophet's Order. God preserv'd his Life and Person most miraculously; and indeed, faithful Prophets, under Divine Protection, are Immortal till their Work be done. Rather than this *Elijah* should want Food, the Ravens shall supply him: Nor shall the Cruse of Water fail, until this Prophet be refresh'd. The power and prevalence of this Prophet's Prayers want not their Instances and Illustrations. Such as the Widow's Son rais'd by him from death; and the Drought and Rain that were so answerable to his Desires; together with that Fire that came from Heaven, which so affected all about him, as that *Elijah's* Order more influenced the People to destroy *Baal's* Prophets, than all their Interest in, and Relation to, and Patronage from, that Idolatrous Court, could countervail or hinder. Should we insist upon the Ministry of an Angel; or on God's own so awful, and yet so apposite appearance to him; or on his Executed Doom upon *Abaziah* and his Messengers; or upon his Wonder-working Mantle dropt upon *Elisha*, after he was taken up from him; all this would evidently show, how much *Elijah* had God's Eye, Ear, Heart, and Hand, to second him in all that he spake and did for God. God left him not, when he thought all the Seed of God cut off, and no Prophet left behind, but his own self to do the work of God. Indeed, his Life was fill'd with wonders; and his own Experienced Deliverances and Preservations were so manifold, seasonable, and wonderful, as if God's Providence, towards him, determined to be a Sensible Comment upon his own Name.

IV. That God who so miraculously took him up to himself at last, *Heb. xi. 6.* That God that fitted him for Heaven, and made him value faithfulness, and glory more than any thing, at length remov'd him to himself, and plac'd him where he long'd and laboured to be. We are told, that *God has a desire to the works of his own hand, Job xiv. 15.* Which passage seems to intimate, as if God long'd to see his Works in their determin'd perfection; especially his Favourites, wrought with such skill and power, *2 Cor. v. 5.* to such a glorious state as Heaven. And what more congruous, and expectable by Divine Constitution and Indulgence, than that *Elijah's* God who was his end, should be his rest, and his Eternal Joy? *Psal. xvi. 8.* --- *11.* How much of Miracle was in this thing, no Man can tell. This we are sure of, no one, but God, could do this for any; and none but *Elijah's* God would do it for him, *Heb. xi. 11, 16.*

III. The Inquisitive Prophet after Elijah's God.

I. It was *Elifha*. One whom *Elijah* found at the Plow; and whom God ordered to succeed his Master in his Prophetick Work, *1 King. xix. 16, 19.* Whence several things may be observed; as,

(1.) Men lose nothing by diligent attending upon their Calling. *David* was minding Sheep, when he was sent for to be Anointed King: The Shepherds were in the Fields, when the Angelick Host saluted them with such joyful tydings, and were diligently looking after their Flocks there. *Amos* the Prophet was among the Herdmen of *Tekoa*, when God represented to him *Jerusalem's* Doom. The Eunuch was on his way returning to his Mistress the *Ethiopian* Queen, when *Philip* met him, by the Spirit's order, Convinc'd, Converted, and Baptiz'd him. And this Prophet was about his business when God conferr'd this honour upon him, to succeed his Master in his Prophetick Unction and Employment.

(2.) God chuses whom he pleases to serve the purposes of his Church and Kingdom. All are alike to him, who needeth none. All the Accomplishments Men have (though wonderfully various and great) they have from him. He doth not find his Instruments fit, but makes them so, to serve his mind and purpose. Witness his After-Prophets, Apostles and other Ministers. He can clear the dullest Eye; open the closest Ear; and set at liberty the Stammering Tongue; and ordain great Strength for Babes and Sucklings. *Moses* his backwardness to his appointed Embassy, was founded upon but a trivial excuse, when he pretended that he was not Eloquent, but slow of Speech and Tongue: nor could his excuse abide the Test, nor satisfy himself; when he was told who it was that made Man's Mouth; and that the Lord that sent him was he that makes the Dumb, the Deaf, the Seeing, and the Blind; and when he was assured that God himself would be with his Mouth, and teach him what he was to say, he then provoked God to anger, by being too solicitous about his own inabilities, when he had been Commissionated to go, by God, *Exod. iv. 10. --- 16.* And when another Prophet complained that he could not speak, in that he was a Child; God told him how unfit it was, for him to say so, seeing God assured him of his own presence with him, *Jer. i. 6. --- 8.*

(3.) God takes great care to fill up all the Vacancies which he makes by Providence, when it may be serviceable to his own Designs. *Elijah* goes to Heaven; but *Elifha* rises up, to do the Translated Prophet's Work. Thus *Moses* dies, but there rises up a *Joshua* to succeed him. *Nadab* and *Abihu* are carried off, but *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* come up in their stead. Whilst God has work to do for Prophets; when Sins are necessarily to be reprov'd, and Souls to be inform'd converted, edify'd, and saved; when Solemn Worship is to be preserv'd in Exercise; and when People need their Guides; God takes care in all Successive Ages, to send forth Labourers (yea, to thrust them forth) into the Harvest.

II. It was *endear'd Elifha* to his Master, by that Mantle which fell from *Elijah* upon him, according to his hearts desire, *2 King. ii. 9. --- 14.* *Elifha* lov'd him dearly, and expected great things from him: Whence we may further note,

B

(1.) Any

(1.) Any thing wins the heart which is appointed thereto by God ; Word, Look, Touch, or Sign. God openeth the heart as he sees fit. Any thing does every thing, when it comes forth as in the Word of the Lord. *Elijah's* Mantle cast upon *Elisha*, strangely stole his heart away. Something was done ; *Elisha* knew not what ; and *Elijah* seem'd to wonder at the thing ; *Go back again* (saith he) *for what have I done to thee?* So much was done, as that *Elisha* had no power to mind his other work, save to attend *Elijah*, and to Minister to him, 1 *King*. xix. 19.---21. Where is that heart that can withstand God, when God has a mind to work it over to his Ministers, Members, Service, or himself?

(2.) Hearts toucht and won by God cleave fast to him, and stick at nothing. *Elisha*, he left all ; his Kindred, Flocks, and Interest, to Minister and cleave unto his Master. So did the Apostles, St. *Paul*, and others, who have profess'd themselves to be Constrained by Love. How urgently did *Elijah* press *Elisha* to be gone from him? 2 *King*. ii. 2---6. But he clave faster to him. How urgently were the two Daughters in Law of *Naomi* prest to return each of them to their Mothers house? And yet how loth were they to leave her? but afterward *Orpah* kist her only ; but *Ruth* clave to her, and warmly told her, that whithersoever she went, she would go with her ; the same Lodging should serve them both, and that *Naomi's* God and people should be her God and People too ; that where she dy'd, there would her Daughter also dye, and there would she be bury'd ; and bound it with an Oath, that nothing else but Death should part them, *Ruth*. i. 11. ---18. and *Ruth* lost nothing by it. God makes the fastest Friends and Friendship : it is his work to joyn our hearts too close together to admit divorce : nor is it in Man's power to make one fast Friend to himself. And as nothing binds so strongly as genuine and fervent love ; so is it in God's power to quench or kindle Mens Affections ; and so to establish or dissolve all Friendship.

(3.) Engaged hearts to Divine Services and Enlargements, look quite beyond all Secular Relations and Concerns, *Gal*. i. 15, 16. Master (say the Disciples) *we have left all and followed thee*. Christ tells us plainly, That we can be his Disciples, upon no other termes than these, viz. That Father and Mother, &c. and all Secular Entertainments, and Concerns be left for him, *Mat*. x. 37.---39. xix. 21, 27.---29. No Man (saith Christ) *having put his hand to the Plow, and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of God*, *Luk*. ix. 62. How eminent an Instance, and Exemplar, of this thing, was the Great Apostle of the Gentiles, *Acts* xx. 24. *Phil*. iii. 7.---11. See also 2 *Cor*. iv. 16.---18. *Heb*. 10. 34.

III. It was Exercised *Elisha* ; under great Apprehensions of his most difficult Employment, and of the want of such a publick help and treasure, as *Elijah* was, and might have been to him, 2 *King*. ii. 12. The Mantle in his hand ; the Prophet in his thoughts ; his great work upon his heart, and the great difficulties of that work before his eyes ; these all awakened him to this Concerned, and Solicitous Enquiry after *Elijah's* God. He well remembered what Mountainous Difficulties (indeed insuperable, without Divine Assistance) *Elijah* had broke through to his thus Exalted State : and in whose strength all this was done : and the great Interest that Prayer and Zealous Faithfulness had in God. And hence he well considered, how little *Elijah's* Mantle, in his hand, imported to him, without the presence of *Elijah's* God. *Elisha* could not think his own work likely to be easier than *Elijah's* was ; nor that either Prince or People would be more kind to him than they had been to his Predecessor ; he knew himself to be but flesh and blood, and not so different from his Master, in the Character of being, a Man subject to like Passions (and Infirmities) with the rest of Men, as less to need God's help and presence than *Elijah* did. We may well conceive him to be full of thought, and great Solitudes about the Reversions of his Work and Tryals : and that his Spirit should be equal thereunto, was more than he durst promise to himself, or trust to, unless he could engage the Prophet's God to help him.

IV. It was Solicitous *Elisha*, to imitate and equal the Spirit and Performances of his Translated Master, 2 *King*. ii. 9. *Elijah's* Offer had been kind : *Elisha's* Desires prove as large : and his Necessities seem as great ; but the request seems very difficult to be obtained : But the thing at last is granted, and an Experiment quickly

quickly made, as to the Virtue of the received Mantle. This good Man thought himself greatly inferiour to his Master; and his case more deplorable, through the removal of so great a Person. He knew he had great work to do; and potent Enemies to contend with, and a degenerate Generation to reduce to God. He knew that proportionable wisdom, diligence, and fervour, vigour and patience hereunto, was of necessity to be had and exercised. And no Pattern had he known, more Exemplary and Successful than this *Elijah* was. And very loth he was to Come behind him. Nothing did press so urgently upon his heart as this; that his own Personal Excellencies, and Performances might be such, as that the work of God thereby be Uniform. And though the gift of Miracles was probably more immediately in his Eye; Yet was not this his ultimate Desire and Design; but rather to have all advantages for a Reformation-work, by gaining greater and more effectual Credit to his Ministry. He would not culpably come behind his Master, nor be defective in any thing ordinable and advantageous unto the business of his then present Day and Function.

V. It was Concerned *Elisha* to come off well at last, *Acts* xx. 24. *2 Tim.* iv. 6.---8. He coveted so to fulfil his Course and Function, as to attain the most abundant entrance into that State whereto he saw his Master pass. Great indeed was the instance which he lately had of God's Regard to Excellent *Elijah*: and though he could not hope for being excused from Death (nor was he, as we find, *2 King.* xiii. 14, 20.) yet might he covet, aim at, and prepare for, dying in the Lord, and living with him in that State which *Elijah's* being thus lifted up Prefigured. *Elijah* had born his ample testimony to the Name and Cause of God, when the *Baalitical Apostacy* had grown so great. And he had God's Miraculous Testimony to his Zeal and Faithfulness: And this might well provoke *Elisha's* heart, to be solicitous about that presence of *Elijah's* God, which might secure his perseverance, and constant fulfilling after God; and his most seasonable and delightful entrance into *Elijah's* State of Heavenly Joys, and Glory; for like his Master he coveted to be, both in this World, and in the next.

VI. It was Encouraged *Elisha* to expect great things from God, *2 King.* ii. 9.---12. Great Men of God know how to take their helps and hints for boldness in their applications to him, both from Indulgence and Experience, *2 Sam.* vii. 27.---29. *Psal.* ix. 10. *Hab.* iii. 2.---19. The great Experiences of *Elijah*, were grateful Explications of this Significant Relation; and smart Temptations, and Incentives to this Prophet's Prayer and Hope. He, that knew *Elijah*, and had seen what Spirit acted him, what Power attended him, what Providence wrought for and by him, how all Spirits and Difficulties melted down before him, how great an Honour and Preferment was vouchsafed to him, in being thus carried up to Heaven: he that was called, and charmed to his Function and Employment by Divine Order, and *Elisha's* Mantle: he that saw the late Miracle which this Mantle wrought, in *2 King.* ii. 8. he that had the Sign given him of being gratified in his desired favour from *Elijah*: he that so thoroughly consider'd what a Publick Treasure God had made *Elijah* unto *Israel*; and that had such reason and propension to believe God's generous kindness to his devoted ones; Yea, he that (lastly) felt such Energies in his own holy Principles and Appetites, could not be destitute of Encouragements, to expect that God would own him and assist him in all that he had call'd him to; a Parallel to all which we seem to have in *Jer.* i. 5.---10. All good Men love to know their Errand, and their Warrant, when they solicit for Great things from Heaven. Fancy's are but weak Foundations for great Expectations to be built upon. Had not *Elisha* been thus Countenanc'd by his Master, to ask (as it were) at large; he had been more modest in his Suit: but when the Prophet bid him ask (though his Request seem'd hard) yet did not that much discourage him from expecting what he long'd and begg'd for.

IV. *Elijah's great Enquiry and Concern.*

1. God's Presence was the thing enquired after, and requested: and nothing can be done without it. See *Exod.* xxxiii. 12.---17. We need God's presence with our Spirits, with our Persons, and our Enterprizes. Our Spirits must be upheld, furnished, fortified, and encouraged; and every way prepared for, laid even with, and kept close to the business of their Day. Our Persons must be pro-

tested and maintained in their usefulness and safety, till their work be done. And our Enterprizes must be smiled upon, and attended with that Providential Presence which shall accommodate it self to all Affairs, that are, and ought to be Compleated by our Ministry. God's influencing Operative Presence (call'd his *hand*) must be upon us, with us, and for us. There must be in us holy Wisdom, Courage, Patience, Confidence, and Chearfulness; and there must be such a Providence as to make Second Causes to serve or yield to us, and speak for us.

2. It was the Presence of *Elijah's* God. A Presence suited to a Prophet's work, 2 Cor. x. 4, 5. There will be Enemies upon their Thrones, in Arms, in Consultations; fighting against God and his *Elisha's*, with their Thoughts, Tongues, Pens, and Interest. And Prophets must encounter and endure all, *Ephes.* vi. 12. ---18. Earth and Hell combine against them; and these want not Instruments, Engines, Methods, and Pretences; to Patronize, Propagate, and Encourage Idolatries, Infidelity, Immoralities, and Cruelties, and all sorts of Mischief. And can these be grappled with and Conquer'd without *Elijah's* God? *The Spirit of Elijah must rest upon Elisha*: How otherwise can the Waters part, which are so obstructive to his Dutiful and Prosperous Motions? 2 Kings ii. 14, 15. Or the unwholesom Springs of Waters he heal'd; so as that neither Death, nor Barrenness result therefrom? *Vers.* 21. Or the early (almost Infant) Eruptions of Malignity and Scorn be check'd and punished? *Vers.* 23, 24. Or the good King *Jehosaphat* be refresh'd and prosper'd? 2 King. iii. 11.---25. Or the Widow's Oyl be multiplied, as the miraculous owning of her former Husband's Godliness? *Chap.* iv. 1.---7. Or the *Shunamite's* Son restor'd to Life? *Vers.* 8.---37. Or Death remov'd from the Pot? *Vers.* 38.---41. Or an Hundred Men miraculously Fed? *Vers.* 43, 44. Or a *Naaman* cured of, and a *Gebazi* smitten with the Leprosy? *Chap.* v. Or the *Syrians* Chamber-Politicks detected, and all his Army Conquer'd? *Chap.* vi. Or Plenty brought to otherwise Starv'd *Samaria*, beyond expectation? Yea, or this *Elisha* live so desirably, and die so honourably and lamentedly as he did, 2 King. xiii. 14.---19. A Prophet's Work and Province needs that Unction, Presence, and Encouraging reward, which none but an *Elijah's* God can give, 1 King. xviii. 36. with 2, 3, 14.---25. This makes a Prophet mighty both in Word and Deed, with God and Man, *Ezr.* vii. 6, 9, 10. *Neh.* ii. 8. *Ezek.* iii. 8. ---11. *Jer.* i. 18, 19. And who can stand before a Prophet and his God?

3. This presence must be evidently such to others. *Let it be known this day* (saith this *Elijah*, whose God *Elisha* is now enquiring after) *that thou art God in Israel, and that I am thy Servant, and that I have done all these things at thy word. Hear me, O Lord, hear me, that this People may know* --- *Then the Fire of the Lord fell, and consumed* --- And when the People were Convinced that God thus shew'd himself, and own'd his Prophet, then fell *Elijah* to his ordering of *Baal's* Prophets to be destroy'd, 1 King. xviii. 36. ---40. And such a Presence was *Elisha* concerned to obtain, when as the matter might require it: And such concernedness we find elsewhere, as *Psal.* cix. 26, 27. *Exod.* iv. 1.---5. This his Enquiry seems to import thus much; *Be thou so much with me, as to constrain those persons to whom I am to Prophecie, to say, No Man could Prophecie, Act, and Live, and thus fulfil his Charge, and Ministry, unless Elijah's God was with him.* See *Job.* iii. 2. 1 Cor. ii. 4, ii. 3, 7. *Heb.* ii. 4. O Let Gifts, Grace, Power, Performances, and Success bear testimony to me, that *Elijah's* God is ever with me.

V. The Genuine Spirit of this Speech.

1. *Elijah* was yet greatly in *Elisha's* thoughts; they were but newly parted. What fresh remembrances had this remaining Prophet; both of the Person, Office, Excellencies, and endearing Conversation, of his retired and Exalted Master! The shape and features of his Person; the Excellency of his Temper; the Composures of his grave Countenance; the weightiness of his Words; the manner of his Conversation; the Severities of his Life; the undauntedness of his Spirit; the freedom of his Conferences; the power of his Prayers; the exemplariness of his Life; the miraculoufness of his Experiences and Performances; and his extraordinary passing from hence to Heaven; with all the good which had, and might

might have issued from him, and been derived to himself and others, had but the Prophet continued here longer amongst Men: Such things as these must needs affect his heart, and exercise his thoughts, even at every mention of *Elijah*; and so far renew the pleasures of their former Intimacies, and Reciprocated-Friendships. *Elijah* was the Father, Friend, and Master of *Elisha*, and stood in near Relation to his God; and he was thought on by the Prophet, as being greatly privileged by that Relation: Otherwise, why not the Lord *my God*, as well as the *Lord God of Elijah*? This Man was written on his heart. Such are remembered by their Intimates when not seen; 'twas not in heart, but person, that they were parted.

II. *Elijah's God* was now very powerfully upon *Elisha's* heart. *Elisha's* thoughts were deep and busy about great things, considered by him as in reference to *Elijah*. He frequently and intimately consider'd, to what his God had called *Elijah*; what he had made him; a Man; a good Man, and a Prophet: What an Unction he had bestow'd upon him; what Encouragements he afforded him; what ready Audience he gave his Prayers; how he protected him from what he feared; how he enabled him to do what he did; how he supported him under what he felt; how he own'd him publicly in what he went about; how he had translated him to what he long'd for; and how he had placed him at last amongst those that he had suited him unto: He also thought what a God, this God will be to others, that was experienc'd to be such to his Master. O how did these things work upon *Elisha's* heart! Who would not be ambitious of the Saving Powerful Knowledge of this God; of Covenant-Relations to him; of all Engagements in his Service, and of all Endearments to his Heart! No greater Wisdom, Power, Faithfulness, and Kindness, can be coveted, and rested on, than God's.

III. *Elijah's* blessed State was most affectingly in *Elisha's* prospect; even in its place and measure much what like that in *Luk. xxiv. 52, 53*. *Elijah* taken up thus visibly in Solemn State to Heaven, and this too by the Lord his God, *2 King. ii. 5, 11*. cannot but minister to great thoughts, even such as these; (1.) What cannot God do if he pleases? *Exod. xv. 11. Psal. civ. 1.---5. cxxxv. 6. cxv. Base Earth, and sluggish Flesh mount up; Fire and Angels, they descend; Mortals become Immortal; the Living Rise; the Dead are Raised up; and a Favourite shall be singled out from amongst Men to be indemnified from the stroke of Death, and from the Inclosures of a cold Grave.* (2.) What will not God do for his Faithful Zealots in his Service? *he is not ashamed to be called their God, having prepar'd for them a City; and promis'd and engaged for their Translation thither. Heb. xi. 16.* What the Earth cannot entertain them with, the Heavens shall. (3.) Nothing can be thought too much for God, nor any thing lost indeed, nor counted great, that we are call'd to hazard, lose, endure, or do for him. *Heb. x. 4. 2 Cor. iv. 17, 18.* *Elijah's* Assumption into Heaven soon made amends abundantly, for all his Sufferings, Pains and Losses. (4.) *Elijah's* God is all in all below to them, who have him for their God indeed, *2 Tim. xiv. 17, 18. Heb. xiii. 6. Ps. lxxiii. 24.---29.* *Elisha* thought, that he who had born *Elijah* through all his Agonies, Toils, Fatigues and Fears to Heaven, could do as much for him; and why not therefore to be served, eyed and trusted by him? (5.) What so meet and needful, as an Heavenly Expectation, Mind and Life? *Col. iii. 2. Matt. vi. 19.---21. xvii. 3, 4.* We cannot think *Elijah* carry'd up unto that State, which never had his thoughts and heart: he never could imagine that this World and Body could be his resting place, in that they were so much polluted: Therefore it was the Heavenly Countrey that he made the greatest reckoning of; and whence and whither he was carry'd by the Lord his God, with all his delicate Entertainments there (and perhaps by the way as he ascended up) could not but fix *Elisha's* thoughts; fire his heart; confirm him in his holy purposes; quicken his endeavours to fulfil his Ministry; and thereby ripen him for his most abundant entrance into the Heavenly State, by bearing his Spirit up in hope, and drawing forth many a serious, quickening, and heart-refreshing thought. By what *Elisha* saw, he could not but expect great things from God; and muse upon (with great delight) what the Lord, *Elijah's God*, at last, would make him, and whither he would bring him.

IV. *Elijah's Work* now wholly lies upon *Elisha's* hands, 1 *King*. xix. 16. He must now Prophecy, Instruct, Reprove, Rebuke, Exhort, Reform, Endure, Encounter, and Engage against all that shall rival or oppose God: All which is now considered by him, as quite above his strength and skill, unless *Elijah's* God be with him. Men of the deepest thought, of the greatest reach, and even of the noblest resolution to do their utmost to promote God's Interest in the World, yet tremble at their Work, when they consider the import of it, and the difficulties that attend it: and it sends them often to their Prayers and Tears, that God would not desert them, and leave them to themselves. St. Paul, that Great Apostle, had been no stranger to, nor Trifler in his Work; nor unacquainted with the Severities of Martyrdom; nor of Small Proficiency, in the Vigours and Experiences of Christian Godliness; when yet in the prospect of approaching troubles, he so concernedly address'd himself to Heaven by Prayer, 2 *Cor.* xii. 7. ---9. And it was from the Divine Promise, and not from any thing in himself, that he deriv'd his hopes of Perseverance to the end; and fortified his Courage to withstand all Enemies, and Obstacles in his Course. This was the Armour he ran, and Fought in (might I allude to that *Olympick* Game which they called *ὠλίστη ἀγών*, whereto this same Apostle seems to allude in *1st* xx. 24. 2 *Tim* iv. 7.) 'Tis no such easie thing to demolish the strong holds of Satan, to cast down all the Reasonings, and Imaginations that lie so oppositely to God's Interest, in the Idolatrous, and Professing Christian World; nor to tread down every thing that exalts its self against the Knowledge of God, and Christian Interest; and to bring into Captivity every thought, to the Obedience of God and Christ: and the weapons of this warfare must not be carnal; for then they would prove to be too weak: and if they be mighty and successful, it must be through God: as 2 *Cor.* x. 4, 5. Such thoughts as these may well affect *Elisha*, when he had no *Elijah* at his hand to help him.

VI. The Errand and Memorials of this Text and Day.

1. As this Day is now our *Sabbath-day*; so let us remember the Lord *Elijah's* God, as resting from Creation-work, and calling us to the Commemoration both of the Monuments of his visible Power, of the pleasure that he took therein, and of the Signatures of his most reverend and Holy Name impress'd thereon, *Exod.* xx. 8.---11. 1 *Chron.* xxix. 10.---13. *Nehem.* ix. 5, 6. *Deut.* x. 14. *Jonah* i. 9. This vast Fabrick is so expressive of God's Name, so worthy of his Providence, and so adapted to the purposes and uses, whereto he had contrived and consign'd it, as that it deserves to be Commemorated with very great Solemnity and Reverence. The Universe being vastly great, should be consider'd as the Product of his Almighty word and thought: for it declares the greatness of his Power; and yet it is comparatively but a faint hint of what he is able to produce and do, by his own Powerful Word*. The wise contrivance, and apt harmony of this Stately Fabrick, shews the great wisdom, and All-comprehending-thought of its so glorious Builder, *Psal.* civ. 24. *Prov.* iii. 19, 20. *Jer.* x. 12. O what a variety of Spheres, Regions, Globes, and Vortices; of Animate and Inanimate Creatures (to say nothing of those Innumerable Myriads of Spirits above) with their respective Situations, Aspects, Distances, Influences, Furniture, and Mutual Dependences, hath Infinite Power produced under the Conduct of that Wisdom, which hath so Accurately, and Illustriously shew'd it self, in such abundant Variegations, as may challenge and endure even our severest search and obligation, to Admiration and Amazement! Again, the Furniture and Provisions of this World, and of all the parts thereof, are equally Demonstrative of the Riches of God's goodness thereunto, *Pf.* civ. 24.---28. All the Chambers and Apartments of this Edifice, are filled with precious and pleasant Riches, *Prov.* xxiv. 4.

* Τα ὅσα ἄραται αὐτῷ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νούμενα, καθορᾶται, ὅτι αὐτὸς αὐτῷ δυνάμει καὶ θλίψει, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸς ἀναπολόγητος.

Rom. i. 20. How fit a Paraphrase this Text may be of *Psal.* civ. 2. let the Judicious and Learned Judge as they see cause, upon deliberate and mature thought.

Pf. cxlv. 15, 16. All parts are helpfull each to other; and every thing aptly contributes (suitably to its Capacity, place and measure) somewhat to the advantage of the whole: and every thing derives more benefit from the whole than it can communicate thereto. And O what apt applications, accomodations, and addressees, doth Universal Providence make of its Concerned and Communicative Self, both to the entire *Compages* of Heaven and Earth, and to the Capacity and Concerns of every part thereof! At last comes Man to be the Lord and Possessor of these things; but yet as *under Law to God*; as the *Discerner of God's Eminence*, as a *Forary to his Will*; and as the *recipient of God's Communicative goodness*. God makes him apprehensive, sensible, and usefull, intelligent, Voluntary, and active; (1.) That he might discern the *Charalters* and *Imprsses* of his God, upon the Visible World, and his own self; and his Relations and obligations unto that God who made him, and all the World about him; and the *true reference* of all Things and Beings, and of himself, to their great Original and End. (2.) That he might see and relish Gods goodness to him, in those vast Capacities and Appetites which God had given him, and for the due Satisfaction whereof God had so abundantly provided. (3.) That Man might know, to and with whom he is to live; and how he is accomodated for his full, Practicall Devotedness, and Faithfull service to his God: And as God made him an *Embodied Spirit*; and thereby Capable of manifold sensations for the fuller Entertainment, Tryal, and Employment of his Soul; so he had a glorious and well furnished World to Minister sensibly to the improvement of his mind, the Establishment and Refreshment of his heart, and the full Exercise of all those Energy's and Vigours which were rooted in his Soul; and were to be drawn out unto their fit Explications, and Engagements of themselves, by proper objects and occurrences to that purpose: And then God makes a Woman for him, out of his own side: and having given her to him in marriage, he lays Foundations for Fellowship and Social Conversation; for Government; for Propagation; and for Family-Religion and Concerns. All this, and much more doth this day mind us of, as a Sabbatical memorial of the God of Nature, shining forth in the Visible Creation: Though by the Ministry of Angels unto *Adam*, an higher State and Order of Beings was more than hinted. And for a share in all the benefits, service, and pleasure, of this so well formed and furnished World, Comes in *Elijah* in his proper Course. The Body and Spirit of *Elijah*; the Earth wherein he sojourn'd; the Heavens through and to which he went; the Heavens of Heavens (so ancient) whereupon God rides, and wherein *Elijah* dwells; all things and beings that ministered to *Elijah's* satisfaction, and advantage here; the Angels who convey'd him hence; (see *Pf. lxxviii. 17.*) and all the *Ætherial* (or what ever other) Materials of that Chariot, and those horses which carryed him on high; with all those many, many Myriads of pure and unembodied Spirits; and all the glorious and delightful treasures which entertain him there; O Let all these be thought on, as the Works and Products, and glorious Memorials of *Elijah's* God. Thus may we represent him like himself to us, so as to Engage Acknowledgments, and Improvements of his own for him: for it is of, and through, and to, *Elijah's* God that all things are.

2. As this Day is the *Lord's-Day*; So let *Elijah's* Friend and Anti-type be remembered; even the raised Lord of Life; O let him have your liveliest and most thankfull thoughts, *Pf. cxviii. 22---24. Ephes. i. 19---23. 1 Pet. i. 3---21.* He (even *Elijah*) may thank God for *Jesus Christ*, and he may thank *Christ* (though before he was Translated, he might know but little of him) for all that Providence, grace, and power, that wrought and brought him so effectually and miraculously to his Heavenly State and Glory; and so may we. *Heb. vi. 17---20.* *Elijah* knew not then so well as now he doth (nor as perhaps we know) by whom and how he was thus to be privileged, *Col. i. 26, 27. Eph. iii. 9---11.* Christ Risen from the Dead, broacht all the Springs of Life, peace joy and hope: he open'd all the Treasures from whence our Succours and Accomplishments must be derived. The upper Springs issued through Christ upon all his Ministers and Members; but seeing 'tis *Elijah* as a *Prophet*, which we are here considering; so may we well Consider our raised Lord and Head, as one by whom all Ministers and Prophets are overshadowed from on high, in order to their furniture and power, for the Discharge of their great Trust, and Work below: for we are all by the same Lord gifted (though not equally) for the great things that we are sent about; and we are all actuated

actuated by the same hope of the same blessed State above, as our Encouragement to persist in what we undertake: and all this by the same Redeemer. Christ yet abides the same, and will take Care, that all his Faithful Ministers want not that Unction, nor that measure of it, which their important Function calls for. O Let this therefore shame and Check our immoderate Resentments of the recess of such as this *Elijah* was, though Excellent and useful Prophets. And (rather than pour out our Tears abundantly upon the Hearse, and Memory of retired Prophets to their Eternal home) let us rejoyce that Christ is gone to Heaven; that our removed Prophets are now with him; and that Christ himself ere long will bring and keep us altogether with himself, 2 Cor. iv. 14, 15. 1 Thes. iv. 13---18. Job. xiv. 1---3. and, Ver. 28. Wherein we find Christ pleading, closely, and reproving their immoderate Grievings for his Departure, in these words, *Ye have heard how I said to you, I go away and come again to you. If ye loved me, ye would rejoyce because I said, I go to the Father, for my Father is greater than I.* Christ hereby tries the temper of their Love, and minds them of the regular management of that Central Grace, and tacitly upbraids them with the undiscerned coarseness of their love to him. They were to walk by Faith; and to be more solicitous about the future than the present state of things, and about their accommodations for their approaching Work and Tryals, than for the pleasures that resulted from a present friend on Earth, though it were Christ himself in Flesh. And one would think, the Apostle *Paul* himself was more than toucht with the sense and favour of this passage, by what he has left upon Record in ii Cor. v. 16. Where he thus Vents himself; *Wherefore (saith he) henceforth know we no man after the Flesh; yea though we have known Christ after the Flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more:* The Inforcements of which Charge and Counsel you have in Ver. 17---19.

3. As this is a *Providential* Day for Funeral Thoughts and Sorrows, because of God's heavy hand upon the *World* and *Church*, my *Self* and *You*, by the Removal of *Elijah's* lively Image, The Reverend and Excellent Mr. *Richard Baxter*: So we have to excise our present thoughts, (1.) The Prophet's Character and Exit. (2.) God's Voice to us thereby. (3.) Our Great Concern to have God's presence with you, and the Prophet's Mantle with me (if such a thing can be Expected by me) to our best benefit and advantage.

(1.) As to the Character of that Prophet, whose Soul is gone from us to Heaven: Mr. *Richard Baxter* was a person deservedly of great Fame and Character in his Day. He seem'd to be a Transcript of what is left upon Record concerning St. *Paul*, *Sylvanus*, and *Timothy*, in 1 Thess. ii. 1.---12. 'Tis evident he was a *Man of God*, a *Gospel-Prophet*. He was furnished for, fervent in, painful about, and faithful to his Ministerial Trust and Work: And extraordinary in the evident acceptance and successes of his Ministerial Labours. A Man of clear, deep, fixed thoughts; a Man of copious and well-digested Reading; a Man of ready, free, and very proper Elocution; and aptly expressive of his own thoughts and sentiments. He was most intent upon the weightiest and most useful parts of Learning; yet a great lover of all kinds and degrees thereof. He could, in Preaching, Writing, Conference, accommodate himself to all Capacities; and answer his Obligations to the Wise and Unwise: He had a moving *παθος*, and useful Acrimony in his words; neither did his Expressions want their Emphatical Accent, as the Matter did require. And when he spake of weighty Soul-Concerns, you might find his very Spirit Drench'd therein. He was pleasingly conversible, save in his Studying-hours, wherein he could not bear with trivial disturbances. He was sparingly facetious; but never light or frothy. His heart was warm, plain fixed; his Life was Blameless, Exemplary, Uniform. He was unmoveable, where apprehensive of his Duty; yet Affable and Condescending where likelihood of doing good was in his prospect. His Personal Abstinence, Severities and Labours, were exceeding great: He kept his Body at an under; and always fear'd pampering his Flesh too much. He diligently, and with great pleasure minded his Master's Work within doors and without, whilst he was able. His Charity was very great; greatly proportionable to his Abilities: his Purse was ever open to the Poor; and, where the Case requir'd it, he never thought great Sums too much: he rather gave *Cumulatim* than *Denariatim*; and suited what he gave to the Necessities and Characters of those he gave to: Nor was his Charity confin'd

fin'd to Parties or Opinions. He was a Man of manifold and pressing exercises; and of answerable Patience and Submission under the hand of God; and though he was seldom without pain, or sickness (but mostly pain;) yet never did he murmur; but us'd to say, *It is but flesh.* And when I have askt him how he did? His usual Answer was, *Either Almost well: Or, Better than I deserve to be; but not so well as I hope to be.* Once, I remember, when I was with him in the Country at his Request: he, being in the Extremity of Pain (and that so exquisite as to appear in the sudden and great Changes of his Countenance) rais'd himself from his Couch whereon he had laid himself; and thus express'd himself, *Whatever the World thinks of me, I can truly say, that I have served God with uprightness of heart, and that I never Spake any thing that I took not to be true, and at that time to be my Duty.* He was no ways clandestinely rigid, or censorious as to others. When he told Men to their faces of their faults, he would hear what they had to say, and then reprove them with as great pungency as he thought their fault deserv'd: but yet behind Mens backs he was always ready to believe the best; and whatever he could think on that might extenuate their Crime; if there was any likelihood of truth therein, he would be sure to mention that: So great a Friend was he to every Man's useful Reputation. As to *himself*, even to the last, I never could perceive his Peace and Heavenly Hopes assaulted or disturbed. I have often heard him greatly lament himself, in that he felt no greater Liveliness in what appear'd so great and clear to him, and so very much desir'd by him. As to the influence thereof upon his Spirit, in order to the sensible refreshments of it, he clearly saw what ground he had to rejoyce in God; he doubted not of his Right to Heaven: He told me, He knew it should be well with him when he was gone. He wonder'd to hear others speak of their so sensible Passionately strong Desires to Die, and of their transports of Spirit when sensible of their approaching Death: when as he himself thought he knew as much as they; and had as rational satisfaction as they could have, that his Soul was safe: and yet could never feel their Sensible Consolations. And when I asked him, Whether much of this was not to be resolved into Bodily Constitution? He did indeed tell me, That he thought it *might be so.* But I have often thought, that God wisely made him herein (as in many other things) conformable to his Great Master *Jesus Christ*; whose Joys we find Commonly the fruit of deep and close-thought. Christ argu'd himself into his own Comforts. Which thing is evident from Scriptures not a few; Take for a taste, *Pf. xvi. 8--11. Heb. xii. 2.* The testimony of his Conscience was ever his rejoycing: like that in *2 Cor. i. 12.* He ever kept that tender; and gave such diligence to run his race, fulfil his Ministry, and so to make his Calling and Election firm and clear, as that I cannot but conclude an Entrance was ministr'd abundantly to his departed Spirit into the Everlasting Kingdom of (*Elijah's* and) his God and Saviour; and that it will be more abundant to his rais'd person when the Lord appears. The Heavenly State cost him severe and daily thoughts, and Solemn Contemplations; for he set some time apart every day for that weighty work. He knew that neither Grace nor Duty could be duly actuated without pertinent and serious meditation. What can be done without thought? And as he was a Scribe intrusted to the Kingdom of Heaven, so he both could and did draw forth out of his Treasures things new and old, to his own satisfaction and advantage, as well as to the benefit of others. Self-unconcernedness (be it in Study, Preaching, Prayer or Conference) dispirits and dilates expressions and performances, as to others or our own selves. To enquire Speculatively after God; to Speak to God or for him, without serious thinking how to do it well; how little does it signifie to Ministers? How little he esteem'd the World; or Flesh or Men (save as they are of, and under, and for God) is every way too evident to need insisting on. He neither valued nor fear'd any man so much as to be influenced into Sinful Distances from, or Compliances with them, in wrong to God, and to Soul-Concerns. But I must not be too Copious here, lest it be thought that my relations, or affections to him have deceiv'd or brib'd my Judgment.

After much Labour in his work, and troubles from Informers, who caus'd him to be Convicted, disstrain'd upon and imprison'd, because he durst not neglect what he thought God had bound him to: when Liberty was granted to Dissenters, and he himself was fetcht from prison; after his injurious Confinement thereunto for his book call'd His *Paraphrase* on the *New Testament*, he settled in *Charterhouse-Yard*,

in *Rutland-House* (where I then lived, and had gotten it to be Licensed for Preaching-work) and bestowed his Ministerial-Assistance gratis upon me. Thereupon he attended every Lord's-Day in the Morning; and every other *Thursday* Morning at a Weekly Lecture. Thus were we yoked together in our Ministerial Work and Trust, to our great Mutual Satisfaction: and because his Respects to me Living and Dying were very great; I cannot but the more resent the Loss. I had the benefit and pleasure of always free access to him, and instant Conversation with him; And by whom could I profit more than by himself? So ready was he to Communicate his Thoughts to me, and so clearly would he represent them, as that I may truly say, it was greatly my own fault, if he left me not wiser than he found me at all times.

When after about four years and a half he had continu'd with me, he was then disabled from going forth any more to his Ministerial Work; so that what he did, he perform'd it all the residue of his Life, in his own *third-house*. where he open'd his Doors Morning and Evening every day to all that would come to joyn in Family-Worship with him: to whom he Read the Holy Scriptures, from whence he Preached the Kingdom of God, and Taught those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him; even as one greater than himself had done before him, *Act. xxviii. 30, 31.* But alas his growing Distempers and Infirmities took him also off from this, confining him first to his Chamber, and after to his Bed. There, though pain (for he had a very great Stone in his Kidney) and Sickness, his Body waited; but his Soul abode rational, strong in Faith and Hope, arguing it self into, and preserving it self in, that Patience, Hope, and Joy, through Grace, which gave him great Support, and kept out Doubts and Fears concerning his Eternal Welfare.

On *Tuesday* Morning about Four of the Clock, *Decemb. 8. 1691*, he Expired; though he expected and desired his Dissolution to have been on the Lord's Day before, which with Joy, to me, he call'd an *High Day*, because of his desired Change Expected then by him. He had frequently before his Death, own'd to me, his continuance in the same Sentiments that he had discover'd to the World before, in his Polemical Discourses, especially about Justification, and the Covenants of Works and Grace, &c. And being ask'd at my request, whether he had changed his former thoughts about those things; his Answer was, *That he had told the World sufficiently his Judgment concerning them by Words and Writing, and thither he refer'd Men.* And then lifting up his eyes to Heaven, he uttered these words; *Lord, pity, pity, pity the Ignorance of this poor City.*

On *Monday* the day before, about Five in the Evening, Death sent his Harbinger to Summon him away. A great trembling and coldness awaken'd Nature, and extorted Strong Cries from him for Pity and Redress from Heaven: which Cries and Agony continu'd for some time, till at length he ceas'd those Cries: and so lay in an Observant, Patient Expectation of his Change. And being once asked by a Grave Matron, and his Faithful Friend, and Constant Attendant upon him in his Weakness (Worthy and Faithful Mrs. *Bushel* his House keeper) Whether he knew her or no, Requesting some Signification of it if he did: he softly Cried, *Death, Death:* And now he felt the benefit of his former Preparations for such a Trying-Time as this. And indeed, the last words that he spake to me (being inform'd that I was come to see him) were these, *O I thank him, I thank him:* and turning his Eye to me, he said, *The Lord teach you to dye.* He, a few days before, had thus express'd his heart to me: *Sir, I have done what I could for you. Should I recover (which I expect not) I should Statedly give my Pains to none before you. He (truly) judg'd my Flock to be Sober, Peaceable, and Loving, and far from Factionousness and Censoriousness.*

Thus Liv'd and Dy'd this Excellent, and Holy Person: so eminently furnish'd for, fervent in, intent upon, and faithful to, his Ministerial Trust and Work: Wherein his Labours and Success were very great. His Person was Tall and Slender, and stooped much: his Countenance Compos'd and Grave, somewhat inclining to Smile. He had a piercing Eye, a very Articulate Speech, and his Deportment rather Plain than Complemental. He had a great Command over his Thoughts. He had that happy faculty, so as to answer the Character that was given of him by a Learned Man Dissenting from him, after Discourse with him; which was, that, *He could say what he would, and he could prove what he said.* He was most intent

intent upon the necessary things. Rational Learning he most valued, and was an extraordinary Master of. And as to his Expressive Faculty, he spake properly, plainly, pertinently, and pathetically. He could speak suitably, both to Mens Capacities, and to the things insisted on. He was a Person wonderful at Extemporate Preaching; for having once left his Notes behind him, he was surpriz'd into Extemporate thoughts upon (as I remember) Heb. iv. 15. *For we have not an high Priest* — Whereon he Preach'd to very great satisfaction unto all that heard him: And when he came down from the Pulpit, he asked me, *What was not record'd?* I said, *With what?* He said, *With his Extemporate Discourse.* I told him, *That had he not declar'd it, I believe none could have discover'd it.* His reply to me was, *That he thought it very needful for a Minister to have a Body of Memory in his head.*

(2.) As to God's Providence, in removing him, God's Voice is Loud from Heaven to us. And what the Voice is, and what it speaks in the General, you may partly discern from these following passages of Scripture, *Zach. i. 5. 1 Thes. xiii. 7.---9. Rev. iii. 3. 1 Thes. iv. 1. Jam. v. 8.---11. All. xx. 18.---21, and 32.* Such thoughts as these are very pertinent unto the Visitation of our day. Have we been mindful of him? Have we been thankful for him? Have we been faithful to, and fruitful under, the Advantages of his Ministerial-Day? *1 Thes. i. 3.---10.* Should you not bemoan your ignorance, heedlessness, and barrenness? Should you not take up new resolutions to improve the Mantle which he hath left behind him; and to prepare your selves to meet *Elijah* and his God; Mr. *Baxter*, and his returning Lord in Peace, *2 Pet. iii. 11.---14.* You have known the genuine, constant tendencies of his Labours, Prayers and Spirit; all looked towards, and much resembled what ye find recorded in *1 Thes. iii. 12, 13.* You have had in him; whilst with you (who was longer a Preacher unto you, than *Christ* was to the *Jews*) one of the best of Casuists, Preachers, Patterns, Supplicants, and Companions in the World. And have we Sinn'd him from us! his Death tells us, we must not be ordinary in our Acknowledgments, Improvements, and Attainments: nor always think that it will be day with us.

(3.) Our great Concern and Cry this day should be about, and after the *Lord God of Elijah*: The God whom Mr. *Baxter*. own'd, lov'd, fear'd, serv'd, and preach'd. Nor must *Elijah's* Mantle be forgotten. As to me; the Prophet's Mantle is far more valu'd, and desir'd, than Expected. I never look to Tithe his Excellent Gifts, and Graces. And as to You and Me; the special Presence of *Elijah's* God is greatly needful with, and for us. *Elisba* in several things out-went his Master; (so must not I) but he was not Translated as *Elijah* was: For he afterward fell sick and Dy'd, *2 Kings. xiii. 14.* But yet with very ample testimony of God's peculiar respects to him. But I am not *Elisba*. And may I stand amongst the meanest of God's Faithful Prophets, I shall account it great. And though I cannot look to be *Elijah*, *Elisba*, or like to him that's lately gone: Yet all that Unction, Countenance, and Special Presence which my Soul-Work, and Ministry doth require, let it this day (and ever, whilst we live) become your joynt Concern and Cry with me, to God, that I may have it, and that you may reap great benefit thereby. As to us all: O how desirable is the Presence of the *Lord God of Elijah* with us! That so the Prophet's Prayers and Labours be not lost upon us, nor his God set against us, nor his Heaven be deny'd us, nor himself at last call'd out to testify against us when *Christ* Sits in Solemn Judgment upon us.

And for my Self; if any of the Prophet's Friends forsake me, may I but have the Powerfull and Gracious Presence of his *Elijah's* God, it will Suffice me. My present Circumstances as to Employments, Infirmities, Exercises, and Concerns, must need extort such Cryes and thoughts as these, from my Solicitous and anxious Soul:

(1.) Where was our *Elijah* once? Was he not in his Mother's Womb, retire from human View and knowledge? Was he not after in his State of ignorant Infancy and Childhood? Was he not in a mortal body, and uncomfortable World? Was he not once as little furnish'd with knowledg, Godlyness, and utterance, Unction and usefulness as my self? (2.) Whence had our *Elijah* all his Gifts and Graces, Assistances, Encouragements and Successes? Were they not all derived from the same God with whom I have to do? (3.) Where is our *Elijah* now? Is he not with God in Heaven, to whom the Spirits of Good men have been gathered.

to this day? And shall not our Souls (and Bodies) mount ere long as his hath done? (4.) Where hath he left *Elisha*? Even in this World and Body, and under obligations to his Ministerial Work (but far below him in abilities and grace for service) and in *his* Militant, and Pilgrim-state, whilst here. (5.) Where is our *Elijah's* God? Not out of all sight and hearing. Not where he may not be address'd unto nor Commun'd and pervail'd with, about and for things needful for an Indigent and Craving Prophet. (6.) What must I do to get (though but a fragment or some small corner of) our *Elijah's* Mantle? None of his extraordinary measures for special service *can*, or *do* I look for. But Study, Meditation, Prayer, and Faithfulness through the Mediation of his great friend and mine (Christ at the right hand of the Father) so much may be desired, endeavour'd after, and expected (through grace) as may enable me safely to train up Souls for God. 2 *Tim.* ii. 15. (7.) What must I do to meet with our *Elijah* and his God in peace? 2 *Tim.* iv. 1---5. 1. iv. 14---16. *Act.* xx. 18---31. What is the Course that I must take? Must not my Eye be inward, upward, forward, backward, round about? Must I not endeavour to know my Errand, Warrant, Difficulties, Duties and Encouragements? Must I not know what I say? Consider what I know? believe what I consider? tell what I believe? Prove what I assert? Practice what I Preach? And promote the Christian Interest with all wisdom, diligence, and faithfulness; as my Predecessor did before me? Let me then beg your Prayers to God for me, as the Great Apostle did for him, *Col.* iv. 3, 4. *Rom.* xv. 30---32. *Eph.* vi. 19. Your Prayers, and the Supply of the Spirit in those great Instances, in 2 *Tim.* i. 7. will do my Work to purpose.

F I N I S.

An ALPHABETICAL INDEX both of PERSONS and THINGS; an Account whereof is to be met with in this NARRATIVE.

The first Number intimates the Part; the second the Page.

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